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NEWS for League Members

Conference 'Tones Up' Civic Spirit

It is difficult to measure the results of an annual get-together like the National Conference on Government. But the fact that this annual League event regularly provides the impetus for achieving civic improvements, stimulates thinking, airs successful—and unsuccessful—government practices from all corners of the nation and, in general, "tones up" the civic spirit of all participants is well established.

The following comments on the San Antonio Conference were among the many received at the League office:

"It was far and away the best conference of any kind I have ever attended. I came away with a host of new ideas which I think will be of great value to us here in Worcester." —MARTHA LINDEGREN, Executive Secretary, Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts.

"I have been particularly interested in noting the comments coming from members of the city government who attended. Invariably it has been the means of increasing their enthusiasm and enlarging their perspective of government at the local level. I only wish it were possible to have more of the city managers attend these meetings. There is not a single manager who would not profit immeasurably."—C. A. HARRELL, City Manager, San Antonio.

"Congratulations on the best conference in my experience. The combination of your work and the hospitality of the people of San Antonio was wonderful." — KARL DETZER, Roving Editor, *Reader's Digest.*

"I was tremendously impressed with the work which the National Municipal League is doing, with the dedication to that work of all the people associated with the League, and with the heartwarming enthusiasm of the American citizen groups in their attempts to improve their local governments." —VERNON C. MYERS, Publisher, *Look* magazine.

"I want to thank you for one of the finest experiences of my life. San Antonio was the finest conference I've ever

(Continued on page 60)

Scene during the November 18 luncheon at the Conference in the Gunter Hotel, San Antonio, at which Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs, Ford Motor Company, delivered the principal address.

Conroy Wins LaGuardia Award

Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president of the Research and Planning Council in San Antonio, Texas, has won the 1952 award of The La Guardia Association. He was one of several nominees suggested by the League at the request of the Association.

Edward G. Conroy

The award is given annually to "an individual or group in recognition of outstanding contribution in the interest of vigorous, efficient municipal government and in the furtherance of those ideals of local democracy and self-government exemplified by the late Fiorello H. LaGuardia, mayor of New York from 1934 to 1945."

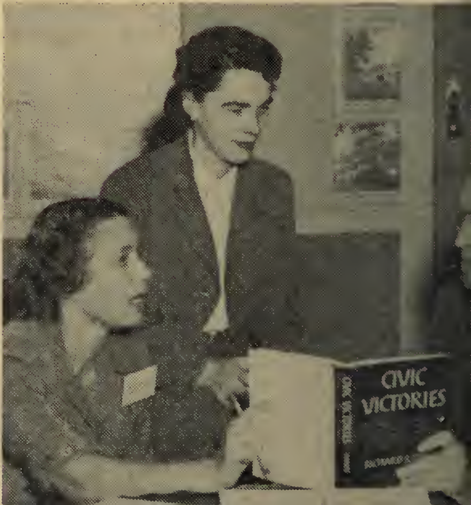
Mr. Conroy played a vital role in the adoption in October 1951 of the council-manager form of government for San Antonio, ridding the city of a boss- and machine-dominated political organization. He helped organize the Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Government that sparked the campaign and was instrumental in securing the election of the entire slate of nine endorsed councilmanic candidates. In addition, he helped to win improvements in local public health and public hospital administration, real property tax assessments, the city's personnel system and the financial and administrative organization of all city departments. The award was presented Saturday, December 13, at a ceremony in the Astor Hotel in New York City.

Cookingham Visits League Offices

L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, visited the League office on December 1 while in New York to participate in America's Town Meeting of the Air.

He also appeared before the Citizens Union committee which is exploring the advisability of the council-manager plan for New York City. George S. Van Schaick, NML vice president, is chairman of the committee. Other League officers serving are Henry Bruère, president; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee; and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary. Bayard H. Faulkner, a member of the League council, is also on the committee, which consists of 33 members considered authorities on governmental problems.

Mr. Cookingham spoke for the council-manager plan and Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Philadelphia for the strong mayor-administrator plan on the radio forum posing the question, "Good Local Government—Mayor or Council-Manager?"



Author meets critic as Richard S. Childs, who wrote "Civic Victories," listens to the comments of Mrs. Lawrence Coe of Memphis at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio. Looking on is Mrs. R. Hudson Vunk, also of Memphis. The book, recently published by Harper & Brothers, surveys civic battles and progress during the past 40 years.

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Editorial Comment

Unscrambling the Issues

ORDINARILY, the bigger the turnout at the polls the better the prospects of a good cause put to a vote of the people. Most citizens want good government. This has been demonstrated not only by the public opinion polls but by ballots in innumerable elections when the chips were down and the issues clearly drawn. Consequently, such propositions as an improved city charter, a modernized county government, a call for a constitutional convention or financing for a needed improvement program usually have easier sledding at a general election than at a special election where more work has to be done simply to get out the vote.

This rule did not work last November, however, in a number of places where important propositions failed to show the strength that past experience would have led one to expect. Apparently the intense interest in the national election blanked out for many voters much of the information on the local issues that would ordinarily have won their support. There is also evidence that campaigning for the issues was somewhat crimped because natural leaders were deeply involved in the national election.

There are limits to what citizens can do at any one time, as the advocates of the short ballot pointed out long ago. In view of the great importance and high emotional content of national issues at this time, it may well be that citizens should generally avoid presenting important local issues at the time of national elections.

Five states, including New Jersey by act of its 1947 constitutional convention, have separated state elections entirely from national elections. In more than half the states people vote for governor every time they vote for president, while in the rest governors are elected at the time of the mid-term Congressional elections. More states had better follow New Jersey's recent example and get their state elections into odd years. This would be relief for the harried citizen and help the states maintain a healthy independence, able to compete for power with the Washington leviathan.

A Great Conference on Government

BY VIRTUE of its status as an All-American City of 1951, San Antonio has the distinction of entertaining the National Municipal League at its 1952 National Conference on Government—coming to Texas for the first time.

That event brings here some 300 of the nation's foremost political scientists, civic experts and business leaders to address general meetings or lead round-table discussions on practical problems which have arisen in the everyday business of running a city or governing a state. For 58 years past, the League has been applying the methods of the businessman and the scientist to government—the people's business.

Indeed, the League largely has created municipal procedures. All along it has served as a clearing house of ideas and of lessons learned by experience. It has given the people council-manager government. By encouraging research in universities and endowed foundations, it has seen the new method of running a city constantly improved.

Thus the League has done all that the devices of organization and method can accomplish toward creating the well governed city—that would put every tax dollar to work serving all the citizens' interests. It is true, of course, that no government is better than the men who run it. But the League has devised model charters for city and county and a model constitution for the state. It has kept those instruments up to date.

This annual Conference sums up a year's progress in the science of government and charts a course of study and action for the year ahead.

. . .

This Conference should, and doubtless will, arouse a more alert interest in public affairs. There is a formula for achieving good government.

Editorial, *San Antonio Express*, November 16, 1952.

'Why Cut Your Own Throat?'

ONE day this autumn, in Easton, a man from Erie got to his feet at the general assembly of the Pennsylvania League of Third Class Cities. The man, a city official, told the assemblage:

"I'd like to present a resolution before this group regarding home rule for Erie. We'd like to put the matter of city manager government for Erie to a vote. As you gentlemen know, such action would have to be authorized by an act of the state legislature.

"We'd like the cooperation of the legislators from your districts to help put this bill across."

An uneasy ripple of chatter went through the assembly. It was the bitter sort of background noise that happens when an unpopular topic comes up before any group.

"Siddown, mister!"

It was a rowdy, but authoritative voice from the rear—a voice that seemed to speak for the entire assemblage.

"Sit down!"

"What are you trying to do—cut your own throat?"

Members of the League of Third Class Cities are elected public officials from 46 Pennsylvania cities whose populations range from that of Corry (7,872) to Erie (130,125).

Expenses to attend the meetings come from tax funds. The dues (Erie pays $1,065 next year [1953]) are paid "courtesy the taxpayers."

And here were these men, presumably "representing the people." They were fattening up at the taxpayers' expense. They were dismissing a vital municipal matter without according it the dignity of formal action.

In brief they were using tax funds to keep the taxpayer from getting a fair shake.

"Sit down," indeed!

Richard R. Haratine, in *The Erie Dispatch*, December 11, 1952.

Local Government Abroad

Its strengthening, and citizen participation in it, a prerequisite to strong national units the world over.

By **JOHN D. CORCORAN***

DURING the past several years there has been a resurgence of interest in municipal and other local government units in many countries. This resurgence has been manifested in national legislative bodies by revisions in basic municipal law, in considerable attention by the municipalities themselves to such relatively new municipal functions as planning and housing, and by increased vitality and activity on the part of organizations and associations of municipalities and municipal officials.

The subject of local government has been receiving increasing recognition in the journals of administration and in textbooks and other literature. Municipal problems are beginning to receive some attention in the training and technical assistance activities of the Organization of American States, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, the Colombo Plan, the U. S. Mutual Security Agency and the Technical Assistance Division of the United Nations.

One of the reasons for this resurgence of interest is the role of local government in national and international stability, order and survival. There are, of course, many other reasons and motivations for strengthening local government, some of them as abstruse and nebulous as the reasons for progress or civilization or greater enlightenment.

We in the United States can deplore the efficiency or morality or obsolescence of some of our local government institutions, and the very existence of such organizations as the National Municipal League is testimony to the fact that we have by no means reached a millenium in government at the local level. Comparatively, however, our local governments have played a strong role in our national social order and, perhaps because I have no other point of departure, I have to indulge in the possibly unpopular exercise of contrasting the relative role of American local governments with those in other parts of the globe.

Strong local government is a heritage of the American people. More specifically, it is a heritage of British North America. Nowhere else in modern times has the municipality attained the stature of those to be found on this continent in terms of political role, authority exercised, functions performed and services rendered. The strength of our municipalities is the direct outgrowth of the manner in which the continent was settled—settled primarily by individuals whose desire it was to manage their own affairs. It is a heritage of which we may justly be proud, but it is also a phase of our social and political background frequently taken for granted without considering its uniqueness.

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*Mr. Corcoran has been a field supervisor of Public Administration Service since 1946. He has supervised, conducted or participated in numerous administrative surveys both in this country and abroad, including public administration technical assistance programs in Taiwan, Iceland, Thailand and El Salvador, and was consultant to the Puerto Rico Commission on Reorganization in 1949. This article is Mr. Corcoran's address before the National Conference on Government, San Antonio, November 19, 1952.

We believe in our municipalities. By that I mean we believe they are a distinct and invaluable part of our political life, of our social and economic fabric. We are concerned when they are not run as we feel they should be, and we form associations and civic groups to do something about it. We are concerned when we note the shrinkage of local revenue sources at a time when we want our cities to do more and more things, at a time when costly modernization of facilities must be undertaken; and we view with misgiving the transfer of an increasing number of functions to larger, less responsive jurisdictions which have more resources at their disposal. But the fact remains that local government is the base from which we started, the foundation upon which, historically, we have erected the structure of our state and national governmental systems.

Assistance to Other Countries

Today, the free nations of the world are engaged in a vital struggle to preserve their independence, the personal liberties of their citizens and their cultural and economic heritage. We of the United States are principal participants in this struggle and our industrial, agricultural, military and moral resources are committed that we and our allies may survive. Many of our friends have a double battle to wage, for not only must they contribute to the total effort but they must at the same time endeavor to achieve that degree of internal well-being, prosperity and security that we have long enjoyed and which provides the moral tone and resource reserves without which no great undertaking can long be sustained. In this second battle we too are also engaged through the provision of economic assistance to our mutual allies and technical aid to help them make the best use of their own and the shared resources.

The problems we face in this program are far more basic than many have realized or have wanted to admit. We are face to face not only with the task of improving the mechanics of resource utilization but also with the greater task of providing assistance in the strengthening of the institutions of government, the institutions through which action must be taken to provide internal development in each country concerned. This does not mean that we are concerned with changing the form of government or in interfering with the sovereignty of other nations. It does mean that we are interested in improving and strengthening the processes of government when other nations by their own decision join with us in the task we have undertaken and request our assistance in making their participation more effective by improving their internal administrative systems and strengthening their governmental institutions.

Some forms of aid are perhaps considered to be beyond the bounds of what our government might with propriety undertake. Our private professional and technical resources, however, need not be thus restrained by the fear of treading upon the tender toes of sovereignty. As political scientists, as practitioners of the art and science of government and administration, we are faced with a challenge that fires the imagination and calls for the best effort that we can possibly put forth.

One problem that has increasingly been brought to the attention of governmental leaders throughout those nations striving for democratic government is the weakness—and in some cases the total absence—of local self-governing political units. National leaders, concerned with programs that impinge upon the lives of individual citizens in local communities, have turned their attention to the small municipalities and the rural districts and in many cases they have found a political vacuum.

Local Governments Important

The significance of this discovery may be grasped in part when one considers the role that our state and municipal governments have played in the administration of national programs over the past 40 years. More perceptive leaders, in noting the absence of vigorous political life at the municipal level, have drawn some conclusions as to why national government has often been weak, unstable and dominated by self-seeking military and economic cliques. Government has been too narrowly based and has lacked the broad foundation provided by active citizen participation in the affairs of the local community in which the majority of people live.

There is today a strong interest in the development of local government in areas that have for centuries known nothing but the total monopoly of governmental affairs by national administrations. This is a new development of major political significance. When the matter has been thoroughly explored, we may well find that we will have come upon at least one of the reasons why so many experiments with novel constitutional systems at the national level have provided an ineffective basis for political democracy in so many countries of the world. On the other hand, the interest may be a passing one, a mere fad that is being transmitted from one country to another. Unless significant steps are taken to prove the worth of local government, to demonstrate that it can effectively participate in and bear some share of the burden of national economic and social development and thus contribute to a stable national political life, the opportunity may be lost.

Our own municipalities have much to contribute at this point. They have a vast reservoir of experience in a great variety of municipal functions. Our cities have developed excellent techniques for the operation of municipal services, including not only those for the protection of life and property and the maintenance of order but also those that provide our common utilities, plan and construct our schools, our streets, our parks and our facilities for recreation. We have developed techniques and processes of municipal organization that have stood the test of time and proven their worth. Unfortunately, important as these things are, they somewhat miss the point. Problems far more basic must be faced and solved before these contributions can be brought to bear effectively in many countries.

First of all, not a great deal is

known about local government in the various sections of the world. That is, data are fragmentary and elusive, making it most difficult if not impossible to compare the status of municipalities in Southeast Asia with that of similar units in the Near East, Southern Europe and Latin America. Conditions that have attended municipal development or that have impeded it may differ greatly among these regions or within a given region. The lack of adequate information makes generalization difficult and hazardous. Two things, however, are clear. In each of the areas mentioned, citizen participation in local civic affairs is extremely limited or virtually nil. In each of the areas there has been recent recognition of the need for action to strengthen local government institutions and inject some life into them. The question is, how?

Approaches to Improvement

The extent of the problem may best be indicated by a brief review of known factors that affect local government in most regions outside North America and certain sections of Western Europe.

Scope of Municipal Functions. In a great number of countries, functions that we have traditionally considered as municipal are the responsibility of national administrative departments. These include police, fire, public education, institutional care and public works functions. Once all the activities related to these functions are removed from local jurisdiction, there is little left to stimulate citizen interest in local government. Frequently, all adjudicatory functions and all electoral administrative activities are assigned to national government agencies, thus reducing still further the scope of municipal operations. Commonly, functions that have remained within the purview of local officials include those of water supply, park maintenance and street cleanliness and sanitation. The issuance of local business licenses is also a frequent municipal activity; it is often the chief source of municipal revenue. These generalizations do not hold true in many of the larger cities and national capitals but they do hold for a vast number of sizeable local units in many countries.

Resources of Municipalities. Local government in many areas is characterized by the absence of local taxing power. Rather, municipalities are authorized to collect and use certain taxes assigned them by the national government. Often, where some taxing power is permitted, it is rigidly limited and subjected to continuous scrutiny by national authorities. Not only must any change in tax base be approved centrally but so must even minor alterations in rate structure. Thus, in final analysis, responsibility remains with the central government and all that remains to the municipal governing body is the power of suggestion.

Any comparison of revenues and disbursements of local authorities as contrasted with those of national governments will usually reveal that municipalities control only a minor proportion of total governmental resources in the majority of countries. The proportion, of course, directly reflects the few functions performed by the local units, but it is also indicative of the fact that these units can do little about increasing their resources to undertake activities considered desirable but not performed by the central administration.

It would seem needless to add that the use of grants-in-aid is most uncommon. Occasionally local resources are supplemented by central government funds, but when such is the case specific uses are indicated and virtually all discretion removed as to use of the grant. It is not a question of using the money for personal services but of using it to pay the salary of a specific official or employee.

Control of Municipal Activities. In many countries, municipal budgets must be reviewed and approved by a central government agency before they may be executed. Thus the local government unit is not even permitted to spend such funds as are available in the manner they might prefer. Further, control is often provided by pre-audit of municipal expenditures by a central government agency or its representative, thereby removing the detail as well as the substance of local fiscal freedom. Many larger cities have avoided such minute control by reason of its being impractical to maintain, but the smaller the unit the tighter the control is apt to become.

All controls are not financial. Review of statutes establishing the system of local government in many jurisdictions reveals that central control officials have adjudicatory authority over the decisions of municipal councils and municipal administrative officers. Not only may decisions be reversed by these central government officials but complaints by citizens against local government officers may be heard by them and fines imposed when, in the view of the central representative, some indiscretion has been committed. In one country, at least, a centrally appointed provincial governor has authority to fine municipal councilmen for not attending sessions of the council. No doubt some will see value in this arrangement but it is hardly a system designed to stimulate interest in serving on the council.

Selection of Local Officials. Most countries provide for at least some elective local officials. These may include a mayor, but there are many examples of systems in which the mayor is centrally appointed even though his salary—if any—is paid from local resources. In some cases there are no local legislative bodies and, in others, such bodies are the first to be dissolved at the first sign of political unrest. Even where municipal legislative organizations are popularly elected and exercise a fair amount of authority, changes in national administrations, particularly when accomplished by other than electoral means, are likely to be accompanied by a clean sweep at local levels.

The Challenge Before Us

Taken singly or together, the conditions indicated present a pretty dismal picture of local government in many parts of the globe. None of the generalizations are wholly applicable in any particular country, but to a considerable degree all are at least partially applicable in most countries outside of North America and parts of Western Europe. Those who seek to strengthen local government have embarked upon an enor-

(Continued on page 45)

Puerto Rico Modernizes Courts

Judicial system provided by new constitution calls for unified setup with chief justice as administrative head.

By A. CECIL SNYDER*

ON July 25, 1952, Puerto Rico emerged from the colonial status which was imposed on it by Spain for four centuries and by the United States for the last half century. Puerto Rico is no longer an involuntary dependency. It is now a commonwealth in a voluntary association with the United States and with complete autonomy over its local affairs.

As a part of this great reform Puerto Rico has been able to overhaul its judicial system. By virtue of a compact between the Congress and the people of Puerto Rico, on July 25 a new constitution, written and approved by the people of Puerto Rico, went into effect. Article V is the judiciary article which we think is one of the best which could be devised.

A new judiciary act, which fills in the details of the broad outline laid down in the judiciary article, was approved by the legislature of Puerto Rico and also went into effect on the same date. In a discussion of the act which appeared in the *Yale Law Journal* for November 1952, Judge Charles E. Clark characterizes the act as "the most complete realization yet known of the ideal of a modern and efficient judicial system."

To appreciate the reforms effected by the new constitution and the new judiciary act, it is necessary to look briefly at what they replaced. As in most states, in the past Puerto Rico has been plagued with a crazy-quilt system of courts. It was difficult and sometimes impossible to tell in which court a case was supposed to be filed and tried. After years of costly litigation, one would be likely to discover that he had sued in the wrong court and would be compelled to start all over again. Or, worse yet, the right to institute a new suit in a different court might be barred by the statute of limitations, with the result that litigants never had a hearing at all in the courts on the merits of their cause. Moreover, under our old system of air-tight compartments, in which each court operated in isolation from all other courts, there was no way to relieve overworked judges by transferring some cases in their courts to judges who had little to do.

The most striking feature of the judiciary article of the constitution is the manner in which it attacks these vexatious problems. Section 2 of article V of the constitution is the basic provision for both these matters. It states: "The courts of Puerto Rico shall constitute a unified judicial system for purposes of jurisdiction, operation and administration." This is supplemented by section 7 of the same article which authorizes the Supreme Court to adopt rules for the administration of the courts and provides that the chief justice shall direct the administration of the courts with the assistance of an administrative director.

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*Justice Snyder is acting chief justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico. He has been an associate justice of that court since 1942. From 1934 to 1942 he was United States Attorney for Puerto Rico. He is chairman of the Bar Examiners for Puerto Rico, has been visiting professor at the School of Law of the University of Puerto Rico and acting United States district judge for Puerto Rico, has arbitrated labor disputes in railway and sugar disputes there, and has served as chairman of industry committees to fix wages in Puerto Rico under the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. This article is Justice Snyder's address before the National Conference on Government, San Antonio, November 17, 1952.

The legislature was quick to carry out the mandate of the new constitution. It accomplished this by establishing for all of Puerto Rico a single court known as the General Court of Justice. This means that henceforth every judicial action must take place in this one court. With one fell swoop Puerto Rico eliminated all the troublesome questions which have harassed the courts and litigants for generations as to which court has what lawyers call "jurisdiction" to try a particular case. In addition, the existence of a single court enables the chief justice to perform effectively his important function of administration of the courts.

Setup of Courts

Creation of the General Court of Justice did not in itself automatically establish a detailed and orderly system of handling judicial business. Within that single court section 1 of the judiciary act places the Supreme Court as the court of last resort; it also creates a trial court known as the Court of First Instance. In turn, the Court of First Instance consists of two divisions, the District Court and the Superior Court. The lowest court—that is, the District Court—is given the power to try most misdemeanors (minor crimes) including traffic cases and civil cases up to $2,500; the Superior Court tries felonies (serious criminal cases), civil cases involving more than $2,500 and all divorce, tax and condemnation cases and probate matters. Perhaps I should state parenthetically, for a better understanding of our system, that all civil cases are tried by a judge without a jury in Puerto Rico and that in criminal cases only felonies are tried before a jury.

This distribution of trial work within the Court of First Instance is not designed to reinstate all the horrors of problems of jurisdiction. Indeed, to revive them would be to violate the constitutional mandate for integration of the courts. The only purpose of this distribution is to lay down some general standards as to what type of cases are usually cognizable in what places and by what judges. The judicial business is thus divided by giving the judges in question "scope of power" over such cases. It is what lawyers sometimes call "venue" as distinguished from "jurisdiction."

But the important thing is that section 10 of the judiciary act makes it clear that this distribution of judicial business between the District and Superior Courts can never be used as an excuse to claim that a particular court does not have jurisdiction over a case tried by it. Judge Clark, in his article, predicts that section 10 is destined to become famous. It provides in substance that every case shall be filed in the appropriate part of the appropriate division of our single General Court of Justice; *but no case shall fail on* *the ground that it was submitted to the wrong part or division.* It may be heard where filed if the parties agree and the judge does not object. If one of the parties objects, or if the judge himself objects, it is not heard where filed. However, instead of being dismissed as formerly, it is simply transferred to the appropriate part or division.

This provision, so far as is known, has no counterpart anywhere else in the United States. Its importance lies in the fact that years later a party cannot, as in the past, make a collateral attack on a judgment on the ground that a trial court had no jurisdiction.

I turn now to the inevitable corollary of an integrated system of courts for purposes of jurisdiction—an integrated system of administration of the courts. As indicated earlier, under the constitution the Supreme Court prescribes the rules of administration for the courts and the chief justice is the administrative head of the entire judicial system. It was both logical and imperative for the constitution to vest the power to write rules of administration in the Supreme Court. The legislature cannot be expected to be familiar with such details; also, as an equal and independent branch of government, the courts should run their own internal affairs without interference by the executive or the legislature. Once the rules are written—which has now been accomplished in Puerto Rico—the chief justice administers the entire judicial system in accordance with them.

The unification of the courts for purposes of administration as provided in the constitution is reinforced by the judiciary act. It requires the chief justice to assign trial judges to conduct sessions of the Court of First Instance, that is to say, the District and Superior Courts. More important, the chief justice may modify such assignments and may make reassignments as the need may arise. This means that he may assign a judge to a different locality or to a different type of case; it also means that he may assign a district judge to a Superior Court or vice versa.

This provision is exceedingly important. With a single court of justice, no trial judge is now a judge solely in some particular location or court. But the greatest virtue of the power of assignment is that overworked judges will get relief from other judges; underworked judges will have their calendars filled out or will be sent to other places to help clear up backlogs of cases.

Effective Weapon

This complete mobility of judicial manpower is the most effective weapon yet devised in the effort to distribute judicial work fairly and to assure rapid and impartial adjudications of cases on their merits.

It must be pointed out, however, that the power of assignment and reassignment by the chief justice will operate effectively only if the chief justice is aided by a modern and efficient Office of Court Administration. In Puerto Rico the post of administrative director was deemed of such importance that it was created in the constitution itself. Under the judiciary article the administrative director is appointed by the chief justice and serves at the latter's will. The act describes in detail the functions of his office. The old and highly undesirable system whereby the housekeeping of the courts was conducted by the attorney general has been eliminated. All problems of personnel, procurement, space, accounting, etc., are now handled for the courts by the Office of Court Administration.

But more important than these matters, the judiciary act and rules of administration require periodic reports from the trial judge. These reports, which will be published, serve two main purposes. In the first place, they will undoubtedly stimulate the trial judges to greater efforts and thereby avoid delays in the disposition of cases. Secondly, they will contain live and meaningful statistics which will enable the administrative director to advise the chief justice as to the necessity of assignments and reassignments to particular places.

Two additional points should be made as to assignment of judges:

First, although it is theoretically possible, we do not contemplate a system whereby trial judges will be continually riding circuit. Obviously, there are many advantages in having a judge try cases in a community of which he is a part. Generally speaking, judges will continue to sit in one locality. They will be moved only occasionally to help in other places or in other types of cases where dockets are temporarily congested.

Second, elimination of all jurisdictional barriers and creation of a single court of justice does not necessarily mean that we shall lose the specialized skills of particular judges. Specialized courts—such as our former Minor Guardianship, Supply Appeals, Tax and Condemnation Courts—have of course been abolished and merged into our one General Court of Justice. But we can and will still have specialized judges through assignment by the chief justice to a specific type of case. Such judges will always be subject to temporary assignment to other places or other types of cases.

The legislature of Puerto Rico has been most conscientious in carrying out the spirit of the constitutional provision that the courts are administered by the chief justice. In the light of the fact that appointments of the court personnel have been traditionally regarded as political patronage, the legislature exercised remarkable restraint in providing in the judiciary act that the chief justice shall appoint and supervise virtually the entire personnel of the court system, including clerks of court and public defenders.

Rules of Procedure

Integration of the courts and administration by the courts themselves is not the whole story. The judiciary article of the constitution supplies other tools for use in the establishment of a modern and efficient judicial system. Section 6 authorizes the Supreme Court to adopt rules of civil and criminal procedure and of evidence. These are submitted to the legislature and go into effect unless disapproved by the legislature. This may not seem like a dramatic reform to laymen, but there are many pitfalls and delays which litigants encounter in the courts by virtue of obsolete and complicated procedure which busy or indifferent legislatures never get around to changing.

The courts are both eager and peculiarly qualified to write their own rules of procedure and evidence. And the elimination of the requirement of affirmative approval by the legislature gives the promulgation and amendment of such rules a greatly needed flexibility. Wherever this method has been tried in federal and state courts it has been enormously successful in cutting down the red tape, costs and delays of litigation. We are actively working on rules in Puerto Rico and are confident that we shall achieve a similarly successful result.

When the judiciary act was being drafted, considerable thought was given to the problem of increasing the dignity, prestige and power of the District Courts, the lowest rung in our hierarchy of courts and the court closest to the people as a whole. One step in this direction as already noted was inclusion of the District Courts in the single General Court of Justice. Another was a substantial increase in salary of the judges. But the most important step—perhaps, next to elimination of the concept of jurisdiction from our judicial system, the most notable improvement effected—was the abolition of trials *de novo* in appeals from the District to the Superior Courts. The previous system of beginning a case all over again in the Superior Court on appeal from the District Court was indefensible and wasteful. Under the new system appeal from the District to the Superior Court is similar to appeal from the Superior to the Supreme Court—that is to say, the appeal is based on the record and is solely on questions of law. Now that their judgments will not be entirely disregarded on appeal, the stature of our District Courts has been greatly enhanced.

Incidentally, an interesting sidelight arose when it was first proposed to make our District Courts courts of record for purposes of appeal. We were faced with the difficulty that we had neither the funds nor personnel to supply the 55 District Courts with stenographers. The judiciary act as introduced provided for appeal based on the trial judge's notes. This was amended on the floor of the legislature to require that mechanical recorders be used in the District Courts to record the proceedings whenever requested. The recordings are used in the Superior Court whenever it is alleged that the judge's notes are incorrect. So far as we have been able to discover, mechanical recorders are not used in any other judicial system. Our District Courts are also unique in that the number of their judges may be expanded from 55 to not more than 90 upon certificate of the chief justice, provided of course funds are available to pay the additional judges.

Terms of Judges

American citizens pride themselves on having governments of laws, and not of men. But the fact remains that constitutions and statutes do not operate automatically—they are only pieces of paper until they are enforced by men. The paper reforms just described would therefore have been meaningless if provision had not been made for a competent, independent and impartial judiciary.

Fortunately, both the judiciary article of the constitution and the judiciary act are more than adequate in this respect. The constitution provides that the justices of the Supreme Court are appointed for life by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. Section 3 of the constitution contains a unique provision. It provides that the number of justices may be changed only by law *upon request of the Supreme Court*. This is, of course, complete protection against packing of the court—or, for that matter, unpacking of the court—by a legislature and executive which might at the moment dislike some decision or decisions of a majority of the court. It is also a graphic example of the interaction of the three branches of government—any change must be initiated by the court, passed by the legislature and signed by the governor.

As provided by statute, the judges of the District and Superior Courts are appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate for terms of eight and twelve years, respectively. It must be confessed that the manner and tenure of these lower court appointments is not so desirable as the Missouri Plan.[1] However, we are hopeful that some day we may by statute adopt the Missouri Plan or something similar. Meanwhile, it is fair to state that the present method of selection of trial judges and their tenure is our traditional system with which the people are familiar and in which they have confidence. Under it we have enjoyed an able and independent judiciary.

Retirement and Removal

There are several other unusual constitutional provisions which are designed to assure an independent judiciary: (1) The legislature is required to establish a retirement system for judges, with retirement compulsory at the age of 70 years; (2) Justices of the Supreme Court may be removed only by impeachment, and judges of the other courts may be removed only by the Supreme Court; (3) No judge may make a financial contribution to a political party, participate in a political campaign or run for office unless he resigns his judicial office six months prior to nomination; (5) Even if a trial court is abolished, the judge sitting in that court serves the remainder of his term, performing such judicial functions as the chief justice may assign to him. At the statutory level, an independent judiciary is also promoted by a salutary provision for a graduated scale of salaries of trial judges based on length of service.

I am sure you are aware by this time that we in Puerto Rico are pretty proud of our revamped judicial system. We think we have on the books constitutional and statutory provisions which will assure litigants rapid trials on the merits rather than on technicalities by an able and independent judiciary. Our hopes are high that our new judicial system will fulfill in action the great promise it shows on paper of a modern and efficient administration of justice.

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[1] See "Choosing Judges in Missouri," by Laurance M. Hyde, the REVIEW, November 1949, page 491.

Tax Rates of American Cities

364 cities of 30,000 and over make report on property taxes; collections continue high, over 96 per cent.

By **CITIZENS RESEARCH COUNCIL OF MICHIGAN***
(Formerly Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research)
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THIS is the 31st annual tabulation of tax rates of American cities. It has been made possible by the continued cooperation of city and county officials, bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce and other organizations in the cities to which questionnaires were sent. The study includes 409 cities of 30,000 population or more on the basis of final 1950 census figures, of which 364 or 89 per cent reported information.

The summary tables found in previous annual tax rate studies have not been included in this year's compilation. The use of average assessed valuations and tax rates is often misleading and the tables are not widely used. For those who wish to make comparisons among various cities the data contained in the master table can be so utilized.

The last column of the master table of former years, entitled "Adjusted Tax Rate on 100 Per Cent Basis of Assessment," has been omitted this year. Many comments have been received to the effect that such a figure is misleading and leads to fallacious comparisons. However, those who desire to calculate the adjusted tax rate can do so by multiplying the actual (unadjusted) tax rate by the "Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value."

The reader is cautioned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to derive the total tax levy of a city because of varying rates on different classes of property, exemption of certain properties and the fact that special district taxes may affect only part of a city.

Tax collections for 1952 in the 334 cities reporting this information were 96.40 per cent, a slight increase over last year's collection of 96.10 per cent, but still under the 96.57 per cent collected in 1950.

The 213 cities which sent estimates of the amount of property exempt from the property tax reported that an average of 18.41 per cent of the total value of real property was exempted.

Current Market Value

Prior to 1950 the questionnaires sent to cities asked for the ratio of assessed valuation to "true value." Subsequently, the ratio of assessed valuation to "current market value" was requested. True value is too often determined on different standards to be accurate. The inflationary conditions since World War II have made it difficult to establish a standard for the determination of true value. Use of current market value provides a common base for the estimates on which the adjusted tax rates can be computed.

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*This article was prepared under the supervision of the Council staff by the Lent D. Upson Fellows in public administration as part of their field training with the Citizens Research Council of Michigan. The compilation and tabulation of the data were done by Glenwood M. Wilson and John O. Allen, assisted by Sheldon L. Hochman, Robert P. Knuth and Lawrence A. Williams.

Tabulation Notes

The following comments should be considered by the reader when examining the tabulation.

The figure reported in the tabulation as the assessed valuation is the total amount of assessment rolls certified for city taxes and includes both realty and personalty. Assessment of those classes of personal property and utilities not taxed at the general city rate are not included in the totals.

All rate figures reported are based on $1,000 of assessed valuation. Many cities reported rates levied by special taxing units such as park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts. These rates have been included under the four general headings with footnotes to give the necessary breakdown and explanation. In this manner the total tax borne by property in a given city is reflected.

The estimated ratio of assessed value to current market value includes both the city and county ratios. In most cases the city and county ratios are identical because either one unit or the other does the assessing. In those cases where the city and county, assessing separately, have different ratios the percentage reported is the weighted average of the two.

The tax rates reported in this study cannot be used as an accurate basis for comparing the governmental cost of one city with another. Tax rates by themselves do not indicate a quantitative or qualitative measure of municipal services. Consideration should also be given to the fact that in recent years many cities have received other forms of substantial income such as income and sales taxes, state aid, etc.

Every attempt has been made to prevent omissions and eliminate errors. It is hoped that any errors found, and such comments as may be thought helpful, will be reported to the Citizens Research Council of Michigan.

(See following pages for tabulation by cities.)

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1952

Compiled by the Citizens Research Council of Michigan from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
	GROUP I										
	Population 1,000,000 or over										
1	New York, N. Y.*	7,891,957	$19,425,499,087	0	32.20	—	—	—	32.20	100	1
2	Chicago, Ill.*‡	3,620,962	8,761,145,359	21	17.44	11.80	3.52	N	32.76	—	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.	2,071,605	3,776,117,135	17	17.00	13.25	N	N	30.25	58	3
4	Los Angeles, Calif.*	1,970,358	2,791,452,080	22	17.55	25.85	21.00	—	64.40	50	4
5	Detroit, Mich.*	1,849,568	4,497,951,930	34	21.38	11.75	6.15	N	39.28	—	5
	GROUP II										
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000										
6	Baltimore, Md.*	949,708	2,600,466,616	34	27.40	N	N	.62	28.03	75	6
7	Cleveland, Ohio	914,808	1,966,543,478	32	17.50	13.50	4.20	.40	35.60	70	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.	856,796	1,361,446,761	16	17.70	10.50	N	.70	28.90	100	8
9	Washington, D. C.*	802,178	2,166,742,496	18	—	—	N	N	21.23	75	9
10	Boston, Mass.	801,444	1,573,516,000	9	47.94	13.09	2.90	2.87	66.80	100	10
11	San Francisco, Calif.*	775,357	1,825,291,170	15	40.46	16.24	—	—	56.70	50	11
12	Pittsburgh, Pa.*	676,806	1,028,813,256	N	23.07	11.75	9.38	—	44.20	54	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.*	637,392	1,338,504,950	25	16.78	14.27	12.75	.32	44.12	63	13
14	Houston, Tex.	596,163	996,527,000	38	20.00	12.00	12.90	4.20	49.10	—	14
15	Buffalo, N. Y.*	580,132	1,006,730,080	N	23.21	7.14	13.64	N	44.00	95	15
16	New Orleans, La.*	570,445	722,208,966	34	21.50	10.00	—	—	31.50	—	16

*=Footnote, indicated by city number.

N=None.

—=Figures or breakdown not available.

‡=Data applies to 1951 tax year.

†=Different assessment ratios were reported for the city and the county. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

¶=The reported estimate is on some base other than current market value.

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[1] **New York, N. Y.** The equalization rates for New York, as per the report of the New York State Tax Commission for 1952-53, are as follows: Manhattan, 100%; The Bronx, 96%; Brooklyn, 98%; Queens, 93%; Richmond, 96%.

[2] **Chicago, Ill.** City rate includes $2.96 park district, $.53 library, $.51 tuberculosis sanitorium, $.68 poor relief, $2.64 sanitary district, and $.40 forest preserve district rates.

[4] **Los Angeles, Calif.** County rate includes $1.89 flood control and $2.80 metropolitan water district rate.

[5] **Detroit, Mich.** City rate includes $.66 library rate. School rate includes $.89 school debt service rate.

[6] **Baltimore, Md.** Approximately 63% of personalty not subject to full rate.

[9] **Washington, D. C.** The total rate is a weighted average of a $21.50 real estate rate and a $20 personal property rate.

[11] **San Francisco, Calif.** Total amount of assessment includes solvent credits. City rate includes undesignated county rate.

[12] **Pittsburgh, Pa.** The city rate is an average millage of the total taxes levied divided by the total assessed valuation.

[13] **Milwaukee, Wis.** City rate includes $.55 metropolitan sewerage rate.

[15] **Buffalo, N. Y.** City rate includes $1.14 sewer authority rate.

[16] **New Orleans, La.** City rate includes $7.00 city debt, $5.00 sewerage and water board, $3.00 fire and police rate, and is levied on only 85% of the assessed valuation. School rate is levied on 100% of assessed valuation.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
17	Minneapolis, Minn.	521,718	Not Reported								17
18	Cincinnati, Ohio‡	503,998	1,175,000,000	27	14.84	11.75	4.31	.40	31.30	35	18
	GROUP III **Population 250,000 to 500,000**										
19	Seattle, Wash.*	467,591	452,763,758	30	21.30	14.50	14.53	2.07	52.40	47	19
20	Kansas City, Mo.	456,622	710,539,183	37	15.00	17.80	6.70	.70	40.20	30	20
21	Newark, N. J.	438,776	694,985,210	19	33.26	27.11	10.23	—	75.60	55	21
22	Dallas, Tex.	434,462	862,957,550	39	19.00	12.30	9.10	4.20	44.60	28	22
23	Indianapolis, Ind.*	427,173	683,755,460	41	20.27	18.60	5.90	1.50	46.27	30	23
24	Denver, Colo.*	415,786	612,187,720	30	20.60	27.10	—	3.86	51.56	35	24
25	San Antonio, Tex.*	408,442	492,144,840	27	20.00	12.80	7.50	7.20	47.50	43	25
26	Memphis, Tenn.	396,000	546,999,139	17	11.50	6.50	10.50	N	28.50	33 1/3	26
27	Oakland, Calif.*	384,575	424,572,590	9	30.21	21.19	21.30	N	72.70	50	27
28	Columbus, Ohio	375,901	610,821,500	21	5.90	12.10	3.60	.40	22.00	41	28
29	Portland, Oreg.*	373,628	608,307,205	—	16.50	22.20	15.20	—	53.90	60	29
30	Louisville, Ky.	369,129	573,318,345	22	15.00	15.00	5.00	.50	35.50	53	30
31	San Diego, Calif.*	334,387	378,503,140	15	19.50	23.10	22.90	N	65.50	40	31
32	Rochester, N. Y.	332,488	602,735,187	N	20.12	11.08	13.72	—	44.92	50	32
33	Atlanta, Ga.	331,314	670,973,235	38	18.00	7.00	22.50	.25	47.75	35	33
34	Birmingham, Ala.	326,037	335,000,000	25	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	34
35	St. Paul, Minn.*	311,349	186,350,310	31	51.89	34.09	29.48	7.14	122.60	15	35
36	Toledo, Ohio	303,616	619,910,800	24	3.45	14.18	2.77	.45	20.85	33	36
37	Jersey City, N. J.*	299,017	484,339,145	13	35.56	23.87	17.07	—	76.50	61	37
38	Fort Worth, Tex.*	278,778	470,979,270	27	19.90	11.00	8.50	4.20	43.60	40	38
39	Akron, Ohio	274,605	483,800,000	24	11.28	17.93	3.34	.40	32.95	35	39
40	Omaha, Neb.*	251,111	371,428,296	40	14.05	22.00	4.10	9.10	49.25	25	40
41	Long Beach, Calif.*	250,767	379,126,901	20	10.96	27.00	21.00	N	58.96	30	41

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[19] **Seattle, Wash.** County rate includes $3.21 port rate.

[23] **Indianapolis, Ind.** City rate includes $.37 township rate.

[24] **Denver, Colo.** City and county are consolidated.

[25] **San Antonio, Tex.** School rate includes $.80 Jr. College rate.

[27] **Oakland, Calif.** City rate includes $3.80 water and sewerage districts rates and $.71 park mosquito abatement and flood control districts rate.

[29] **Portland, Ore.** County rate includes $1.60 port of Portland rate.

[31] **San Diego, Calif.** County rate includes $1.20 county water authority rate.

[35] **St. Paul, Minn.** City rate includes $.48 housing and redevelopment authority rate. County rate includes $.50 metropolitan airport bonds rate. State rate of $7.14 is for non-homestead property; homestead rate is $4.93 on first $1,000 of assessed value.

[37] **Jersey City, N. J.** The estimated ratio of 61% is for residential property only. It is estimated that industrial and commercial buildings are assessed at 53% of current market value.

[38] **Fort Worth, Tex.** City rate includes $3.20 water district rate.

[40] **Omaha, Neb.** City rate includes $.50 metropolitan utilities district rate and the school rate includes municipal university rate of $1.50.

[41] **Long Beach, Calif.** City rate includes $3.64 special levy (library, band and recreation).

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
	GROUP IV .Population 100,000 to 250,000										
42	Miami, Fla.*	249,276	585,253,940	20	22.12	16.90	13.00	N	52.02	100	42
43	Providence, R. I.	248,674	852,610,309	36	29.40	N	N	N	29.40	70	43
44	Honolulu, T. H.	248,340	479,261,822	N	17.31	—	—	—	17.31	60	44
45	Dayton, Ohio*	243,872	552,695,730	27	8.42	15.20	2.88	.30	26.80	45	45
46	Oklahoma City, Okla.*	243,504	193,761,436	34	20.64	34.28	9.38	N	64.30	35	46
47	Richmond, Va.	230,310	548,043,592	17	22.00	N	N	N	22.00	72	47
48	Syracuse, N Y.	220,583	370,130,264	4	28.10	16.91	N	N	45.01	70	48
49	Norfolk, Va.	213,513	274,737,590	20	27.00	—	—	—	27.00	42	49
50	Jacksonville, Fla.	204,517	Not Reported								50
51	Worcester, Mass.	203,486	326,052,550	7	50.80	—	—	—	50.80	70	51
52	Tulsa, Okla.	182,740	Not Reported								52
53	Salt Lake City, Utah*	182,121	217,738,546	N	21.80	26.10	8.90	N	56.80	27	53
54	Des Moines, Iowa*	177,965	195,547,486	50	25.61	43.42	13.41	.48	82.92	33	54
55	Hartford, Conn.	177,397	Not Reported								55
56	Grand Rapids, Mich.	176,515	332,060,490	33	10.11	12.35	4.65	N	27.11	100	56
57	Nashville, Tenn.	174,307	226,230,536	48	18.50	4.50	N	N	23.00	60	57
58	Youngstown, Ohio*	168,330	343,403,800	22	5.40	12.80	3.20	.40	21.80	50	58
59	Wichita, Kan.*	168,279	238,303,720	29	24.10	20.94	15.34	1.62	62.00	18	59
60	New Haven, Conn.	164,443	391,876,488	29	20.98	12.15	.62	N	33.75	75	60
61	Flint, Mich.*	163,143	350,264,990	22	10.00	11.50	6.00	N	27.50	50	61
62	Springfield, Mass.	162,399	309,972,980	10	31.88	18.05	1.93	.14	52.00	—	62
63	Spokane, Wash.	161,721	143,038,118	28	16.50	13.50	10.36	2.24	42.60	25	63
64	Bridgeport, Conn.	158,709	362,805,390	38	35.44	N	.26	N	35.70	100	64
65	Yonkers, N. Y.*	152,798	343,124,000	5	17.20	12.37	6.77	N	36.34	100	65
66	Tacoma, Wash.*	143,673	108,033,333	31	19.65	23.30	23.25	2.23	68.43	20	66
67	Paterson, N. J.	139,336	190,321,460	11	19.09	24.56	9.50	—	53.16	100	67
68	Sacramento, Calif.*	137,572	234,763,220	14	19.90	25.60	22.90	—	68.40	53†	68
69	Albany, N. Y.	134,995	286,294,813	N	21.02	9.46	16.42	—	46.90	90	69

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[42] Miami, Fla. City and school rates are averages. City rate also includes $1.00 flood control rate.

[45] Dayton, Ohio. These rates are not final.

[46] Oklahoma City, Okla. School rate includes a $4.00 rate for separate schools.

[53] Salt Lake City, Utah. City rate includes undesignated metropolitan water and mosquito abatement rates.

[54] Des Moines, Iowa. County rate includes $3.10 county hospital and $.29 county board of education rates.

[58] Youngstown, Ohio. City rate includes $.10 township and $.45 Mahoning Valley sanitary district rates.

[59] Wichita, Kan. City rate includes $4.19 municipal university rate and county rate includes $5.14 county school rate.

[61] Flint, Mich. School rate includes rate of $2.50 for school—capital improvements.

[65] Yonkers, N. Y. City rate includes $6.83 debt service rate (other than water and education).

[66] Tacoma, Wash. County rate includes $3.00 port of Tacoma rate and $10.25 metropolitan park district rate.

[68] Sacramento, Calif. County rate includes $.50 Sacto Yolo mosquito abatement, $.50 Sacto Yolo port district and $.40 American River flood control (land only) rate.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
70	Charlotte, N. C.*	134,042	227,644,135	39	11.68	3.82	N	N	15.50	50	70
71	Gary, Ind.	133,911	180,625,655	49	25.27	26.03	7.40	1.50	60.20	30	71
72	Fort Wayne, Ind.*	133,607	235,000,000	45	21.05	13.85	6.60	1.50	43.00	—	72
73	Austin, Tex.*	132,459	209,942,900	20	18.10	10.20	10.40	4.20	42.90	40	73
74	Chattanooga, Tenn.*	131,041	125,142,350	17	25.80	—	20.00	N	45.80	45	74
75	Erie, Pa.	130,803	157,827,980	0	16.00	17.50	10.00	N	43.50	38	75
76	El Paso, Tex.	130,485	190,000,000	30	17.50	13.20	9.60	4.20	44.50	43	76
77	Kansas City, Kan.	129,553	112,803,946	16	28.94	29.03	13.78	1.71	73.46	24	77
78	Mobile, Ala.	129,009	108,351,996	34	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	20	78
79	Evansville, Ind.*	128,636	170,045,270	29	25.45	17.35	6.30	1.50	50.60	30	79
80	Trenton, N. J.	128,009	174,964,121	18	25.20	27.70	11.90	N	64.80	50	80
81	Shreveport, La.	127,206	191,057,950	35	17.50	12.00	2.00	5.75	37.25	67	81
82	Baton Rouge, La.	125,629	Not Reported								82
83	Scranton, Pa.*	125,536	98,161,300	N	35.91	24.50	9.50	N	69.91	40	83
84	Knoxville, Tenn.	124,769	146,495,955	17	26.40	—	—	—	26.40	60	84
85	Tampa, Fla.*‡	124,681	205,318,842	21	19.90	19.85	16.10	N	55.85	73	85
86	Camden, N. J.	124,555	148,125,447	16	25.86	21.39	15.95	N	63.20	—	86
87	Cambridge, Mass.	120,740	215,708,650	9	52.80	—	—	—	52.80	—	87
88	Savannah, Ga.‡	119,638	104,352,899	26	26.00	15.00	15.00	.25	56.25	45	88
89	Canton, Ohio*	116,912	244,881,830	25	3.90	13.10	2.60	.40	20.00	55	89
90	South Bend, Ind.*	115,911	196,618,410	—	17.83	16.95	7.11	1.50	43.40	33	90
91	Berkeley, Calif.	113,805	138,740,310	18	16.90	26.64	25.86	—	69.40	55†	91
92	Elizabeth, N. J.	112,817	145,041,632	18	29.10	30.40	8.10	—	67.60	100	92
93	Fall River, Mass.	111,963	Not Reported								93
94	Peoria, Ill.	111,856	Not Reported								94
95	Wilmington, Del.	110,356	Not Reported								95
96	Reading, Pa.	109,320	143,885,600	0	14.00	20.00	8.00	N	42.00	47†	96
97	New Bedford, Mass.	109,189	128,855,875	16	52.40	—	—	—	52.40	50	97
98	Corpus Christi, Tex.	108,287	135,536,810	23	20.00	18.00	13.00	7.20	58.20	29†	98
99	Phoenix, Ariz.*	106,818	126,463,452	28	18.50	35.80	9.00	6.90	70.20	25	99
100	Allentown, Pa.	106,756	199,215,000	—	9.00	14.00	7.00	N	30.00	48†	100

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[70] Charlotte, N. C. Tax valuation is for 1951; city rate includes unspecified debt service rate, $.56 park and recreation, and $.23 industrial home rates.

[72] Fort Wayne, Ind. City rate includes $2.00 township rate and $1.70 library rate.

[73] Austin, Tex. County rate includes $2.00 county road rate.

[74] Chattanooga, Tenn. City rate includes undesignated school rate.

[79] Evansville, Ind. City rate includes $1.75 township rate and $4.75 miscellaneous rate.

[83] Scranton, Pa. City rate includes $6.25 institutional district rate. City rate is an equated average of 42.30 mills on land and 21.15 mills on buildings.

[85] Tampa, Fla. Rates shown are averages. County rate includes $.50 port authority rate. Estimated ratio is an average.

[89] Canton, Ohio. City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[90] South Bend, Ind. City rate includes $.70 township rate.

[99] Phoenix, Ariz. Veterans and widows are exempt $2,000 if assessed valuation does not exceed $5,000.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
101	Montgomery, Ala.*	106,525	79,494,152	—	12.50	7.00	7.50	6.50	33.50	30	101
102	Pasadena, Calif.*	104,577	256,693,255	11	10.90	29.07	19.62	N	59.60	55†	102
103	Duluth, Minn.‡	104,511	53,042,725	23	50.33	66.26	37.10	7.14	160.83	25	103
104	Waterbury, Conn.*	104,477	263,065,453	33	22.79	11.14	—	.57	34.50	60	104
105	Somerville, Mass.	102,351	129,972,800	6	55.60	—	—	—	55.60	—	105
106	Little Rock, Ark.	102,218	73,531,352	10	11.80	32.00	5.20	N	49.00	15	106
107	Utica, N. Y.	101,531	156,360,644	N	24.98	14.22	15.24	N	54.44	80	107
	GROUP V **Population 50,000 to 100,000**										
108	Lynn, Mass.	99,788	139,968,850	11	58.60	—	—	—	58.60	—	108
109	Richmond, Calif.*	99,545	97,069,380	26	26.85	36.60	23.79	N	87.24	25	109
110	Lincoln, Neb.	98,884	150,985,306	67	14.30	27.88	4.50	8.65	55.33	50	110
111	Jackson, Miss	98,271	151,407,613	22	13.75	15.00	13.72	2.00	44.47	61†	111
112	Lowell, Mass.	97,249	109,411,900	10	—	—	—	—	—	80	112
113	Albuquerque, N. M.	96,815	74,297,282	—	15.89	7.98	11.02	5.70	40.59	60	113
114	St. Petersburg, Fla.	96,738	258,716,738	7	18.32	13.00	6.34	N	37.66	65	114
115	Madison, Wis.	96,056	264,275,595	19	10.23	14.63	6.90	.24	32.00	78†	115
116	Glendale, Calif.*	95,702	150,040,740	16	10.30	26.57	18.20	—	55.07	50	116
117	San Jose, Calif.*	95,280	144,509,920	24	17.36	29.07	18.14	N	64.57	39	117
118	Dearborn, Mich.	94,994	416,836,050	46	14.78	20.18	6.66	N	41.62	30	118
119	Beaumont, Tex.	94,014	Not Reported								119
120	Rockford, Ill.‡	92,927	329,637,241	33	19.60	—	—	—	19.60	100	120
121	Saginaw, Mich.*	92,918	151,143,035	26	14.44	13.20	6.00	N	33.64	40	121
122	Lansing, Mich.*	92,129	189,903,445	36	18.70	12.88	6.77	N	38.35	80¶	122
123	Roanoke, Va.	91,921	138,960,745	22	27.50	—	—	—	27.50	60	123
124	Schenectady, N. Y.*	91,785	175,877,080	N	21.26	15.45	—	9.53	46.24	100	124
125	Fresno, Calif.*	91,669	115,552,340	19	23.97	29.50	14.70	N	68.17	40	125
126	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	90,872	177,407,840	N	21.52	16.61	10.77	N	48.90	33	126
127	Harrisburg, Pa.	89,544	118,872,960	N	14.50	18.50	9.00	N	42.00	57†	127

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[101] **Montgomery, Ala.** School rate includes $4.00 county-wide rate and $3.00 rate for school districts 1 and 2.

[102] **Pasadena, Calif.** County rate includes $1.89 flood control and $1.43 sanitation district rate.

[104] **Waterbury, Conn.** State rate includes undesignated county rate.

[109] **Richmond, Calif.** City rate includes $2.95 water district rate and $2.13 hospital district rate. The school rate is $1.73 on city and $34.87 on county assessments.

[116] **Glendale, Calif.** County rate includes $1.89 Los Angeles County flood control rate.

[117] **San Jose, Calif.** County rate includes $.48 county flood control district rate. Additional tax on land only of $7.54 for Santa Clara Valley water conservation district.

[121] **Saginaw, Mich.** City rate includes city debt service rate of $3.45 and school rate includes school debt service rate of $4.40. Assessed valuation was raised through equalization by the county board of supervisors to $166,086,890.

[122] **Lansing, Mich.** City rate subject to 3% discount. County and school rates are tentative.

[124] **Schenectady, N. Y.** State rate includes undesignated county rate. Estimated ratio of assessed value to current market value (per cent) is state equalization rate.

[125] **Fresno, Calif.** City rate includes $.57 mosquito abatement rate and $1.70 library rate.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
128	Winston-Salem, N. C.*	87,811	186,841,575	50	19.50	3.50	7.00	—	30.00	30	128
129	Hammond, Ind.*	87,594	123,069,855	N	22.11	29.79	7.40	1.50	60.80	33	129
130	Columbia, S. C.*‡	86,914	39,901,000	43	46.00	41.50	9.00	N	96.50	8	130
131	Huntington, W. Va.	86,353	184,995,480	53	—	—	—	—	—	40	131
132	Waco, Tex.	84,706	117,778,340	33	16.80	15.00	—	—	31.80	36	132
133	Sioux City, Iowa	83,991	6,084,935	13	21.08	32.50	10.87	N	64.95	29†	133
134	Quincy, Mass.	83,835	8,284,363	6	53.80	—	—	—	53.80	—	134
135	Manchester, N. H.*	82,732	125,165,364	27	38.89	—	4.91	—	43.80	75	135
136	East St. Louis, Ill.*‡	82,295	177,473,864	38	13.90	13.80	2.30	N	30.00	100	136
137	Newton, Mass.	81,994	———	—	45.80	N	N	N	45.80	—	137
138	Springfield, Ill.*‡	81,628	230,697,284	19	8.91	11.15	2.46	—	22.52	60	138
139	Pawtucket, R. I.*	81,436	210,254,690	35	21.00	N	N	N	21.00	70	139
140	Binghamton, N. Y.	80,674	122,327,163	N	25.92	16.00	7.48	N	49.40	60	140
141	Lawrence, Mass.	80,536	90,683,900	10	56.00	—	—	—	56.00	—	141
142	Portsmouth, Va.	80,039	60,595,583	7	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	50	142
143	Columbus, Ga.	79,611	Not Reported								143
144	East Orange, N. J.	79,340	124,080,348	9	24.88	21.53	10.39	N	56.80	—	144
145	Topeka, Kan.	78,791	93,587,578	20	24.29	20.19	8.89	1.62	54.99	30	145
146	Burbank, Calif.*	78,577	145,318,910	31	15.30	27.07	18.20	N	60.57	35	146
147	St. Joseph, Mo.‡	78,588	71,287,270	31	18.50	15.60	8.80	.60	43.50	45	147
148	Springfield, Ohio*	78,508	152,613,324	27	4.90	13.90	3.30	.40	22.50	41	148
149	Portland, Me.*	77,634	101,239,650	30	36.83	16.28	1.69	N	54.80	60	149
150	Bayonne, N. J.*	77,203	146,648,106	19	35.27	23.18	17.36	N	75.81	50	150
151	Altoona, Pa.	77,177	87,487,695	N	12.00	18.00	14.00	N	44.00	55†	151
152	Wilkes Barre, Pa.*	76,826	82,912,021	7	17.66	21.00	11.20	N	49.86	—	152
153	Davenport, Iowa	74,599	Not Reported								153
154	Greensboro, N. C.*	74,389	177,912,824	38	16.70	3.70	9.80	—	30.20	85	154
155	Stamford, Conn.*	74,293	255,313,869	24	24.50	13.17	.02	.01	37.70	70	155

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[128] **Winston-Salem, N. C.** City rate includes $4.50 debt service rate.

[129] **Hammond, Ind.** City rate includes $1.72 township, $1.12 library, $2.30 sanitation district rates.

[130] **Columbia, S. C.** City rate includes $.50 hospital rate and $1.50 library rate.

[135] **Manchester, N. H.** City rate includes school rate.

[136] **East St. Louis, Ill.** City rate includes $1.20 township rate, $.76 health district rate, $3.00 levee and sanitary district rate, and $2.30 park district rate.

[138] **Springfield, Ill.** City rate includes $1.30 township rate, $.59 park rate, $.53 sanitary district rate, and $.61 airport rate.

[139] **Pawtucket, R. I.** $21 city rate includes undesignated school rate.

[146] **Burbank, Calif.** County rate includes $1.89 flood control rate.

[148] **Springfield, Ohio.** City rate includes $.03 township rate.

[149] **Portland, Maine.** City rate includes $3.82 debt service rate and $2.67 major capital improvements rate.

[150] **Bayonne, N. J.** The estimated ratio of 50% is for residential property. It is estimated that industrial and commercial buildings are assessed at 62% of current market value.

[152] **Wilkes-Barre, Pa.** County rate includes $3.00 institutional rate.

[154] **Greensboro, N. C.** City rate includes $4.40 debt service rate and $1.70 park and recreation rate.

[155] **Stamford, Conn.** Rate shown is for District A. District B rate is $33.10 and District C rate is $29.30.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
156	Amarillo, Tex.	74,246	204,340,000	21	11.00	12.00	8.00	4.20	35.20	68†	156
157	New Britain, Conn.	73,726	Not Reported								157
158	Pontiac, Mich.	73,681	164,506,395	33	13.80	13.35	5.71	N	32.86	75	158
159	Evanston, Ill.*‡	73,641	228,139,987	11	12.10	13.11	6.70	N	31.91	100	159
160	Charleston, W. Va.	73,501	173,745,030	54	4.97	11.24	3.60	.07	19.88	20	160
161	Troy, N. Y.	72,311	Not Reported								161
162	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	72,296	93,396,266	32	27.39	38.02	9.02	.48	74.91	35	162
163	Mount Vernon, N. Y.*	71,899	160,017,750	N	18.10	18.00	8.70	—	44.80	100	163
164	Lubbock, Tex.	71,747	131,415,985	26	15.00	12.50	—	—	27.50	40	164
165	Santa Monica, Calif.*	71,595	124,460,010	31	21.30	23.63	18.20	N	63.13	45	165
166	Augusta, Ga.	71,508	68,772,213	35	27.00	22.00	15.75	.25	65.00	58†	166
167	Durham, N. C.	71,311	154,243,271	44	18.40	4.10	6.70	—	24.20	40	167
168	Racine, Wis.‡	71,193	135,730,995	—	9.53	17.46	6.91	.40	34.30	45	168
169	Stockton, Calif.	70,853	96,834,085	23	—	—	—	—	—	30	169
170	Macon, Ga.	70,252	71,000,000	34	13.00	14.00	11.25	.25	38.50	50	170
171	Charleston, S. C.‡	70,174	22,970,103	41	62.00	—	—	—	62.00	15	171
172	Lakewood, Ohio‡	68,071	117,952,862	10	10.50	16.80	4.20	.40	31.90	—	172
173	Wichita Falls, Tex.*	68,042	88,000,000	41	19.50	16.90	7.00	4.20	47.60	47†	173
174	Cicero, Ill.*‡	67,544	205,557,351	26	11.08	13.44	3.92	N	30.08	100	174
175	Springfield, Mo.	66,731	60,087,544	32	16.00	N	N	N	16.00	40	175
176	Galveston, Tex.	66,568	Not Reported								176
177	Bethlehem, Pa.*	66,340	89,639,889	13	17.50	17.50	10.00	—	45.00	34†	177
178	Decatur, Ill.*‡	66,229	151,832,270	19	8.68	15.95	.97	N	25.60	70	178
179	Medford, Mass.	66,113	95,845,600	6	52.40	—	—	—	52.40	60	179
180	Chester, Pa.‡	66,039	66,244,228	N	17.70	22.00	4.50	N	44.20	42†	180
181	Raleigh, N. C.	65,679	117,021,503	34	13.50	—	—	—	13.50	50	181
182	Waterloo, Iowa	65,198	106,617,149	37	23.56	28.03	8.31	N	59.90	50	182
183	Clifton, N. J.	64,511	91,523,960	10	14.90	30.00	9.50	N	54.40	75	183
184	Covington, Ky.	64,452	74,514,380	16	17.00	14.90	N	N	31.90	60	184
185	Alameda, Calif.	64,430	43,391,660	19	16.30	2.00	49.80	—	68.10	21†	185
186	Terre Haute, Ind.*	64,214	76,746,320	43	22.75	23.35	9.60	1.50	57.20	40	186

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[159] **Evanston, Ill.** City rate includes $.04 park rate and $3.30 undesignated rate.

[163] **Mt. Vernon, N. Y.** County and state rates combined in county rate.

[165] **Santa Monica, Calif.** City rate includes $2.80 metropolitan water district rate. County rate includes $1.89 county flood control rate.

[173] **Wichita Falls, Tex.** City rate includes $3.50 irrigation district rate and school rate includes $3.90 junior college rate.

[174] **Cicero, Ill.** City rate is total of $8.90 township, $.76 tuberculosis sanatorium, and $1.42 park district (Clyde Park) rates. (Hawthorne park district rate is $1.66). School rate is total of $5.50 high school, $6.74 elementary school, and $1.20 Morton Junior College rates. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate. Total tax rate contains $1.64 undesignated rate.

[177] **Bethlehem, Pa.** The city lies in two counties. The rate listed is for Northampton County; the rate for Lehigh County is $7.00.

[178] **Decatur, Ill.** City rate includes $.65 sanitary, $.84 roads and bridges, $.90 park, $.45 sanatorium, and $1.36 township rates.

[186] **Terre Haute, Ind.** City rate includes $1.70 township rate.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
187	Lancaster, Pa.	63,774	101,941,550	N	9.50	15.50	4.50	—	29.50	50	187
188	Pueblo, Colo.	33,685	Not Reported								188
189	Oak Park, Ill.*‡	63,529	178,173,543	11	12.76	16.12	3.52	—	32.40	69	189
190	Johnstown, Pa.	63,232	73,206,065	0	15.00	19.00	9.00	N	43.00	52†	190
191	San Bernardino, Calif.*	63,058	64,349,890	21	15.40	34.30	20.60	N	70.30	50	191
192	Brockton, Mass.	62,860	82,357,700	10	57.80	—	—	—	57.80	—	192
193	Alexandria, Va.*	61,787	125,000,000	24	26.00	N	N	N	26.00	30¶	193
194	Atlantic City, N. J.	61,657	96,390,343	8	40.90	20.30	16.80	N	78.00	100	194
195	York, Pa.	59,953	122,779,130	0	7.00	13.50	10.00	N	30.50	55†	195
196	Malden, Mass.	59,804	82,372,725	11	57.40	—	—	—	57.40	100	196
197	New Rochelle, N. Y.*	59,725	174,536,035	0	21.20	15.65	—	8.40	45.25	65	197
198	Irvington, N. J.	59,201	Not Reported								198
199	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	59,141	124,113,991	3	9.60	20.40	4.20	.40	34.60	—	199
200	Wheeling, W. Va.	58,891	169,303,325	61	3.93	8.39	3.76	.07	16.15	25	200
201	Muncie, Ind.*	58,479	69,953,585	49	19.20	29.80	4.70	1.50	55.20	33	201
202	Greenville, S. C.*	58,161	21,680,290	53	74.50	42.00	16.00	N	132.50	5	202
203	Hamilton, Ohio	57,951	107,025,020	26	6.08	15.40	2.62	.40	24.50	30	203
204	Kalamazoo, Mich.	57,704	1,279,906	39	10.70	15.21	5.27	—	31.18	—	204
205	Passaic, N. J.	57,702	96,936,395	22	25.73	24.67	9.40	N	59.80	60	205
206	Brookline, Mass.	57,589	159,615,800	5	40.20	—	—	—	40.20	60	206
207	Port Arthur, Tex.	57,530	79,999,960	19	18.00	—	—	—	18.00	40	207
208	Ogden, Utah*‡	57,112	51,536,262	30	19.90	28.18	8.45	6.30	62.83	25	208
209	Gadsden, Ala.*	55,725	44,690,564	—	18.00	4.00	7.50	6.50	36.00	20	209
210	Union City, N. J.*	55,537	65,628,534	11	37.08	25.77	17.33	N	80.18	100	210
211	Lexington, Ky.	55,534	76,017,626	19	16.60	12.00	5.00	.50	34.10	48†	211
212	Cranston, R. I.	55,060	140,463,060	33	28.00	N	N	N	28.00	70	212
213	Holyoke, Mass.	54,661	84,322,010	6	37.82	N	1.87	.31	40.00	—	213
214	Kenosha, Wis.	54,368	93,345,760	13	10.87	22.76	8.97	.40	43.00	49†	214
215	East Chicago, Ind.*	54,263	132,752,090	—	18.47	17.63	7.40	1.50	45.00	40	215

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[189]**Oak Park, Ill.** City rate includes $1.12 park district, $2.64 sanitary district, and $1.48 tuberculosis sanatorium and forest preserve rates.

[191]**San Bernardino, Calif.** County rate includes $1.80 flood control rate.

[193]**Alexandria, Va.** Rate shown is for real estate. Personalty rate is $30 per thousand.

[197]**New Rochelle, N. Y.** County and state rates are combined.

[201]**Muncie, Ind.** City rate includes $.10 township, $1.50 library, and $.50 poor rates. The per cent personalty figure is based on estimated amounts.

[202]**Greenville, S. C.** City rate includes $11 water and sewer rate and $.50 auditorium rate.

[208]**Ogden, Utah.** City rate includes $.90 mosquito abatement and $.50 Weber Basin water conservancy district rates. State levy is for school equalization fund.

[209]**Gadsen, Ala.** City rate includes $8.00 special school rate.

[210]**Union City, N. J.** City, school and county rates are weighted to give composite rates of West Hoboken which has 62% of assessed valuation and of Union District which has 38% of total assessed valuation.

[215]**East Chicago, Ind.** City rate includes $1.72 township, $1.90 sanitary district, and $.85 library rates.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
216	Pittsfield, Mass.	53,348	101,691,305	8	39.12	—	2.52	.36	42.00	45	216
217	Asheville, N. C.	53,000	76,204,325	31	16.10	10.20	9.30	N	35.60	40	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.*	52,735	103,568,600	17	9.66	16.95	9.25	.34	36.21	56	218
219	Sioux Falls, S. D.	52,696	74,188,149	23	21.40	27.87	5.55	N	54.82	85	219
220	Bay City, Mich.*	52,523	70,435,880	28	22.48	12.78	6.33	N	41.59	—	220
221	Orlando, Fla.*♯	52,367	128,776,550	15	16.00	N	N	N	16.00	67	221
222	San Angelo, Tex.	52,093	61,340,850	22	15.50	15.00	—	—	30.50	50	222
223	Laredo, Tex.	51,910	30,192,491	N	24.10	N	N	N	24.10	80	223
224	Joliet, Ill.	51,601	Not Reported								224
225	McKeesport, Pa.	51,502	70,578,560	N	14.00	18.00	9.33	N	41.33	—	225
226	Alhambra, Calif.*	51,359	78,573,590	14	11.66	24.47	19.62	—	55.75	30	226
227	Berwyn, Ill.*♯	51,280	102,563,683	9	10.42	16.08	3.92	N	30.42	100	227
228	Lorain, Ohio*	51,202	157,921,387	36	5.81	11.49	1.90	.40	19.60	80	228
229	South Gate, Calif.	51,116	53,389,550	6	13.25	25.05	18.27	N	56.57	44†	229
230	Jackson, Mich.	51,088	108,327,185	33	10.00	15.31	6.15	N	31.46	50	230
231	Hoboken, N. J.*	50,676	81,161,058	13	41.85	23.45	17.23	N	82.53	50	231
232	Aurora, Ill.*♯	50,576	139,845,281	20	9.36	14.64	1.20	N	25.20	72	232
233	Lima, Ohio	50,211	Not Reported								233
234	Woonsocket, R. I.	50,211	Not Reported								234
	GROUP VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**										
235	Warren, Ohio*	49,856	116,389,192	22	4.90	17.50	2.30	.30	25.00	50	235
236	Elmira, N. Y.	49,716	55,195,557	N	29.62	16.95	13.51	—	60.08	65	236
237	Dubuque, Iowa	49,671	Not Reported								237
238	Norwalk, Conn.*	49,460	119,055,695	24	25.34	15.33	.23	N	40.90	50	238
239	Bloomfield, N. J.	49,307	84,844,949	3	19.40	25.60	10.40	N	55.40	100	239
240	Chicopee, Mass.	49,211	2,713,704	7	51.00	N	N	N	51.00	100	240
241	New Castle, Pa.	48,834	52,271,400	N	12.75	20.00	8.00	—	40.75	60	241
242	Rock Island, Ill.*♯	48,710	120,504,251	29	9.41	11.84	2.90	N	24.15	100	242
243	Battle Creek, Mich.	48,666	128,660,140	33	9.00	13.99	5.00	N	27.99	100	243

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[218] **Green Bay, Wis.** City rate includes $1.62 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[220] **Bay City, Mich.** City rate includes $2.50 sewage disposal rate. School rate includes $4.00 for school buildings.

[221] **Orlando, Fla.** City rate includes $1.00 debt service rate.

[226] **Alhambra, Calif.** County rate includes $1.89 flood control rate and $1.43 sanitation district rate.

[227] **Berwyn, Ill.** City rate includes $.76 township, $2.64 sanitary, $.16 tuberculosis sanitorium, and $.62 park rates. School rate is total of $5.50 high school, $9.38 district ♯98 rates (district ♯100 is $8.30). County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate.

[228] **Lorain, Ohio.** City rate includes $.12 township rate.

[231] **Hoboken, N. J.** The estimated ratio of 50% is for industrial and commercial buildings only.

[232] **Aurora, Ill.** City rate includes $1.15 township, $.78 road and bridge, $.91 park district, $.79 sanitary district, and $.13 forest preserve rates. The $14.64 school rate is for District 129; the rate for District 131 is $12.07.

[235] **Warren, Ohio.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[238] **Norwalk, Conn.** City rate includes $12.54 inner district rate.

[242] **Rock Island, Ill.** City rate includes $1.14 township and $.96 airport authority rates.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
244	Muskegon, Mich.*	48,428	117,581,675	38	11.00	8.90	6.40	N	26.30	50	244
245	Ann Arbor, Mich.*	48,251	68,251,630	23	13.42	19.60	5.76	N	38.78	33	245
246	Compton, Calif.*	47,991	46,147,940	17	21.15	32.78	16.31	N	70.24	15	246
247	Fort Smith, Ark.	47,942	30,352,080	37	10.75	32.00	9.00	N	51.75	17	247
248	Lynchburg, Va.	47,727	77,697,848	17	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	49	248
249	La Crosse, Wis.	47,535	Not Reported								249
250	Haverhill, Mass.	47,280	71,376,500	14	42.80	—	—	—	42.80	—	250
251	Waltham, Mass.	47,187	70,585,300	7	51.40	—	—	—	51.40	58	251
252	Royal Oak, Mich.*	46,898	63,968,420	12	20.00	30.16	10.00	—	60.16	27	252
253	Anderson, Ind.*	46,820	59,526,695	39	21,10	25.20	6.80	1.50	54.60	33	253
254	Riverside, Calif.	46,764	68,809,910	14	1.14	—	—	—	—	50	254
255	Tuscaloosa, Ala.*	46,396	27,861,550	—	10.00	10.00	7.50	3.50	31.00	30	255
256	Highland Park, Mich.	46,393	150,654,200	43	15.00	12.60	—	—	27.60	—	256
257	Miami Beach, Fla.	46,282	328,859,150	14	16.00	—	—	—	16.00	—	257
258	Inglewood, Calif.	46,185	72,162,490	30	12.60	35.73	21.76	N	70.09	35	258
259	Everett, Mass.*	45,982	99,400,850	20	26.44	11.84	2.22	3.10	43.60	50	259
260	Abilene, Tex.	45,570	95,046,800	26	13.00	10.00	11.00	0	34.00	44†	260
261	Santa Ana, Calif.*	45,533	65,069,530	7	22.09	23.50	11.50	N	57.10	50	261
262	Colorado Springs, Colo.‡	45,472	61,147,250	30	16.00	36.53	9.15	3.86	65.54	33	262
263	Tucson, Ariz.	45,454	38,896,831	14	36.22	51.60	11.97	9.00	108.79	55¶	263
264	Council Bluffs, Iowa	45,429	31,974,058	8	26.04	35.76	11.80	—	73.60	30	264
265	Williamsport, Pa.	45,047	32,961,215	N	21.75	22.00	8.00	N	51.75	45†	265
266	Wilmington, N. C.	45,043	Not Reported								266
267	Santa Barbara, Calif.	44,913	90,064,595	6	11.00	—	—	—	11.00	30	267
268	West Hartford, Conn.	44,402	163,183,993	21	26.50	—	—	—	26.50	—	268
269	Arlington, Mass.	44,353	68,084,200	5	56.40	—	—	—	56.40	65	269
270	Elgin, Ill.*‡	44,223	115,694,235	—	7.51	14.22	1.20	—	22.93	—	270
271	North Little Rock, Ark.	44,097	Not Reported								271
272	Meriden, Conn.	44,088	87,211,700	29	34.00	—	—	—	34.00	50	272
273	Montclair, N. J.*	43,927	86,592,934	10	24.84	29.49	10.39	—	64.72	50	273

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[244]Muskegon, Mich. City rate includes $1.00 city debt rate. School rate includes $.30 school debt rate.

[245]Ann Arbor, Mich. Widows of all veterans, disabled veterans, veterans of World War II and Korea, while in service and one year thereafter, have an exemption of $2,000 on the assessed valuation.

[246]Compton, Calif. City rate includes $7.41 unspecified rate.

[252]Royal Oak, Mich. County rate is estimated.

[253]Anderson, Ind. City rate includes $1.00 township and $.70 library rates.

[255]Tuscaloosa, Ala. School rate includes $4.00 county-wide rate and $3.00 state school rate.

[259]Everett, Mass. City rate includes $1.38 undesignated rate.

[261]Santa Ana, Calif. City rate includes $1.00 flood control, $.28 harbor, $.15 mosquito abatement, $.06 cemetery, and $2.80 metropolitan water district rates.

[270]Elgin, Ill. City rate includes $1.79 township rate and $.59 sanitary rate.

[273]Montclair, N. J. The estimated ratio of 50% is for residential property only.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
274	Mansfield, Ohio*	43,564	107,775,800	26	4.80	14.90	2.90	.40	23.00	—	274
275	Pensacola, Fla.	43,479	58,836,366	14	10.31	—	—	—	10.31	60	275
276	White Plains, N. Y.	43,466	153,927,070	4	16.70	18.97	7.63	—	43.30	—	276
277	Jamestown, N. Y.	43,354	62,553,850	0	24.41	19.58	6.96	N	50.95	84¶	277
278	Hamtramck, Mich.	43,355	110,740,280	48	20.00	10.61	6.92	N	37.53	70†	278
279	West Palm Beach, Fla.	43,162	88,918,980	12	30.00	18.00	11.65	N	59.65	50	279
280	Salem, Ore.*	43,140	35,193,572	—	15.01	37.65	23.37	—	76.03	20	280
281	Warwick, R. I.	43,028	82,351,280	23	27.50	—	—	—	27.50	70	281
282	West Allis, Wis.	42,959	113,704,153	36	15.03	12.52	16.92	.40	44.87	47	282
283	Fitchburg, Mass.	42,691	62,117,025	16	—	—	—	—	56.80	100	283
284	Plainfield, N. J.	42,366	69,568,379	12	23.77	30.49	8.44	—	62.70	100¶	284
285	Sheboygan, Wis.	42,365	74,840,510	16	14.26	20.11	9.29	.33	43.99	50	285
286	Newport News, Va.	42,358	69,469,149	25	16.50	16.00	—	—	32.50	40	286
287	Meridian, Miss.	41,893	Not Reported								287
288	Salem, Mass.*	41,880	69,459,330	79	30.97	17.01	3.88	.14	52.00	100	288
289	San Mateo, Calif.*	41,782	119,330,805	8	9.75	—	—	—	9.75	35	289
290	Rome, N. Y.	41,682	37,028,716	0	32.26	22.77	—	19.18	74.21	35	290
291	Vancouver, Wash.*	41,664	13,137,726	—	22.00	17.00	10.00	2.00	51.00	40	291
292	Quincy, Ill.*	41,450	32,412,370	26	8.57	10.59	2.05	N	21.20	39	292
293	Euclid, Ohio	41,396	133,157,726	31	8.50	17.00	4.20	.40	30.10	37	293
294	Perth Amboy, N. J.‡	41,330	59,066,914	16	35.67	24.78	15.65	—	76.10	—	294
295	Lake Charles, La.	41,272	Not Reported								295
296	Oshkosh, Wis.‡	41,084	75,023,375	24	11.88	22.03	4.51	.78	39.20	63	296
297	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	41,023	60,842,205	N	25.07	20.05	5.78	—	50.90	75	297
298	Lewiston, Me.	40,974	1,794,603	22	42.25	N	2.25	N	44.50	50	298
299	Greenwich, Conn.*	40,835	230,141,400	15	26.10	N	N	N	26.10	65	299
300	Zanesville, Ohio	40,517	59,561,566	29	3.90	13.85	2.65	.40	20.80	—	300
301	Taunton, Mass.	40,109	Not Reported								301
302	East Cleveland, Ohio	40,047	65,978,405	11	8.90	16.30	4.20	.40	29.80	39	302
303	High Point, N. C.	39,973	87,517,509	41	14.43	8.76	4.26	—	27.45	85¶	303
304	Kearny, N. J.*	39,952	82,180,085	18	15.14	20.11	17.36	—	52.61	40	304
305	University City, Mo.	39,892	60,706,730	19	11.00	23.40	9.90	.70	45.00	25	305

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[274] Mansfield, Ohio. City rate includes $.13 township rate.

[280] Salem, Ore. The city lies in two counties and the figures shown are weighted averages of the two separate county rates.

[288] Salem, Mass. City rate includes $.85 sewerage and $1.21 overlay rates.

[289] San Mateo, Calif. City rate includes $.48 bond levy.

[291] Vancouver, Wash. City rate includes $2.00 port rate.

[292] Quincy, Ill. City rate includes $1.30 township rate.

[299] Greenwich, Conn. City rate includes $1.20 sewer district rate which applies only to property connected to the sewer system.

[304] Kearny, N. J. The estimated ratio of 40% is for residential land and buildings only.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
306	Champaign, Ill.*	39,563	96,407,471	N	8.41	11.82	1.37	N	21.60	60	306
307	Richmond, Ind.*	39,539	57,763,565	42	15.30	22.80	6.60	1.50	46.20	33	307
308	Great Falls, Mont.	39,214	21,152,572	—	49.10	53.17	23.20	7.50	132.97	60	308
309	Tyler, Tex.	38,968	66,289,054	31	15.39	14.41	11.40	4.20	45.40	38†	309
310	Waukegan, Ill.	38,946	Not Reported								310
311	Chelsea, Mass.	38,912	46,235,550	10	63.00	—	—	—	63.00	—	311
312	New Brunswick, N. J.	38,811	48,903,382	15	25.00	27.30	16.90	N	69.20	34	312
313	Joplin, Mo.*	38,711	32,117,722	39	22.70	30.70	4.50	.70	58.60	25	313
314	Kokomo, Ind.*	38,672	51,622,240	49	17.50	24.70	7.70	1.50	51.40	57†	314
315	Monroe, La.*	38,572	35,904,372	39	23.50	9.00	—	—	32.50	40	315
316	Yakima, Wash.	38,486	Not Reported								316
317	Fargo, N. D.*	38,256	53,553,554	28	19.30	16.71	15.38	3.03	54.42	29†	317
318	Norristown, Pa.*	38,126	24,597,175	N	26.00	30.50	1.50	N	58.00	50	318
319	Orange, N. J.	38,037	49,553,403	14	26.94	25.62	10.44	—	63.00	—	319
320	Danville, Ill.*‡	37,864	83,223,865	25	12.70	15.00	1.70	—	29.40	100	320
321	West New York, N. J.	37,683	48,624,122	11	35.86	30.02	17.30	—	83.18	60	321
322	Cumberland, Md.	37,679	69,423,990	28	12.80	7.66	10.54	.63	31.69	60	322
323	Newport, R. I.	37,564	88,606,600	38	29.50	N	N	N	29.50	50	323
324	Biloxi, Miss.	37,425	Not Reported								324
325	Moline, Ill.*	37,397	104,538,325	25	8.85	13.20	2.90	—	24.95	67	325
326	Watertown, Mass.	37,329	3,077,262	6	—	—	—	—	46.40	100	326
327	Muskogee, Okla.	37,289	Not Reported								327
328	Pinebluff, Ark.	37,162	Not Reported								328
329	Independence, Mo.	36,963	32,371,930	30	13.50	24.50	7.70	.70	46.40	50	329
330	Wyandotte, Mich.	36,846	Not Reported								330
331	Portsmouth, Ohio	36,798	69,837,830	17	11.08	11.43	2.89	.40	25.80	50	331
332	Spartanburg, S. C.*	36,795	14,379,935	52	61.00	49.00	21.00	—	131.00	10	332
333	Revere, Mass.	36,763	56,149,600	7	56.80	—	—	—	56.80	—	333
334	Auburn, N. Y.	36,722	56,006,035	N	23.37	13.17	7.14	—	43.68	—	334
335	Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	36,328	Not Reported								335
336	Hagerstown, Md.	36,260	70,500,000	33	5.00	N	15.00	.06	20.06	60	336
337	Brownsville, Tex.	36,066	Not Reported								337

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[306] **Champaign, Ill.** City rate includes $1.18 township, $.15 park district, $.98 sewer, $.16 storm drain, and $.30 public health rates.

[307] **Richmond, Ind.** City rate includes $2.55 township rate.

[313] **Joplin, Mo.** City rate includes $3.50 special roads rate.

[314] **Kokomo, Ind.** County rate includes $.30 township and $1.20 poor relief rates.

[315] **Monroe, La.** City rate includes $16.50 bond taxes.

[317] **Fargo, N. D.** City rate includes $2.13 city parks rate.

[318] **Norristown, Pa.** City rate includes $5.00 flat per capita school tax and $5.00 flat per capita borough tax.

[320] **Danville, Ill.** City rate includes $2.60 township, $.70 airport, and $.90 sanitary district rates.

[325] **Moline, Ill.** City rate includes $.79 township and $1.52 undesignated rates.

[332] **Spartanburg, S. C.** City rate includes $1.00 library rate and $5.00 metropolitan disposal rate. School rate includes $9.00 rate for retiring bonds.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
338	Eau Claire, Wis.‡	36,058	69,119,515	13	9.32	18.69	9.47	.32	37.80	63	338
339	Enid, Okla.	36,017	24,322,725	12	15.38	30.65	6.87	N	52.90	27	339
340	Bristol, Conn.	35,961	92,173,620	39	33.75	—	—	—	33.75	50	340
341	Eugene, Ore.	35,879	37,077,120	—	19.50	47.10	7.80	—	74.40	20	341
342	Steubenville, Ohio*	35,872	74,431,280	22	7.70	11.25	2.25	.40	21.60	40	342
343	East Providence, R. I.	35,871	95,477,051	30	23.90	N	N	—	23.90	80	343
344	Port Huron, Mich.	35,725	52,859,310	21	15.00	18.98	8.65	—	42.63	40	344
345	Elkhart, Ind.*	35,646	60,492,500	33	20.30	23.40	4.40	1.50	49.60	33	345
346	Lafayette, Ind.‡	35,568	44,326,455	37	14.40	21.40	4.70	1.50	42.00	33	346
347	Hazleton, Pa.*	35,491	28,348,873	3	22.50	27.00	8.20	4.00	61.70	60	347
348	Pomona, Calif.*	35,405	41,613,020	16	24.38	31.00	16.31	—	71.70	33	348
349	Easton, Pa.	35,362	41,716,737	N	15.00	18.50	10.00	N	43.50	45†	349
350	Superior, Wis.	35,325	47,983,537	19	10.44	24.62	19.25	.29	54.60	69	350
351	Danville, Va.*	35,066	107,536,445	16	13.21	—	N	N	13.21	80	351
352	Petersburg, Va.	35,054	44,126,125	23	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	50	352
353	Norwood, Ohio*	35,001	85,275,910	34	6.40	17.50	2.60	.40	26.90	42	353
354	Alexandria, La.	34,913	Not Reported								354
355	Bakersfield, Calif.	34,784	92,124,990	22	17.60	—	—	—	17.60	33	355
356	Lawton, Okla.	34,757	Not Reported								356
357	Fayetteville, N. C.	34,715	34,640,892	32	12.00	10.80	7.80	—	30.60	40	357
358	Nashua, N. H.	34,669	51,396,808	37	42.26	.13	5.21	—	47.60	—	358
359	Irondequoit, N. Y.	34,417	49,404,311	N	5.80	—	9.98	—	15.78	82	359
360	Boise, Idaho*	34,393	30,806,937	—	44.49	37.00	17.30	3.55	102.34	20	360
361	Watertown, N. Y.	34,350	52,028,975	N	18.50	19.00	16.70	—	54.20	90	361
362	Newark, Ohio*	34,275	49,548,560	22	3.55	16.85	3.20	.40	24.00	—	362
363	Bloomington, Ill.*‡	34,163	96,173,059	—	8.04	12.64	2.23	—	22.91	—	363
364	Manchester, Conn.*‡	34,116	87,892,861	30	32.50	—	—	—	32.50	50	364
365	Bellingham, Wash.*‡	34,112	22,950,497	—	17.00	12.00	10.00	2.00	41.00	20	365
366	Appleton, Wis.‡	34,010	77,576,675	17	7.69	14.54	7.42	.35	30.00	62	366
367	Everett, Wash.*	33,849	23,052,318	32	21.25	25.00	10.60	2.50	59.35	50	367
368	Marion, Ohio*	33,817	—	—	5.02	20.48	3.10	.40	29.00	45	368

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[342] **Steubenville, Ohio.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[345] **Elkhart, Ind.** City rate includes $1.60 township and $1.00 library rates.

[347] **Hazleton, Pa.** City rate includes $3.00 institutional rate.

[349] **Pomona, Calif.** City rate includes $1.89 flood, $5.40 metropolitan water, and $.29 sanitation district rates.

[351] **Danville, Va.** The $13.21 city rate is a weighted average of an $11 real estate rate and a $25 personal property rate.

[353] **Norwood, Ohio.** City rate includes $.20 township rate.

[360] **Boise City, Ida.** City rate includes $4.75 junior college district rate.

[362] **Newark, Ohio.** City rate includes $.05 township rate.

[363] **Bloomington, Ill.** City rates includes $1.27 township and $.94 sanitary rate.

[364] **Manchester, Conn.** City rate includes $2.50 special district rate.

[365] **Bellingham, Wash.** City rate includes $2.00 township rate.

[367] **Everett, Wash.** City rate includes $3.00 port rate.

[368] **Marion, Ohio.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
369	Middletown, Ohio	33,695	92,747,936	37	7.14	11.46	2.62	.40	21.62	35	369
370	Owensboro, Ky.	33,651	33,841,926	35	13.00	19.10	5.00	.50	37.60	29†	370
371	Ottumwa, Iowa	33,631	36,057,933	20	26.71	41.90	13.14	.48	82.23	33	371
372	Hutchinson, Kan.*	33,575	56,395,729	23	18.45	25.35	11.18	1.62	56.60	33	372
373	Lafayette, La.	33,541	Not Reported								373
374	Stratford, Conn.	33,428	64,087,535	28	41.70	—	—	N	41.70	45	374
375	Butte, Mont.	33,251	17,640,770	—	40.68	40.44	33.46	7.50	122.08	60	375
376	Wauwatosa, Wis.*‡	33,324	66,378,230	4	9.81	18.40	16.14	.40	44.75	50	376
377	Burlington, Vt.	33,155	47,639,625	14	24.15	12.00	.25	N	36.40	60	377
378	Mishawaka, Ind.*‡	32,913	37,636,200	44	14.24	21.40	7.11	1.50	44.25	30	378
379	Paducah, Ky.*	32,828	30,528,485	36	18.60	20.00	N	N	38.60	22	379
380	Belleville, Ill.*‡	32,721	79,729,235	34	6.20	39.50	—	.70	48.70	—	380
381	Weymouth, Mass.	32,690	82,029,475	23	38.80	—	—	—	38.80	100	381
382	Reno, Nev.*	32,497	62,593,972	17	11.16	12.00	19.50	6.90	50.00	100	382
383	Alton, Ill.*‡	32,550	89,497,103	—	5.07	11.17	1.16	—	17.40	—	383
384	Amsterdam, N. Y.	32,240	27,715,016	—	35.39	33.83	—	22.99	92.21	65	384
385	Belleville, N. J.*	32,019	49,951,928	14	22.48	29.69	10.41	—	62.58	39	385
386	Clarksburg, W. Va.	32,014	Not Reported								386
387	West Haven, Conn.*	32,010	74,118,166	20	30.50	3.00	N	N	33.50	80	387
388	Columbia, Mo.	31,974	17,971,455	23	12.50	23.50	10.80	.70	47.50	35	388
389	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,956	51,372,961	—	18.72	15.50	4.72	.12	39.06	60	389
390	Cheyenne, Wyo.‡	31,935	33,956,440	37	9.16	19.26	11.31	7.50	47.23	20	390
391	Billings, Mont.	31,834	22,150,000	—	37.90	34.50	17.80	7.50	97.70	60	391
392	Bangor, Me.	31,558	38,077,270	24	53.00	—	—	—	53.00	35	392
393	Galesburg, Ill.*‡	31,425	80.062,250	19	8.12	12.14	1.54	N	21.80	100	393
394	Wilkinsburg, Pa.‡	31,418	42,930,740	N	15.00	18.00	8.88	—	41.88	52	394
395	Albany, Ga.	31,155	41,984,366	32	9.50	N	N	N	9.50	40	395
396	Ashland, Ky.	31,131	38,013,737	24	11.40	17.40	—	—	28.80	25	396
397	Anniston, Ala.	31,066	21,919,377	—	10.00	5.00	19.50	6.50	41.00	28	397
398	Newport, Ky.*	31,044	30,948,950	5	18.20	14.20	6.30	.50	39.20	65†	398
399	Lakeland, Fla.*	30,851	56,598,740	9	14.50	—	—	—	14.50	70	399

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[372] Hutchinson, Kan. City rate includes $1.25 library rates.

[376] Wauwatosa, Wis. City rate includes $.71 metropolitan sewerage district rate.

[378] Mishawaka, Ind. City rate includes $1.00 township and $1.00 library rates.

[379] Paducah, Ky. City rate includes $.55 public library, $2.90 bond interest, $.50 police and fireman pension fund. $.30 appointive employee pension fund, and $.70 Carnegie Library rates.

[380] Belleville, Ill. School rate includes $4.60 high school rate. Total tax rate includes $2.30 undesignated rate.

[382] Reno, Nev. County rate includes $.70 school rate.

[383] Alton, Ill. City rate includes $1.30 township and $.30 airport rates.

[385] Belleville, N. J. The estimated ratio of 39% is for residential property only.

[387] West Haven, Conn. City rate includes $3.00 fire district rate.

[393] Galesburg, Ill. City rate includes $1.02 township and $1.32 sanitary district rates.

[398] Newport, Ky. City rate includes $.60 court house rate.

[399] Lakeland, Fla. City rate includes $7.50 debt service rate.

	City	Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	
					City	School	County	State	Total		
400	Linden, N. J.	30,644	89,289,209	24	20.70	20.30	8.50	—	49.50	100	400
401	Burlington, Iowa	30,613	24,071,019	24	27.18	37.09	13.15	—	77.42	—	401
402	New London, Conn.	30,551	59,943,994	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	402
403	Fairfield, Conn.‡	30,489	85,926,095	26	36.40	—	—	—	36.40	40	403
404	Wausau, Wis.‡	30,414	91,705,165	—	9.67	10.50	6.34	.19	26.70	95	404
405	Clinton, Iowa	30,379	Not Reported								405
406	Elyria, Ohio	30,307	72,588,762	33	8.06	15.64	1.90	.40	26.00	50	406
407	Daytona Beach, Fla.*	30,187	55,958,555	20	31.28	—	—	—	31.28	—	407
408	Jackson, Tenn.	30,207	21,900,448	5	23.20	—	—	—	23.20	30	408
409	Marion, Ind.*	30,081	24,369,680	43	21.50	25.60	8.00	1.50	56.60	30	409

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[407] Daytona Beach, Fla. City rate includes $6.28 debt retirement rate.

[409] Marion, Ind. City rate includes $1.30 township rate and $1.20 library rate.

STATE NOTES

Alabama. Homestead exemption: first $2,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state levy only.

Arkansas. Homestead exemption: first $2,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state levy only.

Florida. Homestead exemption: first $5,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except assessments for special benefits.

Georgia. Homestead exemption: first $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state, county and school taxes except for taxes to pay interest on and retire bonded indebtedness.

Illinois. Capital stock and railroad valuations are determined by the Illinois Department of Revenue.

Indiana. Mortgage exemption: mortgaged real estate is subject to $1,000 exemption on its assessed value.

Iowa. Homestead exemption: credit of 25 mills (per dollar) is allowed up to $2,500 valuation.

Louisiana. Homestead exemption: $2,000 general exemption on owner-occupied residential property in Orleans Parish. Exemptions from state, parish and special taxes, not including municipal or city taxes, in the rest of the state.

Minnesota. There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40%, except for first $4,000 of homesteads assessed at 25%; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3%, except for first $4,000 of homesteads at 20%; iron ore at 50%; and personalty in six classes at 10%, 15%, 20%, 25%, 33 1/3% and 40%. The first $4,000 true value of homesteads is further exempt from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to enactment of the law.

Missouri. Intangible personal property is assessed and the tax thereon collected by the state. Railroads and other utilities are also state assessed but are payable to the county collector.

New Hampshire. Veterans exemption: $1,000 of assessed valuation of homestead is exempt if total taxable assets do not exceed $5,000 for anyone having served 90 days or more in the armed forces.

New Jersey. Household exemption is $100.

Montana. State classified property tax law levies are extended against taxable valuation of property rather than against assessed valuation thereof. Figures given represent taxable valuations which average 30% of the assessed valuation. While assessed valuation by statute supposedly represents the full and true value, in practice such assessed valuation probably represents not more taxes to assessed value of $500.

Oklahoma. Homestead exemption, first $1,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from tax rates of all units.

Texas. Homestead exemption: first $3,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state property tax only.

Utah. Household exemption: $300 maximum exemption is allowed on owner-used household furnishings.

West Virginia. Property is divided into four classes: Class I, all intangible personalty; Class II, owner-occupied residences; Class III, all other property outside municipalities; and Class IV, all other property within municipalities. No municipal rates may be laid against Class III property. Each class has a maximum tax rate for all purposes. The maximum rates on $1,000 assessed valuation are: Class I, $5; Class II, $10; Class III, $15; and Class IV, $20.

Wyoming. Homestead exemption: exemption is allowed from all taxes to assessed value of $500.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Greater Responsibility Suggested for Governor

Reorganization Committees Report to 1953 Legislatures

REORGANIZATION committees in two western states, Montana and Washington, have recommended to their legislatures an increased degree of administrative control by the governor.

Montana

The Montana Interim Legislative Committee on State Governmental Reorganization, which has been making studies over a two-year period, is sending recommendations to the legislature which emphasize the need of strengthening the governor's position in state administration. These recommendations could be put into effect by legislative enactments.

At present the State Board of Examiners, consisting of the governor, the attorney general and the secretary of state, has various powers which the committee would transfer to the governor alone. As reported in the press, these would include: Advertising and awarding of all contracts except for highways, employment of architects and issuance of bonds for buildings and improvements at University of Montana units, approval of action by the controller as to printing contracts and purchase of automobiles and other equipment, approval of printing of official reports, permission for exchange of commodities among state institutions, authority to establish contingent revolving accounts in state institutions or departments, authority to permit state institutions to retain certain income and funds under prescribed conditions, authority to permit emergency expenditures in excess of appropriations. The last-mentioned power would involve approval by the legislative council, a body recommended in a prior report.

Additional powers of fiscal control to be given to the governor include approval of proposed expenditures of federal aid funds, approval of transfer of allotted money between major budget classifications within departments, the requirement of quarterly allotments for specific departments, and authorization for the reserving of a part of appropriated funds if revenues are insufficient.

The governor would also be authorized to appoint a personnel commission.

Washington

The Committee on State Government Organization, appointed in 1951 by the governor and legislative council, recommends establishment of an office of administration under a director to be appointed by the governor. As reported by the Washington State Taxpayers Association, its jurisdiction would include the financial affairs of state agencies, other than the legislature and judiciary. The functions of the budget director would be transferred to it, as would also the prepayment audit of vouchers and the disbursal and accounting activities of the elective state auditor. Election of the latter would be on a nonpartisan basis as at present. He would retain the duty of an independent post-audit.

The functions of the supervisors and divisions of purchasing, capitol buildings and grounds, and archives would be transferred from the Department of Public Institutions.

Provision would be made for more

adequate planning, review and reporting of the state's special and local funds. The director of administration would have the responsibility to investigate the need for these funds and report his recommendations to the governor and the legislature by July 1, 1954. Reports of the financial condition of the funds would be required at least every six months.

The fiscal year for all state agencies would begin on July 1 instead of April 1, to conform to practices of the federal government and most of the states.

The development of performance budgeting through cost accounting is recommended. An advisory committee of interested citizens would be established to advise and assist the new department in setting up the required procedures.

Streamlined Procedure Sought for Illinois Legislature

The Illinois Legislative Council has issued a report on the "end-of-the-session rush" problem and methods of facilitating legislative procedure, according to the Council of State Governments. Suggestions for dealing with late introduction of bills include presession filing and printing of bills, early introduction of departmental bills, informal introduction by deposit in a bill box to save floor time, and a deadline after which bills ordinarily will not be printed.

Relative to committee operations, the report suggests presession conferences for each chamber to facilitate early organization, deadlines on committee reports and joint hearings on bills, at least when desired by corresponding committees of the two houses.

To facilitate expeditious voting in the houses the report suggests an "uncontested bills" calendar for noncontroversial measures, a calendar for bills affecting state and local governmental agencies, other special calendars to encourage early introduction and consideration of bills, and a series of deadlines fixed at the beginning of the session as an over-all schedule of legislative activity.

Other suggestions deal with annual sessions, adoption of a home rule policy to eliminate many local bills and measures to enable the legislature to review vetoes, most of which are written after final adjournment.

Missouri Plan Urged for New York Judges

Renewed proof of the power of political bosses and party organizations in the selection of judges in New York City, and the consequent "bartering of judgeships," has resulted from the State Crime Commission hearings in that city and has given emphasis to efforts for a better method of choosing judges.

State Senator Thomas C. Desmond, of Newburgh, New York, has announced he will introduce in the legislature this month a proposed constitutional amendment calling for an adaptation of the so-called Missouri Plan for selection of judges, to apply throughout the state. He stated its purpose: "To eliminate the anti-American corruptionist spoils system which dominates the courts." A seven-member judicial commission from each judicial district would give the governor the names of three nominees, to fill a vacancy, one of whom must be appointed. The designated judge would then be required, after a year on the bench, to submit his name to the voters of his district for confirmation or rejection, with no party emblem and against no opposing candidate. If he is rejected by the voters, three more names would be submitted by the commission to the governor, who would appoint a successor to serve for a year and then run for approval or rejection as in the first instance.

The commission in each district would consist of three resident lawyers, three non-lawyer citizens appointed by the governor and a justice of the Appellate Division, also selected by the governor.

Somewhat earlier the committee on law reform of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York recommended a version of the Missouri Plan, to be the subject of a constitutional amendment. The nominating commission for each judicial district would consist of the presiding justice of the Appellate Division, two non-lawyer district residents appointed by the governor, of different political parties from each other, and two members of the bar in the district, to be appointed by the Court of Appeals (instead of being elected by members of the bar, as in the Missouri Plan). The committee characterized the present system as one where "a political boss bestows the nomination on the basis of his conception of the candidate's (1) service to the party, (2) popularity with party workers, (3) servility to the boss, (4) appeal to supposedly cohesive racial, national or pressure groups in the electorate."

As reported by the American Judicature Society, a committee of the Bar Association of Wisconsin is studying the Missouri Plan for possible use in that state.

Kentucky Has New Division of Services

In order to centralize services to Kentucky state agencies, previously rendered by several divisions, Governor Wetherby by executive order established late last year a division of services in the finance department. Its largest section will be charged with the custody and maintenance of buildings. It will provide mail and messenger service for state offices, offset printing for those not having their own equipment for such work, and a central store to sell office supplies to state agencies.

Federal Old-age Insurance for Arizona State Employees

Arizona has entered into a contract with the Federal Security Agency which extends the coverage of the federal old-age and survivors' insurance program to approximately 5,500 state employees. Coverage is retroactive to January 1, 1951. The contract does not provide coverage of the staffs of the state institutions of higher learning and the school for the deaf and blind. The federal program replaces the state employees' retirement act adopted as an initiative in 1948 but never put in force by the state legislature.[1] In the recent November election the voters endorsed a referendum which repealed the retirement act. A number of legislators, in their campaign for reelection, pledged support for the federal program.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Helena, capital city of Montana, (1950 population 17,581), voted 3,297 to 1,471 at a special election on November 25 to adopt the council-manager plan. Heretofore, for 37 years, it has been under the commission plan, with three commissioners. There will now be a council of five who will appoint a city manager. Opponents of the change tried to block the election, claiming that the question could be submitted only at a general election; but on November 24 the State

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1952, page 305.

Supreme Court ruled that the election could be held. Helena is the second Montana city to adopt the plan. Bozeman has had it since 1921.

The International City Managers' Association has placed the village of **Scarsdale, New York,** (13,156) on its official list of council-manager communities. The Scarsdale manager operates under a local ordinance.

The city council of **San Marino, California,** (11,230) suburb of Pasadena, has engaged a city manager.

Pikeville, Kentucky, (5,154) adopted the council-manager plan on November 4 by a vote of four to one. The new plan will go into effect January 1, 1954.

Springfield, Michigan, a new suburb of Battle Creek, with about 3,000 population and an assessed valuation of some $12,000,000, voted 243 to 79 on December 1 to adopt a newly drafted council-manager charter. It went into effect on December 29.

Newtown Township, Pennsylvania, (2,095) has been placed on the official list of council-manager communities by the International City Managers' Association. It adopted the plan by ordinance in 1951.

Hamilton Lakes, North Carolina, (1,000) has recently appointed a manager under an optional provision of its 1927 charter.

In the second largest town meeting in its history, the town of **Wethersfield, Connecticut,** voted 880 to 470 to send its proposed council-manager charter to the legislature for approval.

Boonton, New Jersey, voted on November 4 against adoption of the council-manager plan.

In **Daytona Beach, Florida,** which adopted the plan in 1922, a primary election on November 25 resulted in selection of a prospective council having a majority of three favoring an improved and strictly professional administration of the manager plan.

The council of **Hallandale, Florida,** has voted unanimously to place adoption of the council-manager plan on the ballot.

In **Cleveland Heights, Ohio,** a manager municipality since 1922, a proposal to change from election of the council at large to election by wards was defeated, 7,919 to 16,635.

Herrin, Illinois, voted on November 25 against a proposed manager plan, 2,484 to 1,012.

Petitions have been filed in **Macon, Missouri,** calling for a vote on adoption of the manager plan.

In **Concordia, Kansas,** where the council-manager plan was adopted in 1948 and went into effect in April 1949, petitions to call an election on the question of retention have been circulated.

The advantages of the council-manager plan were presented to the Webster County Council for Community Planning, at **Fort Dodge, Iowa,** on October 22 by Professor Joseph Soshnik, director of the Creighton University Department of Management.

In **Grand Prairie, Texas,** the *Texan* has commented editorially as to the need of a trained manager as municipal administrator.

The council-manager plan is recommended for **Laguna Beach, California,** in a survey made recently by Louis J. Kroeger and Associates. Another recommendation of the survey is for appointment of a citizens committee to prepare a charter for submission to the voters.

Voters of **Anacortes, Washington,** on December 2 voted 846 to 676 against adoption of the council-manager plan.

New Cities Turned Down in Pennsylvania

Two attempts to create new cities were turned down by the voters of Pennsylvania communities.

One proposal would have created a new city of the third class, New Allegheny, by a merger of two boroughs and a township in Allegheny County. It was rejected by the voters of Harrison Township, 3,576 to 3,014. Both the boroughs involved, Tarentum and Brackenridge, favored the consolidation. A merger cannot be accomplished, however, unless a majority of voters in each municipality involved favors the proposal.

A proposal to create a third class city of Penn Township, now a first class township, was defeated 11,326 to 2,480.

David L. Cowell
Institute of Local Government
Pennsylvania State College

Joint Development Council Formed in Hartford Area

Fifteen cities and towns in the Hartford, Connecticut, metropolitan area have formed a voluntary metropolitan area development council. It proposes to make plans and recommendations for the development of the area, and enter into an active campaign to secure adoption of its program.

Membership on the council is limited to four representatives from each town or city in the area. One of these must be the mayor, president of the town council or first selectman, who appoints the other three.

The constitution of the council provides that it may receive grants or donations from municipalities or from private individuals.

Four Charter Commissions Authorized in New Jersey

Five New Jersey municipalities voted in November on the question of setting up a commission, under the Faulkner Act, to study the question of what type of local government is best suited to the community. Englewood, Parsippany, Rahway and Ramsey voted to establish such commissions. Highlands voted the other way.

Eighteen municipalities voted salary increases for police and firemen. Elizabeth voted to increase councilmen's salaries; Roseland approved higher pay for mayor and council. Essex Fells extended the mayor's term from two years to four; but Roseland and South Bound Brook refused to lengthen it.

Waldwick Voters Hand Dilemma to Council

In the borough of Waldwick, New Jersey, on November 4 the people voted on three referenda, affirmatively in two cases and negatively in one. They authorized a new full-time police or marshal system but they also voted to retain the present system, which keeps one man on duty for 24 hours. They then refused permission to the borough council to spend $20,000 a year to pay for the added protection.

Arizona City Attorneys Organize

The Arizona Association of City Attorneys was organized by city attorneys of the state during the semiannual meeting of the Arizona Municipal League at Bisbee November 17-18. W. A. Moeur of Tempe was elected president of the new association.

Two Year Limit Sought in Presidential Succession

A proposal that in the event of the death of a president the vice president should serve only until the next general national election has come from several influential quarters. This would mean that if a president died early in his term of office the vice president would act as president a

(Continued on page 41)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Trend Toward Abolition of Coroners Continues

Michigan Study Commission to Report to Legislature

IN MICHIGAN a study commission consisting of members of both houses is preparing recommendations on an appointive medical examiner system and a central pathological service to replace elected county coroners for presentation to the 1953 legislative session. The commission was set up by the 1951 legislature following the session's defeat of a bill which would have provided such a system.

Maryland System

The latest report of the Maryland Department of Post Mortem Examiners, serving the whole state in providing adequate post mortem examinations, reveals that almost 20 per cent of all deaths require investigation by an official agency in the interests of protecting the public against crime. In 1951 it examined 19 per cent of the 23,000 deaths, finding 57.4 per cent of them to be the result of natural causes, principally (65.8 per cent) cardiovascular diseases. The remaining cases reveal that the homicide rate for whites was 2.1 per 100,000 population, for negroes, 30.2, and that alcohol analysis on the body of every homicide victim disclosed that 50 per cent were under the influence of liquor.

The department has been in operation since 1939 when it replaced the elective county coroner system.

Reorganization Efforts Revived in Baltimore County

Baltimore County, Maryland, which two years ago made an abortive attempt to secure a home rule charter, again is showing concern over the structure of its government. The Board of County Commissioners has announced that it will appoint an advisory group to make a complete survey of the county government, and it subsequently announced that Judge Hall Hammond, of the Court of Appeals and former attorney general of the state, had consented to serve as chairman. It is intimated that the commission might become a permanent part of the county government.

Another development has been the proposal of Senator John Turnbull and Delegate A. Gordon Boone, leaders of the county's delegation in the state legislature, to have a study commission appointed jointly by the county commissioners and the county's delegation. They have announced their intention of introducing legislation on this subject.

Home Rule Improvements Urged in Maryland

Maryland's Republican Governor Theodore R. McKeldin and Baltimore's Democratic Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro joined forces before the annual convention of the Maryland Municipal League in urging adoption of the recommendations of the Commission on Administrative Organization of the State in so far as such recommendations affected local government. Among the items urged were improvements in the county home rule provisions of the constitution, municipal home rule and assumption of greater local responsibility for local revenues.

Counties Vote on Local Issues

Six California counties voted on matters of governmental organization in the recent November elections.

Alameda County rejected by over seven thousand votes the proposal to make its coroner's office appointive. Salaries of the five members of the Los Angeles County board of supervisors were raised from $9,800 to $16,750 by the acceptance of an amendment to the charter providing for the supervisors to receive the same compensation as superior court judges. Merced County rejected creation of the office of county counsel by almost two to one. Marin County voted to adopt a limited civil service system, also by almost two to one.

An initiative measure that would have changed the boundaries of the five supervisorial districts of Santa Barbara County was turned down by a vote of more than three to one. The proposal would have given the city of Santa Barbara, with more than half the county's population, two supervisors instead of one. Much of the organized support for the proposition switched during the week before election after the board of supervisors promised that if the measure were defeated it would redistrict the county by ordinance.

By a vote of two and one-half to one the voters of Santa Clara County expressed their preference for an elected sheriff rather than one appointed by the county supervisors.

STANLEY SCOTT
University of California

Pittsburgh Metropolitan Plan Draws Fire

Recent appointment by Pennsylvania's Governor John S. Fine of a Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County continues to draw fire from local officials on the ground it is merely another attempt to impose the "Metropolitan Plan" on the Pittsburgh suburban area.

The Burgesses Association of the county recently has declared its opposition and has invited other citizens to join the protest. It is drafting a petition expressing its views which it plans to submit to the state legislature. Its major contention is that the county's 129 municipalities would lose their "home rule" and their distinctive characteristics.

The Metropolitan Plan has been discussed for several decades. Twenty years ago the voters in the county indicated their approval of such a plan, but since it failed to secure a two-thirds majority in a majority of the municipalities, it was defeated.

California Counties Study Roads

The County Supervisors Association of California has undertaken a study to ascertain the deficiencies in the county road system. Each of the 58 counties is being asked by questionnaire to describe its road mileage classified by surface-type, road widths and types of shoulders. Also analyzed will be daily traffic, proposed improvements, right-of-way and construction costs and bridge needs. The results of the study will be submitted to the California legislature.

Wisconsin Creates Advisory Welfare Committee

The Wisconsin State Board of Welfare, with approval of the governor, recently created a nine-member Advisory Citizens Committee selected from the executive committee of the Wisconsin County Boards Association. The advisory committee will assist the board especially in the areas of organization, financing and staffing.

County Developments in Maryland

After several years of incessant criticism the Montgomery County, Maryland, Council has voted to discontinue its policy of closed sessions.

Heretofore, it has held weekly closed sessions each Tuesday morning, followed by open sessions in the afternoon during which formal actions would be taken. Residents and the press complained of lack of discussion in the afternoon meetings.

The commissioners of Harford County, acting on the recommendations of a special study committee, have appointed a five-man planning and zoning board.

Officials of Baltimore City and Anne Arundel County met recently as a result of adoption of a constitutional amendment in the November 4 election which gives the city authority to acquire county land for purposes of port development. County officials had expressed opposition to the amendment, but the city solicitor has announced that Baltimore will not use its port condemnation powers in any county without the consent of the county governing authorities.

The Harford County Farm Bureau and Grange are sponsoring the appointment of a citizens committee to study the county government and make recommendations to the state legislature.

A civic leader speaking recently before the Zonta Club in Frederick advocated that Frederick County secure a business manager in order that it might become a model community. He pointed out that county managers had provided effective and efficient business administration elsewhere and that Frederick County should enjoy similar advantages.

Texas County Provides Prisoner Comforts

Dallas County, Texas, commissioners, concerned over the comforts of their county jail inmates, recently had the mattresses renovated by the Sleep-Ezy Mattress Company. To dispel any lingering doubts in the minds of any prisoner as to the reason for or extent of his incarceration the commissioners also purchased a weighing machine by which for one cent a prisoner can ascertain not only his weight but also his character and his fortune.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 38)

maximum of two years, as there would be a congressional election in that time.

This plan was urged independently by Walter Lippmann, political commentator, J. William Fulbright, U. S. senator from Arkansas, and George Smathers, U. S. senator from Florida. Both senators said they would introduce bills in the new Congress to make the plan official.

Senator Fulbright stated: "I have long felt that the founding fathers intended that the vice president would be a caretaker of the [president's] office until the next general election." Senator Smathers emphasized that the people vote for a president and give little thought to his running mate. He also proposed a three-day voting period for presidential elections, direct election of the president and vice president, and nominations of the candidates by primaries in each state.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

1952 State-local Debt 10 Per Cent Over 1951

Schools Show Largest Gain as in Prior Years

STATE and local debt in the United States continued in the year ending June 30, 1952, the upward trend shown since 1946 and advanced $2,583,000,000, or 9.6 per cent, over June 30, 1951, according to the annual compilation of the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census.[1] Of the 1952 total, $7,040,000,000 was state debt and $22,583,000,000 was the obligation of local units, figures respectively 10.5 per cent and 9.3 per cent above June 30, 1951.

By type of issuing unit, the state-local debt as of June 30, 1952, and the per cent changes from June 30, 1951, were as follows:

	Debt June 30, 1952 (In Thousands)	*Per Cent Change from Prior Year*
City	$12,427,000	6.1%
Township	420,000	2.2
School District	3,801,000	16.7
County	2,066,000	10.2
Special District	3,860,000	13.4
Total Local	$22,583,000	9.3
State	7,040,000	10.5
Total State and Local	$29,623,000	9.6

State-local debt had reached its prewar high point June 30, 1940, it will be recalled, when it totaled $20,246,000,000. It declined under the credit and building restrictions of World War II to reach a low June 30, 1946, of $15,922,000,000, a figure 21.4 per cent below 1940. Since 1946 the upward trend has been continuous. The June 30, 1952, state-local total is 86.3 per cent above the 1946 low and 46.3 per cent higher than in 1940.

State debt alone, it may be noted, experienced the largest relative decline from 1940 to 1946 and has increased since more rapidly than local debt. State debt totaled $3,526,000,000 at the 1940 date, $2,358,000,000 in 1946. The 1940-46 decline was 33.9 per cent and the 1946-52 increase was 198.8 per cent.

Local debt declined from $16,720,000,000 in 1940 to $13,564,000,000 in 1946. Its 1940-46 reduction was 18.9 per cent and the increase in 1946-52 was 66.4 per cent. State debt in 1952 was 99.7 per cent higher than in 1940, local debt 35.1 per cent higher.

The larger increase in state debt, percentagewise, reflects in part the multi-million-dollar state bond issues for highway improvements, including large issues of revenue bonds secured by the great toll highways now being undertaken in many areas, and the large soldiers' bonus issues of the postwar period. Local debt on the other hand has been raised almost entirely by borrowing for capital improvements — schools, sanitation, streets, water, and light systems. Dollar-wise, the 1946-52 increase in local debt was $9,019,000,000 compared with $4,682,000,000 for state debt.

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[1] *Governmental Debt in 1952.* Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. December 1952.

The rise in state and local debt has of course been faster than the increase in population during the period, but per capita debt is not as much above earlier levels as might be expected. The prewar peak in per capita state-local debt occurred in 1932 and was not surpassed until 1950. In the case of local units, the 1932 peak was equalled only in 1951 and passed in 1952. State per capita debt was at a peak in 1940, reattained by 1949.

PER CAPITA STATE-LOCAL DEBT

June 30	*State*	*Local*	*State-Local*
1932	$23	$134	$157
1940	27	127	154
1946	17	96	113
1947	21	96	117
1948	25	102	128
1949	27	113	140
1950	36	125	161
1951	41	134	175
1952	45	144	189

Considering the change in the purchasing power of the dollar, it is evident that state-local debt in 1952, adjusted for population and the wage and price level, is still less than in 1932 or in 1940.

Although the states and local units can no longer borrow money on terms as favorable as those existing in the early postwar years, the expense of carrying the present debt reflects interest rates much lower than prewar. Interest paid on local debt in the year ended June 30, 1952, was estimated at $519,000,000 compared with a high of $726,000,000 in 1932 when local debt was one-third below the current level. State debt, which, as noted, has increased considerably faster than local debt, required an estimated $130,000,000 for interest in the year ending June 30, 1952, compared with $114,000,000 in fiscal 1932.

Local Borrowing Costs Rising As Volume of Debt Increases

The fact that charges for interest on outstanding state and local debt is now much below earlier peaks, despite the fact that the debt is much higher than formerly, reflects, of course, the very sharp reduction in interest costs during the last two decades. While interest costs are still much below the prewar peak, they have none the less been following an irregularly upward trend since March 1951, when the Federal Reserve Board withdrew the "pegs" at which it has been supporting the market for United States government bonds and notes.

The rise in interest rates on federal obligations has been accompanied by heavy state and local borrowing, so that the element of scarcity which contributed to abnormally low-cost borrowing during and immediately after the war is no longer present. Further, prospects of declines in federal income tax rates, particularly in the higher brackets, have contributed to a softening of municipal bond prices, since higher tax rates provide a larger differential in favor of municipals in view of their exemption from federal income taxes.

New issues of state and local bonds, as compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* trade authority on municipals, fell close to the $500,000,000 level in 1943, and despite gradual increases were still only $819,000,000 in 1945, the year when sizeable postwar borrowing began. The effect of scarcity and high wartime tax rates was reflected in a decline in interest costs, represented by *The Daily Bond Buyer's* index of yield on twenty representative municipal issues, to an all-time low of 1.29 per cent in February 1946. The index had been at an all-time high of 5.69 per cent in May 1933.

In 1946 new issues of municipals (including state bonds) amounted to

$1,204,000,000, and by the end of the year the twenty-bond index was up to 1.9 per cent. As the volume of new issues increased, the index continued irregularly upward. Sales for 1947 amounted to $2,359,000,000 and the index in December 1947 was 2.09 per cent. In 1948, when new issues aggregated $2,990,000,000, the index rose to a year's high of 2.47 per cent in March, eased to 2.23 per cent in June, and then fluctuated between these levels for the remainder of the year, standing at 2.31 per cent for December.

The slight business recession in 1949 contributed to new issues for the year approximately at the prior year's level, $2,995,000,000, and the twenty-bond index eased somewhat, exceeding 2.2 per cent in only two months and standing at 2.11 per cent for December. In 1950 there was a further upsurge of borrowing, new issues aggregating $3,694,000,000, but on more favorable terms than in the prior year, the index holding below the December 1948 level and standing at a year's low of 1.75 per cent for both November and December 1950.

In 1951 new borrowing dropped to $3,278,000,000, below 1950 but still higher than in any prior year. The twenty-bond index stood at 1.63 per cent on March 1, just prior to the Federal Reserve Board's action restoring a "free market" for federal obligations. By the first week in April the index was up to 1.92 per cent, and by July to 2.20 per cent. It eased to 1.98 per cent in September, then turned gradually upward and for December 1951 was 2.09 per cent.

State and municipal borrowing started off with a bang in 1952, January sales exceeding $574,000,000, but by March new offerings were slightly below the 1951 month, and the twenty-bond index receded from 2.11 per cent in January to 2.05 per cent in April and by May was down to a low for the year of 2.03 per cent. Since early spring new borrowing has in most months substantially exceeded the 1951 period, and the twenty-bond index has moved more or less steadily upward, reaching 2.37 per cent in late November and remaining at that point in mid-December. New issues for the first eleven months of 1952 exceeded $3,987,000,000 compared with $3,012,000,000 in the first eleven months of 1951, and the volume of new municipal borrowing was headed for a twelve-months total well above four billion dollars.

Prospects are for continued heavy municipal borrowing during 1953, with the possibility that interest costs will show little material decline from their recent level at least during the forepart of the year. For the first eleven months, new bond approvals by state and local voters exceeded $2,289,000,000 compared with $2,167,000,000 in the 1951 period and a twelve-month total for 1951 of $2,249,600,000. Approvals in November 1952 alone were $1,285,864,000 compared with $1,307,869,000 in November 1951.

Since many local units do not require voter approval to authorize new bonds, and since there are still unissued parts of bonds voted in earlier years, the potential new borrowing, of course, much exceeds the voted totals in any given period. Prospective borrowing is, of course, further swelled by projects still in the preliminary stage and not yet submitted to either voters or local governing bodies for final approval.

Washington Decision Destroys Tax Revenue from Slot Machines

Washington cities which have been deriving tax revenues from slot machine operators in private clubs will lose this source of revenue because of a recent Washington State Supreme Court decision, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

The decision states that a 1937 law authorizing slot machines in private clubs is unconstitutional because the machines are a "mechanical lottery" in violation of the anti-lottery provision of the state constitution. In those cities where the machines have been operating, a substantial tax loss will occur.

Under Washington state law, the operation of slot machines has been prohibited in public places but has been permitted in private clubs. Clubs are defined as "organizations of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, operated solely for fraternal, benevolent, athletic or social purposes, and not for pecuniary gain." However, some Washington cities, like Seattle, have ordinances prohibiting slot machines entirely, whether operated in private clubs or public places.

Washington state law also has provided for taxation on slot machines at the rate of 40 per cent of the gross revenue. Spokane, however, has had a gross earnings license tax of 5 per cent on such machines. In 1951, it collected $143,229 from the tax. Other Washington cities and their 1951 receipts from taxes on slot machines include Wenatchee, $26,429; Waitsburg, $990; and Sunnyside, $250.

Pennsylvania Rejects Debt Amendment

A constitutional amendment submitted to the electorate of Pennsylvania on November 4, which would have liberalized the constitutional limitation on state indebtedness to an amount sufficient to re-issue as general state debt the bonds of the two state authorities, was defeated. The proposal would have provided that up to $175,000,000 now authorized to the General State Authority and $40,000,000 to the State Highway and Bridge Authority would be refunded. The unofficial result was no, 610,036; yes, 417,752. Present state debt is $539,600,000.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ABROAD

(Continued from page 10)

mous task, and they should be aware of the difficulties they are certain to encounter at the very outset. For us the local government tradition comes naturally; for others it must be developed by careful planning and skillful cultivation. And despite the contributions that can be made by an international exchange of personnel and ideas, the motivation for strengthening local government must come from within the country itself.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Bills Seek to Restore P. R. to Plan E

Civic Group Proposals Filed with Legislature

THE Cambridge Civic Association has filed a bill in the Massachusetts legislature to restore the Plan E optional charter act to its original form. The proposed measure would restore the P. R. election feature, the 10 per cent minimum number of signatures required for a referendum on P. R. (which was reduced to 5 per cent) and the provision preventing any member of the city government from becoming city manager until two years after leaving municipal office.

In case these reforms should fail, another proposal, offered by the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester, has been submitted to the legislature, to restore the 10 per cent signature requirement to a petition providing a referendum on P. R. in Plan E cities, and limiting such referenda to state elections.

Charles H. McGlue, former Democratic state chairman of Massachusetts, and Miss Edna Lawrence Spencer of Cambridge, both longtime opponents of P. R., have filed bills for the complete elimination of P. R. in Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts bills may be filed by any citizen and none can be killed in committee or in caucus, although many receive summary treatment in committee and on the floor of the legislative chambers.

The Plan E act, as originally adopted in 1938, provided for the council-manager plan with proportional representation for the election of the city council and school committee. Six cities have adopted the plan, Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Revere, Medford and Quincy. Later legislation removed P. R. from the plan for all cities adopting it thereafter and made it possible for those cities using it to place the question of retention on the ballot by a petition signed by only 5 per cent of the voters. Under this legislation, referenda were held November 4 in Cambridge, where P. R. was retained, and in Revere, Medford and Quincy, where the plan was repealed.

P. R. League Elects Holmstrom President

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League have elected Andrew Holmstrom, mayor of Worcester, Massachusetts, as its president. Mayor Holmstrom succeeds former Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, who died last summer. Mr. Holmstrom is mayor of the largest Massachusetts P. R. city, the second largest city in the state and the third in New England.

At the annual meeting of the P. R. League, held in San Antonio, November 18, in conjunction with the National Municipal League's Annual Conference on Government, the following trustees were elected by the members present: Richard S. Childs of New York, Robert P. Goldman of Cincinnati, Mayor Andrew Holmstrom of Worcester, C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania, and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia.

The special committee recently appointed to explore the subject of proportional representation methods and public relations held two meetings at San Antonio. A report of the discussions will be made in the near future.

Alberta Elections Contrast Electoral Methods

The Social Credit party, backed by a record of prudent management of the province's valuable natural resources, added another to its list of impressive electoral victories in the elections to the legislature of the Canadian province of Alberta last August 5.[1]

As before, the party swept up all but a few of the 40-odd rural constituencies, where representation is by single-member districts. Polling about three-fifths of the popular vote in these districts, the Social Credit candidates won 40 seats, and the Liberals, with about one-quarter of the vote, obtained but one. The Commonwealth Co-operative Federation, known as the "C. C. F.," with an eighth of the vote, likewise obtained one seat and a splinter "independent social credit" group, which had only 2 per cent of the vote, also managed to obtain one seat. There were eleven districts in which the transfer feature of the single transferable vote system used in these elections was called into play because no candidate obtained a majority on first choices alone.

(Continued on page 58)

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[1] A preliminary account of this election, prepared before complete figures were available, appears in the REVIEW for October 1952, page 468.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL ELECTION OF AUGUST 5, 1952

Party	*First-Choice Votes**	*Percentage of First-Choice Votes*	*Seats*	*Percentage of Seats*
Calgary Constituency (P. R.)				
Social Credit	22,871	55.0	4	66.7
Conservative	6,271	15.1	1	16.7
Liberal	5,286	12.7	1	16.7
C. C. F.	3,791	9.1		
Independent Labour	2,927	7.0		
Labour	527	1.3		
Edmonton Constituency (P. R.)				
Social Credit	24,024	46.1	3	42.9
Liberal	12,674	24.3	2	28.6
C. C. F.	9,817	18.8	1	14.3
Progressive Conservative	4,700	9.0	1	14.3
Labour Progressive	824	1.6		
46 Single-Member Constituencies				
Social Credit	118,754	59.5	43	93.5
Liberal	48,778	24.5	1	2.2
C. C. F.	25,155	12.6	1	2.2
Independent Social Credit	4,203	2.1	1	2.2
Others	2,427	1.2		

*If the final count votes had been tabulated instead of first choices, the difference in the total single-member constituency results would be small, since only eleven required any transfers, but in the P. R. counts the votes would show distribution in substantially the same proportion as the seats awarded. Since that is obvious from the nature of P. R., it was thought more interesting to tabulate the first choices for whatever information on voter psychology may be contained in the comparison of first choice votes and ultimate choice results.

NACS Holds Clinic on Civic Reporting

Publications of Local Groups Receive Awards

PUBLICATIONS of eleven civic organizations were cited for "special excellence" at the clinic on Civic Communications sponsored by the National Association of Civic Secretaries at the National Conference on Government conducted by the National Municipal League last November in San Antonio.

The contest, which will become an annual highlight of the N. A. C. S. clinic, was developed to stimulate an exchange of ideas on how civic secretaries can best meet the problem of communication through the printed word and picture. Although a cooperative effort by civic secretaries to aid and improve communications media has been discussed frequently, considerable difficulty was encountered in developing a program of mutual interest and advantage. Circumstances differ widely between civic organizations and their major purposes. Some emphasize research; others emphasize action. Some are young organizations with very limited budgets; others are old and more stable. Because of the obvious need for setting up standards and classifications, the Civic Communications project has become a combined clinic-contest experiment.

Following award of the citations, William Adams, publicity director of the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, led a workshop session with an illustrated critique based upon the findings of the contest judges. Attention was given to uniform format, headlines, subheads, capsule paragraphs, use of boxes, bold-face type, illustrations, news-writing style, variety of stories, organization of materials, and other techniques and styles observed in the competing publications.

The following civic organizations were awarded citations for their publications: Central Atlanta Improvement Association, City Charter Committee of Cincinnati, Citizens League of Greater Cleveland, Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, New Boston Committee, Municipal League of Toledo, Citizens League of Pawtucket, Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Civic Club of Allegheny County and Dade County (Miami) Research Foundation.

The contest judges were: Karl Detzer, roving editor, *Reader's Digest;* Brother Lawrence Gonner, S. M., Department of Journalism, St. Mary's University, San Antonio; Mrs. Nelle A. Robinson, Department of Journalism, Trinity University, San Antonio; Z. D. Perry, Perry Printing Company, San Antonio; Harry J. Krusz, executive vice president, San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services, National Municipal League; and Mr. Adams.

Adult Education Groups Active

Year 1 AEA is the first annual report of the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. Twenty-four pages, it describes the association's organization and administration, including an organization chart, and sets forth its program and services.

The July-August 1952 issue of *Adult Leadership,* published by the association, is devoted almost entirely to "using resources" in the local community for planning forum discussions. The November issue of the association's *Adult Education* contains a full report of its second annual conference, held October 20-23 at the new Kellogg Center of Michigan State College, East Lansing. The May 1953 issue of *Adult Leadership* will carry a pictorial report of the conference.

In addition to its two magazines, the association is issuing an *AEA Newsletter* of four pages, reporting on activities. That for December 1952 is devoted to "Action High Lights" of the October conference.

The Council of National Organizations of the AEA has prepared the first of its *CNO Packets.* With it goes a check sheet so that recipients may evaluate the contents and report to the council. The CNO issued its first *News* (four pages) in November 1952.

The Adult Education Association has its Publication and Administrative Services in Chicago, its Organizational Relationships office in Cleveland and its Professional and Membership Services in Washington, D. C. Its Council of National Organizations office is at the Cooper Union in New York City.

The National Education Association of the United States, in Washington, D. C., which has merged its adult education activities with those of the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A., issued in 1952 a list of organizations in the field of adult education and a bibliography (14 pages).

Chicago Citizens Report

The *Final Report of the Committee of 19,* of Chicago, representing some 26 civic and educational organizations, has now been published. The committee was the organization group for establishment of "Citizens of Greater Chicago,"[1] Its report is "presented in anticipation of shifting responsibility to the interim directors" of the new group, "the appointment of an executive director and the building of a staff."

Forty-one pages, the report sets forth the corporate structure and membership of the new organization including a chart, the area to be served, etc. It discusses matters which should be investigated by the group, such as a home rule charter for Chicago, reapportionment, civil service, modern criminal code, the judiciary and law enforcement, redevelopment and housing, politics and the two-party system, and city finance.

Over a hundred thousand dollars has now been raised from 80,000 contributors for the group's work.

Public Relations Manual

The Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, has prepared *MPR—A Manual on Municipal Public Relations* (34 pages) which it will present to the city council, together with a specific study of current MPR practices in Worcester and a series of recommendations.

Council-Manager Plan

A special forum and conference on the council-manager plan was held by the City Club of Chicago on December 8. Speaking on "The Status of the City Manager Movement in Illinois" was Walter F. Dodd, eminent authority in the field of constitutional and administrative law and the draftsman of the most important bills in city management before the Illinois General Assembly during the past 25 years.

The Better Government Association of East Moline, Illinois, has been organized on a permanent basis at a meeting of citizens in that city. Plans are under way for the drafting of by-laws. East Moline adopted the council-manager plan in July 1952 and it is the hope of the group that such an organization will lend its support to the plan when it is in operation.

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1952, page 418.

With the Women Voters

City-county cooperation was the theme for the December "League Day" of the League of Women Voters of St. Louis. Main speaker was Dr. Carl A. McCandless of Washington University, St. Louis. Specific metropolitan area problems were discussed by league members.

Steps in Calling a Constitutional Convention, a six-page mimeographed statement, has been published by the League of Women Voters of Indiana. The league points out that the constitution of Indiana is over a hundred years old.

The League of Women Voters of New York State has again started work for passage of a sound and constructive bill for a permanent personal registration system. "Those thousands of citizens who found themselves so unnecessarily inconvenienced while trying to register will be glad to know that League members have already made every state legislator familiar with the possibilities for voter relief to be obtained by the passage of such a bill," reports the *LWV State News.*

Study Court Procedures

Members of the Citizens Civic Association of Terre Haute, Indiana, heard judges of the Vigo (county) Circuit Court explain their duties as well as the functions and workings of the courts at a meeting held in the Circuit Court Room. It is the aim of the association, says its president, to plan and hold this type of meeting in all the branches of government for public enlightenment.

Success Story

"Of 106 persons elected to judicial offices and to the state senate and assembly from New York City," reports *Across from City Hall,* news digest published by the Citizens Union of New York City, "94 were considered qualified by the Citizens Union. Of these, 39 were 'endorsed,' 26 were 'qualified and preferred,' and 29 were 'qualified.' "

Committees in Action

At a meeting of the officers and chairmen of the sixteen standing committees of the Municipal League of King County and Seattle, more than 40 projects were outlined. These projects will go to the committees, numbering nearly 700 members, who will work on them and try to push as many as possible through to successful accomplishment, according to the league's *Municipal News.*

At the meeting President Ben Ehrlichman cited his goal of 16,000 league members by 1960. He offered to obtain two members for every new one enrolled by any committee chairman.

Municipal "Who's Who"

The Citizens Union of New York City, in a letter to the members of the city council's committee on civil employees and veterans, strongly supports a bill before the council providing for advance publicity on appointments to exempt offices in the city's service. "Publicity, like sunlight, has therapeutic value," says Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the union, "and there is at least a possibility that it will promote better selections for public offices."

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

A Seminar with Power to Act

Assures Administrators a Feeling of Participation

Editor's Note.—This article summarizes the substance of a discussion before the American Political Science Association's conference at Buffalo in August 1952. The author has recently served as consultant in three public finance administration situations in which the suggested procedure was employed almost exclusively.

IN response to a query from a prospective consultant as to exactly the services to be performed, Mayor Charles Farnsley of Louisville responded, December 27, 1950: "Why I want you to conduct a seminar with power to act."

In view of some recent tests, it seems certain that the mayor generalized eloquently on a tool for making technical assistance to government officials more than usually significant for the translation of know-how into public service.

In the first place, the seminar approach may prove superior in that a desirable plan for technical aid toward transforming ideas into governmental action is likely to involve a group of problems rather than a single one. The attack on the welter of related issues usually requires a unified philosophy but not an identical methodology. Indeed, varied attacks may be essential by reason of the factual setting.

Second, the idea of a "seminar with power to act" means that reports will be prepared by members of the seminar. There is, under this conception, no one technical assistance report to be implemented by government action. Rather, there are several reports prepared by a working team of which the technician or a top executive is the directing head and other members of the executive and administrative staff are participants.

In a project which the writer's own office has in process under this conception, for example, an over-all survey revealed a cluster of management procedures followed by a state administrative department which, in the light of changed and changing conditions, were questionable. The consultant prepared a conference memorandum for the executive and his administrative staff, the purpose being a clear definition of the problems. A discussion ensued and decisions were reached regarding the specific difficulties to be tackled. The conference also reached agreement as to the basic philosophy and the methodologies suggested by the outside technician. Assignments were made to various members of the team, and each is now engaged in finding the facts in respect of his segment of the problem. The technician is doing one of the reports; but it is no more important to the whole undertaking than are the investigations by other members of the seminar. When the evidence is in, other conferences will hear reports and arrive at conclusions. Because the executive head of the department is a working member of the group, the members of the seminar will be in a position to make basic decisions once the evidence is in and fully canvassed.

Third, the concept of the "seminar with power to act" eliminates to a large extent the impediment of inertia involved in simply presenting a comprehensive report the results of which are to be implemented by subsequent action. Under the seminar plan, no special gadget additional to the administrative organization and the seminar itself is required to see that needed changes are implemented. For example, when the reports of the present study are worked over in conference, the decisions taken will be in the form of directives to the appropriate administrators to carry out the conclusions.

Fourth, this approach does not introduce a technical assistance officer who is expected to enter an administrative situation and in a short time reach wiser independent conclusions than those reached by individuals who have actually been on the job for years. Thus, the approach makes for less skepticism on the part of the workers concerned. And, with reasonable ingenuity, the technician need be in no less effective position to make his capacities useful to the administration.

Finally, the attack on technical assistance in public administration through a "seminar with power" places the appropriate stress on the deliberative character of the decisions to be taken. There need be under this plan in most cases no recommendation with a "take-it-or-leave-it" tag attached. Indeed, the action decision can grow neatly out of the give and take of the conference room—steered, it is true, by a person aware of the technicalities involved. In the field of administrative management, for example, there are more cases in which an adequate investigation leaves room for two or more courses of action than there are where a single course of action is clearly indicated. It is not usually well that a technician, especially one more or less dissociated from political and other relationships, should be called on categorically to recommend the action on such issues. Management decisions can in many cases be more wisely taken in conference than by an executive officer on the recommendation of a technician. This is true partly because the facts and the administrative action in one matter may have a distinct bearing on the wise decision in another of a single cluster of problems.

One caution may be essential. There is no such clear and invariable definition of seminar membership in the typical public administration discussion group as would be expected in a graduate school seminar. For example, an initial conference may concern, and be attended by, only administrative personnel directly concerned with the issues confronted. After the detailed reports by members of this group are presented, it may become apparent that other areas are involved. If so, representatives of the additional subject matter must be consulted before action is appropriate.

On the other hand, some of the action conferences may involve only persons directly and indirectly concerned with a particular problem; thus, personnel investigating other problems will not be interrupted to participate in final discussions. The action groups, in other words, will in a complex situation have varying membership from meeting to meeting.

The purpose of these comments is not to suggest a solution for all the problems of procedure and implementation of technical assistance in public administration. Rather, the approach is one which in certain settings can elide difficulties that would otherwise be encountered. Although the point is more nearly debatable, there is evidence that the "seminar" type of attack has distinct technical advantages where it can be used. At least it assures the administrative management personnel regularly on the job a feeling of participation which may sometimes be missing under alternative plans. Another problem, the solution of which is aided by this approach, is that of originally establishing the technical assistance relationship. It is easier to invite an agency with know-how to sit in on the examination of specified problems than it is to ask the same agency to make a critical survey of the same problems. It is also easier for the technical assistance agency to offer its services as a participant in a joint undertaking.

James W. Martin
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Western Researchers Meet

Over two hundred researchers and administrators, representing various agencies in eleven western states and Hawaii, attended the twelfth annual conference of the Western Governmental Research Association in Sacramento, October 23-24. Among the subjects discussed at the sessions were urban fringe area problems, city-county relationships, the implementation of administrative research and the private consultant's role in administrative analysis. George A. Terhune, chief administrative analyst for the Los Angeles chief administrative officer, was chosen as new president of the association.

Chicago's Twin Problems

At the annual meeting of the Civic Federation of Chicago, October 31, Harland C. Stockwell, its executive secretary, in his address "Confessions of a Reformer—25 Years on the Civic Front," called attention to "two major problems" to be faced in the near future: "the twin problems of 'home rule' for Chicago and the government of the Metropolitan Area of Chicago." Any new charter, he said, "should more clearly define the powers and duties of the executive and legislative branches of our city government." Further, he commented, "Simplification and consolidation of local government for Metropolitan Chicago must start within the city itself. The various divisions, bureaus and departments *within* the city should be organized on sound, functional lines." Then the Chicago Park District and the Sanitary District should be consolidated with the city of Chicago, while the Forest Preserve District should be consolidated with Cook County.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Annexation

Annexation Handbook for Tennessee Municipal Officials. By Wallace Mendelson. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, October 1952. 44 pp.

Equalization in Property Assessments. Santa Fe, Taxpayers Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* November 1952. 4 pp.

Budget

The 1953 County Budget. Utica, Municipal Research Bureau, *Your City,* December 1952. 3 pp.

Proposed Budget System for the City of Miami. Miami, Dade County Research Foundation, *Research Memo,* November 18, 1952. 7 pp.

County Government

Our County Government. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just A Moment,* November 13, 1952. 3 pp.

Debt

Avoid Premature Debt Authorization. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* November 1952. 2 pp.

Education

The Heart of the Matter. Teachers' Salaries and the Pittsburgh School Budget for 1953. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* November 1952. 7 pp.

Higher Education in the Mountain States. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* November 1952. 4 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule for Louisiana Municipalities. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council, 1952. 45 pp. 50 cents.

Housing

Public Housing in Columbus. Columbus 15, Citizens Research, Inc. November 24, 1952. 4 pp.

Land Use

The Uses of Land—Berkeley 1951. An Inventory and Analysis of Land Use in the City of Berkeley, California. By City Planning Commission. Berkeley, Chamber of Commerce, 1952. 32 pp. Charts.

Pensions

Pension Finance. 1953 Budget Requests for Pension Systems Are $6.1 Million Over 1952's Expenditures. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 17, 1952. 4 pp.

Personnel

Milwaukee's Police, Sheriff and Fire Departments' Requests for 1953—Increased Salaries and Reduced Hours—Tentative Cost $3,585,000: I. Recruitment Trends; II. Working Conditions (Salaries and Hours); **III. Measures of Accomplishment; IV. Performance Budgeting** (Application to Police, Sheriff and Fire Departments). Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* August 11, 18, 25 and November 14, 1952. 7, 7, 7 and 3 pp. respectively.

Protecting Our Investment in the Classification and Pay Plans. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* November 28, 1952. 4 pp.

Pooled Services

Savings Through Pooled Services. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government, *Municipal Administration,* November 1952. 2 pp.

Public Utilities

Municipal-Utility Buildings. Three Tennessee Plans. By Victor C. Hobday. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town and City,* November 1952. 5 pp.

Public Welfare

Confidentiality of Public Assistance Records. By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, November 1952. 50 pp. $1.25.

Real Estate

The Conservation of Taxable Real Estate Values in Baltimore. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1952. 27 pp.

Salaries

Salary Increase for Councillors? Brockton (Massachusetts), Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* October 27, 1952. 2 pp.

Sewage Charges

A Sewage Disposal Charge. Waterbury 2, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* November 17, 1952. 4 pp.

State Government

Organization of the State Government of South Carolina (Chart). Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952. 1 p. 25 cents.

Texas State Government. Four Organization Charts. By John C. Doyle. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, September 1952.

Taxation and Finance

1952 Wisconsin Taxes. Total State and Local Taxes Exceed One-half Billion Dollars—$144 Per Person. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* December 1952. 6 pp.

The Rising Cost of Missouri State Government. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, November 1952. 8 pp.

Books in Review

The Lobbyists. By Karl Schriftgiesser. The Art and Business of Influencing Lawmakers. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1951. xiv, 297 pp. $3.50.

This volume collects the findings of the various Congressional and magazine investigations into the Washington lobbies before and since the enactment of the 1946 regulation of lobbying act. There are interesting narratives of the activities and alleged expenditures of several of the largest pressure groups—the Committee for Constitutional Government, American Legion, Townsendites, National Association of Manufacturers, National Physicians Committee, National Association of Real Estate Boards, Army Engineers Corps, Foundation for Economic Education and others.

The author discloses the neglect of the law since its passage and the need for faithful committee attention to the periodic reports, as well as the need for more precise definition of lobbying and for better identification of those liable for non-compliance with the registration requirements.

R. S. C.

State and Local Government in California. By Winston W. Crouch, Dean E. McHenry, John C. Bollens and Stanley Scott. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952. xii, 232 pp. $2.75.

A new text book to meet a 1951 legislative enactment that study of California state and local government be a requirement in all public and private schools. It puts into one compact volume the more extensive works of the same authors, *California Government* (1949) and *Local Government in California* (1951).

Training for Specialized Mission Personnel. By Wallace S. Sayre and Clarence E. Thurber. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. xiii, 85 pp. $1.00.

Several government agencies send emissaries abroad and have their methods of preparing them for the conditions they will find there. This study, financed through Public Administration Clearing House by the Ford Foundation, lines up the existent training programs and considers methods of reducing their inadequacies and possible allocations of the duty of trying to do better.

Report of a Conference on Comparative Administration. (September 12-14, 1952, Princeton, New Jersey.) Chicago, Public Administration Clearing House, 1952. 60 pp.

Thirty persons active in the public administration field met September 12-14, 1952, at Princeton Inn. What they did and said and the great array of references and analyses compiled by the Public Administration Clearing House and others bring into tight compass the problem of how to learn more about how other nations administer their affairs.

Grass Roots Party Leadership. A Case Study of King County, Washington. By Hugh A. Bone. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, 1952. 45 pp. $1.

Many students and practitioners of American government recognize the need for more knowledge about what makes the party ward or precinct leader tick before much can be done to attract higher caliber people into these positions. Professor Bone's new study is an analysis of the "background" of 423 Republican precinct committeemen in the Seattle metropolitan area who have answered a prepared questionnaire.

In comparing his results with those of similar studies by Gosnell, Mosher, Forthal and others, the author finds that these Washington party leaders are much newer in their posts than those elsewhere; that they are better educated (over half have attended college); and that 42 per cent are women. Although the majority of these politicians "gave little evidence of carefully thought out reasons for assuming the precinct leadership," the desire for economic gain or patronage did not appear to be a "particularly significant" motivation.

Dr. Bone concludes with some valuable observations about the methodology of such research, emphasizing his belief that cooperation between the political scientist and the party organization is desirable, if not invaluable.

Guthrie S. Birkhead

Measuring Your Public Relations. By Herman D. Stein. New York, National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, Inc., 1952. 48 pp. $1.25.

This is a useful guide for any organization which leans heavily upon communication techniques for its success. The booklet describes research methods which can be used to pre-test public education materials or to evaluate the effectiveness of the materials following exposure to the intended audience. The recognized value, as well as the limitations, of the public opinion poll as a research tool in planning a public relations program is thoroughly discussed.

Much is made of the necessity of determining: (1) what publics are important to the organization, (2) why these publics are important, and (3) what the organization wishes to communicate.

Mason Gould

Suggested State Legislation. Program for 1953. By Drafting Committee of State Officials. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1952. 160 pp. $1.50.

These proposals, one of a series presented yearly to the states by the Council of State Governments, this year include several topics of general or headline interest. Under the heading of law enforcement and the control of organized crime, for example, are these: model state witness immunity act, model act on perjury, model crime investigating commission act, sports bribery act and an act relating to testimony of public officials regarding conduct in office. Under "regular program of the Drafting Committee" appear these items, among others: recommendations on highway safety and motor truck regulation, recommendation on courts of limited jurisdiction, weather control act, and a statement regarding presidential primaries.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Airport Financing

Revenue Bond Financing for Airport Improvements. By James C. Buckley. (Reprinted from *The Analysts Journal*, November 1952.) New York 5, New York Society of Security Analysts, 1952. 8 pp.

Building Regulations

Building Code Progress in the New Jersey, New York, Connecticut Metropolitan Area. New York 17, Regional Plan Association, *Regional Plan Bulletin*, December 1952. 4 pp. $1.

Building Permit Fees of Washington Cities. By Joshua H. Vogel. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* September 5, 1952. 12 pp.

Civil Defense

Civil Defense and National Organization. Women in Civil Defense. Washington, D. C., Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1952. 16 and 22 pp. respectively.

Handbook—Emergency Defense Activities — October 1952-March 1953. Washington, D. C., General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division, 1952. 120 pp.

Constitution

Commentaries on the Constitution 1790-1860. By Elizabeth Kelley Bauer. New York, Columbia University Press, 1952. 400 pp. $4.75.

Education

State Public Finance and State Institutions of Higher Education in the United States. By H. K. Allen and Richard G. Axt. New York, Columbia University Press, 1952. xvix, 196 pp. $3.

Federal Government

Executives for the Federal Service. A Program for Action in Time of Crisis. By John J. Corson. New York, Columbia University Press, 1952. xii, 91 pp.

Senate Action on Hoover Commission Reports. Report of the Committee on Government Operations. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1952. 96 pp.

Industrial Location

Industrial Dispersion Guidebook for Communities. A Technique for More Secure Location of New Defense-Supporting Plants. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Office of Industry and Commerce, Area Development Division, 1952. 22 pp. 20 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

Planned Industrial Districts. Their Organization and Development. Edited by Milburn L. Forth and J. Ross McKeever. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1952. 56 pp. $5.

Legislative Bodies

Evaluation of the Effects of Laws Enacted to Reorganize the Legislative Branch of the Government. Hearing before the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, First Session, June 1951. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1951. 697 pp.

Noise Abatement

Measuring Noise in Our Cities. By H. C. Hardy. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* November 1952. 4 pp.

Parking

Standards for Financing Sound Parking Projects. By Charles Stockard LeCraw, Jr. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, the Forum, 1952. 18 pp. 50 cents. Discounts on quantity orders. (Apply E. Joseph Scherer, c/o B. J. Ingen & Company, 57 William Street, New York 5.)

Pensions

Financing the Pension Obligation. Nature of the pension obligation—the accruing effect of pension cost—its true concept—importance of financing on a current basis—the budgeting method of meeting the pension obligation. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1952. 4 pp. 35 cents.

Planning

Cleveland's Six-year Capital Improvement Program 1953-1958. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1952. 126 pp.

A Master Plan — Maryland State Parks and Recreation Areas. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1952. 77 pp. Illus.

Research

Methods in Social Research. By William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952. vii, 386 pp. $5.50.

CED and Economic Research in College-Community Centers. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1952. 22 pp. Illus.

States' Rights

States' Rights—How Far Do They Go? Washington 6, D. C., Congress of Industrial Organizations, Department of Education and Research, Reprint from *Economic Outlook,* July-August, 1952. 8 pp. 15 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Subdivision Regulation

For Sound Growth. Subdivision Regulations, City of Boulder, Colorado. Boulder, Office of City Manager, 1952. 12 pp.

Taxation and Finance

1952 Conference Proceedings. Chicago, The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* August and November 1952. 64 and 40 pp. respectively. 50 cents each.

Oklahoma Sales Tax — Including Operations of the Use Tax and Coin Device Licenses. Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1952. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1952. 37 pp. Tables.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 47)

In the cities of Calgary and Edmonton, where representation is by the Hare system of P. R., using the same single transferable vote ballot as in the rural constituencies, the minority parties obtained representation in proportion to the popular support enjoyed by them. In Calgary the Social Credit party was almost as strong as in the countryside, polling 55 per cent of the first-choice votes and obtaining four of the six seats (meaning that after transfers it had two-thirds of the votes). The Liberals and Conservatives each obtained one seat and the C. C. F. had insufficient votes to obtain any representation.

In Edmonton, the provincial capital and focus of the booming oil industry of the far northern plains, the Social Credit party failed to attract a majority of first-choice votes and even after transfers could secure only three of the seven seats. The Liberals elected two and the C. C. F. and Progressive Conservatives one. E. C. Manning, Social Credit, polled almost three times the necessary quota on the count of first choices. Transfer of his surplus votes helped to elect another Social Credit candidate, who had the smallest number of first choices among his running mates and stood sixteenth in the field of 29 candidates on the tally of first choices. Similarly, the second Liberal elected stood fourth in his own party on the first count and twelfth in the field of 29.

In Calgary the subsequent stages of the count likewise altered the order of standing of the Social Credit candidates, illustrating further how the single transferable vote method of P. R. permits the voters to exercise selection among the candidates of a powerful party at the same time that the contest between parties is resolved.

The results are given separately in the accompanying tables for Calgary, Edmonton and the rural area. The participation, in terms of number listed as eligible, was 48 per cent, 53 per cent and 65 per cent, respectively. The percentage of rejected ballots was 4 per cent, 10 per cent and 6 per cent, respectively.

Making the All-America try before the jury at San Antonio is Mrs. C. L. Schloss, left, spokesman for Bemidji, Minnesota. Bemidji was one of 22 cities invited to present their stories of civic improvement at the National Conference on Government. The eleven winning cities will be announced in "Look" magazine in the February 10 issue, out January 27, and in the February issue, of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Former League Secretary Given Government Award

Howard P. Jones, former executive secretary of the League and now counselor of the American Embassy at Taipei, Formosa, has been given the Meritorious Service Award by the U. S. Department of State in recognition of his work for the department.

Mr. Jones has been in Formosa since January 1952. For five months prior to October 1952, he was Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy at Taipei in the absence of Minister Karl Rankin. He is currently serving as Deputy Chief of Mission.

After achieving the rank of Colonel in the recent war, Mr. Jones held high posts in Berlin.

League Moves Offices Upstairs

The League offices have been moved from the 4th to the 18th (top) floor of 299 Broadway, New York City. The move was arranged to make the League's old offices available to the Municipal Civil Service Commission and to obtain better quarters.

Larger by more than 700 feet, the new office has several additional private offices for the enlarged staff as well as better space for the League's library and for office supplies and equipment.

A committee was authorized by the Council at its annual meeting in November to look for a small, permanent building for the League.

Howard P. Jones, left, former League secretary and now counselor of the American Embassy at Taipei, Formosa, shaking hands with George Yeh, Chinese Foreign Minister, at a reception given on the occasion of Mr. Yeh's departure for the United States to attend the General Assembly of the United Nations recently. Mrs. Jones can be seen at the extreme left.

Views from foreign lands contributed to the session on International Aspects of Local Governmen during the National Conference on Government. Here Gregorio A. Ejercito, administrative assistan to the mayor of Manila, speaks from his experiences in the Philippines. Other panel members are left to right, Paul J. Hallvar, mayor of Jakobstad, Finland; John D. Corcoran, Public Administratio Service, Chicago, who presided; Felipe Gutierrez Zorrilla, staff member of the Instituto de Estudio Sociales de Monterrey, Mexico; Thomas S. Sutherland, southwest regional director, Institute o International Education; George A. Warp, University of Minnesota; and Peter W. Gunther, executiv secretary, State Association of Citizen Councils of Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany.

Conference

(Continued from page 1)

attended."—KIMBROUGH OWEN, Director of Research, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana.

"I think the Conference was definitely the best one I have attended. The session on 'suburbanitis' seemed to have stirred real interest, and I know I got a good bit of information from it." —WINSTON W. CROUCH, Director, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California (Los Angeles).

"I am doubly proud of this Conference, first for San Antonio and second for the League, as I feel that it was an outstanding success for both."—ALEX R. THOMAS, Chairman, San Antonio Citizens' Committee, and NML Regional Vice President.

"I heard many favorable comments and all agreed the meetings were interesting, informative and educational." —GLENN K. SHRIVER, Staff Member, Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate.

"The Conference was the most rewarding experience of my stay in the United States. It gave me the 'feel' of your citizen-government relationships." —PETER W. GUNTHER, Executive Secretary, State Association of Citizen Councils of Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany.

"Four of our members went to all the gatherings and returned very enthusiastic about the programs which they heard and the problems which were discussed. Congratulations for the success of your convention." — ANTONIO L. RODRIGUEZ, President, Instituto de Estudios Sociales de Monterrey, Mexico.

These and other comments point up one central fact, that the chance to rub elbows and exchange ideas is stimulating to the public officials, political scientists, business leaders and members of citizens' groups who gather annually at these Conferences for a common purpose—to find ways and means of improving government.

A total of 1,004 people, a new high, registered at the Conference. In addition, members of San Antonio civic organizations who were present as sponsors of the various luncheons brought the total attendance to 1,327. Registrants from 35 states, as well as from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Canada, Germany, Finland, Thailand and the Philippine Islands made up the attendance.

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11 All-America Cities Named

Resourceful citizens all over the United States can and do provide the impetus for improvements in local government and community living. This fact was clearly demonstrated during the hearings before the All-America Cities Award jury at the 1952 National Conference on Government in San Antonio.

Henry Bruère
President
NML

Interest in this annual feature of the Conference ran high, with several hundred persons attending the two afternoon sessions. Many in the audience returned to their home communities brimful of new ideas for local improvements, heartened by the evidence that individual citizens, banded together, are being successful in securing better conditions in many parts of the nation.

Here's how Dr. George H. Gallup, foreman of the 1952 jury, explained the basis for making the annual awards: "These awards are made not for good government or efficient municipal administration or some specific improvement on its own account, but rather on the basis of energetic, purposeful, intelligent *citizen action*."

Twenty-two cities of the scores which applied for the awards were invited to present their stories of achievement before the jury. They were selected after careful screening by the League's Eligibility Committee consisting of Philip H. Cornick, Institute of Public Administration; Paul A. Volcker, former town manager, Teaneck, New Jersey; and Richard S. Childs, chairman, executive committee, NML.

Reflecting one of the most acute community problems of the postwar period, five of the eleven winning cities reported significant improvements in educational facilities. Three cities whose citizens voted to rid themselves of machine politics and adopt the council-manager form of government were among the award-winners. Other awards were made for citizen action leading to an outstanding slum clearance program, a cooperative community-wide flood recovery project, crime cleanup and adoption of a strong mayor charter.

The awards will be presented to the citizens of the winning communities by representatives of the National Municipal League. *Look* magazine, co-sponsor of the awards this year, will also have a representative at each ceremony.

Vernon C. Myers
Publisher
"Look Magazine"

More than six pages of the February 10 issue of *Look*, out January 27, were devoted to the 1952 All-America Cities.

In making the awards, the jury pointed out that there were many cases of meritorious citizen action, in addition to those cities winning citations, which were noted in the many applications received this year.

The Winning Cities — —

Baltimore
Md.
Pop. 949,708

Back in 1941, the Baltimore slums presented so many social and economic problems that a young social worker was moved to undertake an independent slum area study. Her findings, augmented by a series of articles in *The Baltimore Sun* exposing slum conditions, awakened citizen interest and led to the organization of a Citizens Planning and Housing Association, adoption of a minimum standard housing code, establishment of a housing bureau in the city health department, formation of a sanitary corps in the police department, creation of the first magistrate's court in the country dealing exclusively with housing matters, inauguration of a Pilot Program under the guidance of a Citizens' Advisory Committee to rehabilitate not only physical properties but also the social condition of their occupants, and founding of Fight Blight, Inc., a non-profit organization that finances home improvements for blighted area home owners who have no credit standing.

Shirley Biddison
Spokesman

The Baltimore Plan, as this program came to be nationally known, culminated in 1952 when the Pilot Program undertook the rehabilitation of a 27-block blighted area.

Bemidji
Minn.
Pop. 10,001

The citizens of this small city accomplished two objectives in 1952 whic they feel will open up large new vista for future community advancement they passed a badly needed school bon issue and adopted a new charter providing for th council - manage form of government.

Mrs. C. L. Schloss
Spokesman

Bemidji for several years suffere from a lack o adequate schoo facilities. Th buildings wer overcrowded an antiquated. But i 1951, the citizens, fearing an adde strain on their already heavy tax load rejected a school bond proposal. Afte studying the problem and revising som of their ideas, fifteen local organization succeeded in arousing the citizenry t action. Reports, newspaper stories rallies, personally presented handbills a speakers' bureau, radio round tabl discussions — all these activities combined to convince the voters. A $550,000 school bond issue was approved b a four-to-one vote.

Also last year came the culminatio of a fight that had begun before 194 to discard Bemidji's 1905 charter an adopt a council-manager document. A group of aroused citizens interested an educated their fellow townsmen in th issues. Result: the amendment passe by the required three-to-one margin.

— — And Why They Won

Brookfield

Ill.

Pop. 15,472

In 1945, a group of Brookfield citizens, concerned over a general deterioration of local governmental services with a constant increase in the tax burden, formed an organization to enter a slate of candidates for local office. They succeeded in electing a village president and two members of the council. Then they conducted a survey, which showed that bonded indebtedness was at a staggering figure as was illegal diversion of special funds; total liabilities were $738,500, the village had less than $3,000 cash on hand and Brookfield's credit standing was at the vanishing point.

C. Harold Eash
Spokesman

In 1947, Brookfield adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance and the community's financial structure began to improve. Other Illinois communities have since taken notice of Brookfield's progress, with the result that representatives of the village have been asked to give more than 50 talks in 36 communities about "The Brookfield Story."

When, in part because of Brookfield's success, the state of Illinois passed council-manager enabling legislation in 1951, eight cities proceeded to adopt the plan. Brookfield, buoyed up by its four years' successful experience under its manager ordinance, submitted the enabling plan to its citizens, who voted twelve to one for adoption.

Compton

Calif.

Pop. 47,991

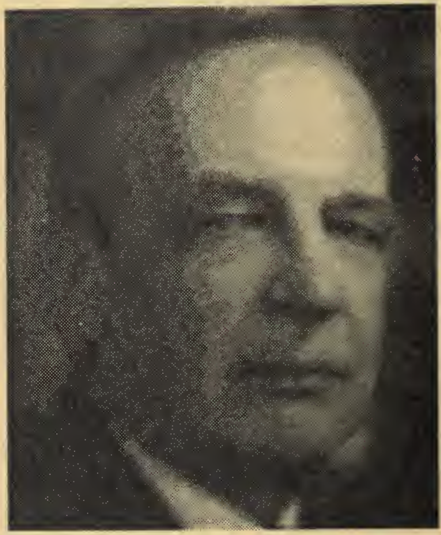
A war-swollen population increase of 196 per cent overloaded Compton's school system almost to the breaking point during the postwar years. Half-day sessions for the children, overcrowded classrooms, and public indifference to their problems hampered the school administrators at every turn. School bond elections failed consistently.

William Holland
Spokesman

Under the leadership of a local car dealer and a real estate broker, sixty persons formed a Citizens' Committee. Only after most of the voters were aroused by this committee's findings were Compton's schools rescued. The committee launched a spirited campaign for more school facilities and was soon joined by many of the city's organized groups. Outstanding educational leaders in the state were called in for consultation and advice. The voters, educated to the pressing educational needs of their community, overwhelmingly approved an $11,000,000 bond issue for construction of two new senior high schools, two junior high schools and a new 80-acre junior college plant. They elected eight new school board members. A district-wide administrative reorganization followed. Groundwork is being laid for the unification of the elementary school districts and another bond election is in the offing.

The Merriam Political Legacy

Charles Edward Merriam, one of the great political scientists of all time, died January 8 in a hospital in Rockville, Maryland, at the age of 78. Dr. Merriam, who joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1900, was chairman of the Department of Political Science from 1923 until his retirement in 1940.



CHARLES E. MERRIAM

Although in a fundamental sense the history of political science can be traced at least back to the Greeks, the political science profession is so young that Dr. Merriam is one of the relatively few pioneers of modern American political science who have passed on—men like Woodrow Wilson, A. Lawrence Lowell, and Frank G. Goodnow.

Dr. Merriam had at least as much as anybody to do with getting political science off the dusty shelves of the chroniclers and the analysts and out of the closet of the theorists by bringing about a synthesis of history, theory and experimental application which justifies the otherwise presumptuous name political "science." Thus, like the great students of politics in other ages and lands—Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Machiavelli, James Bryce, for example—Dr. Merriam learned, taught and practiced his growing mastery of his subject as much outside as inside the academic halls. Beginning as alderman in the old seventh ward in Chicago, 1907 to 1911, Dr. Merriam went through a series of practical experiences in politics and administration, including a nearly successful race for mayor of Chicago in 1911, membership on numerous important official and quasi-official commissions such as President Hoover's Commission on Recent Social Trends, The National Resources Board, President Roosevelt's Committee on Administrative Management (with Messrs. Brownlow and Gulick), the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel and, more recently, the Commission on Freedom of the Press and the Federal Loyalty Review Board. A one-time president of the American Political Science Association, Dr. Merriam was instrumental in organizing the Social Science Research Council and became its first president in 1924. He also had an important part in creating the Public Administration Clearing House and its associated group of organizations of public officials and bodies.

His legacy includes 24 books, innumerable articles and a host of students, among whom are many out-

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Editorial Comment

The Merriam Political Legacy

(Continued from page 64)

standing political scientists as well as others engaged or influential in politics and government. One of his students is his son, Robert E. Merriam, who has followed his father as a Chicago city alderman. Father and son have also collaborated in research and writing. At the time of Dr. Merriam's last illness they were working on a college text to be entitled *Our American Government.*

It was inevitable that a man of Dr. Merriam's interests and quality should early have become associated with the National Municipal League and continued to play an important and honored role in its work. The League shared with Dr. Merriam a number of his major interests, including the problem of planning for metropolitan regions and reducing the waste of overlapping governments, the importance of home rule and the necessity of developing nominating and electoral methods that facilitate, not impede, citizen participation and control.

A brief review of some of Dr. Merriam's work with and service to the League indicates the breadth and practical importance of his conception of political science and his sense of responsibility as a functioning citizen.

As early as 1904, Dr. Merriam appears in the League record as a member of the Committee on Coordination of University and Collegiate Instruction in Municipal Government. Through this committee the League continued for some years to work to expand and vitalize the teaching of municipal government and related subjects. In 1909, Dr. Merriam was a member of the Committee on Municipal Reference Libraries. In 1910, he was a member of a Committee on a Program for Improvement of Methods of Municipal Administration. In 1922, he was appointed to a committee directed to advise on the relative attention that ought to be given to municipal affairs as against state and national affairs at League conferences.

Dr. Merriam's urge to reach out for new methods was exemplified by his suggestion at the meeting of the League Council in 1931 that the League prepare films that might be used by universities and colleges in classrooms. The project for civic films for use in and out of colleges is still high on the League's agenda and awaits only the necessary financing. In 1932, Dr. Merriam became a representative of the League on the Advisory Committee on Civic Education by Radio.

In view of Dr. Merriam's interest in the problems of political organization and action, it was natural that he served on a League Committee on a Plan of Political Organization which between 1914 and 1917 worked on the problem of how to develop local parties, nonpartisan in the sense that they would be distinct from the national parties. In 1926, he became chairman of the Committee on Election Administration which issued two models, the *Model Election Administration System* and the *Model Registration System,* the fourth edition of which is now in preparation.

Dr. Merriam was also a member of the Committee on the Revision of the Model City Charter which prepared the current draft of that, the most influential of all the League's models.

Dr. Merriam appeared repeatedly on the program of the annual National Conference on Government and in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, especially on such subjects as the metropolitan area problem and the direct primary. At the Cleveland Conference in 1930 he reviewed municipal progress in the preceding quarter century and made significant, hopeful predictions of things to come. The stenographic report of this speech was printed in the January 1931 REVIEW. A spectacular prediction in that speech, one yet to be realized but about which more may yet be heard, is that "there is likely to be some experimentation with city-states." This prediction stemmed in part from Dr. Merriam's interest in metropolitan areas and his feeling that in our present state system, with rural dominance of state legislatures, these areas are not permitted to play the role they should in the conduct of their own affairs and those of the nation. Dr. Merriam discussed the urban-rural conflict again at the next Conference in Buffalo.

Another important REVIEW article, entitled "Recent Tendencies in Primary Election Systems," published in February 1921, was a companion piece to the address of Charles Evans Hughes as president of the League at the 1920 Conference in Indianapolis on "The Fate of the Direct Primary," published in the January 1921 REVIEW. Dr. Merriam's ideas, as well as those of Mr. Hughes, made important contributions to the League's *Model Direct Primary Election System* issued in 1951.

It was fitting that Dr. Merriam should have been an honorary vice president of the League at the time of his death. He had held this title since 1932, after having served as vice president since 1924.

The correspondence file shows continuing communication with Dr. Merriam until a few months before his last illness. As recently as March 1951, Dr. Merriam was admonishing Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee and co-founder with Woodrow Wilson of the short ballot movement, to "renew your interest in the short ballot, to which you have already contributed so much. The situation is getting worse in many places and I think it is high time for another move in this direction." A later letter related to Dr. Merriam's abiding interest in the metropolitan problem.

These things Dr. Merriam accomplished during his life. He will continue, through his writings and the memories and teachings of his many students and co-workers, to convey wisdom, to hold up standards and to encourage men to hopeful and constructive action.

Toward Winning States' Rights

Reform of antiquated legislatures is urged by Oregon senator to check the flow of power toward Washington.

By **RICHARD L. NEUBERGER***

"STATES' RIGHTS" is still a battle cry of freedom to many Americans in public life. These men and women deplore the rise of a vast centralized government, and they yearn for the era when basic political and economic decisions were made beneath the 48 state capitol domes rather than at the White House or in marble conference rooms in Washington, D. C. To zealous sponsors of states' rights, America never has been the same since federal sovereignty emerged supreme in such varied realms as taxation, natural resources, labor relations and even housing and aid to the needy.

Yet, when all is said and done, the march toward an increasingly powerful federal government is never going to be deterred by speeches or political maneuvering. It can be halted only by the states themselves. They must demonstrate that they are capable of governing effectively, honestly and with reasonable haste in time of crisis. When their state government falls down on an essential chore, voters inevitably look to big government in Washington to step into the breach. Federal authority under the New Deal originally crowded out states' rights because the states, meaning principally their legislatures, failed utterly even to scratch the crucial problems of misery, unemployment and farm surpluses stemming from the industrial depression of the nineteen thirties.

Will legislatures in 1953 be better equipped to grapple with a great emergency? Can they exercise the states' rights which are so often a subject of legislative oratory? In each state the legislature is the supreme policy-making arm of government. But is this arm sinewy and strong—or is it shriveled and weak?

Despite the presence in legislative chambers of many sincere men and women, few legislatures today command widespread confidence and respect. Public faith has been weakened by episodes involving petty corruption, prolonged delays and bungling inefficiency. Too many laws full of jokers emanate from the state lawmaking process. Disgusted electorates frequently regard undignified personal behavior as standard procedure at the state capital.

Indeed, the tidelands oil controversy which figures prominently in the present [1952] campaign directly involves the lack of trust in state legislatures. Many people are unwilling to relinquish offshore petroleum reserves claimed by Louisiana, Texas and California because of a fear that the legislatures of those states might fritter away the oil stores in defiance of the public interest. A similar doubt of legislative wisdom

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*Mr. Neuberger is a state senator in the Oregon legislature. A free-lance writer and author of several books, he has had numerous articles published in *This Week, New York Times* and *American Magazines*. The article above is reprinted with permission from the *New York Times Magazine* of October 27, 1952.

and integrity lies behind the reluctance to surrender to state control federal land-grant timber in the mountains of Oregon and Washington.

Once it was practically axiomatic in the United States that the leaders of the nation would rise out of state legislatures. Jefferson and Madison were members of the Virginia House of Delegates. Lincoln and both Roosevelts began their careers with legislative membership. Yet comparatively few of the country's best known political figures today ever served in a legislature. None of the four most recent presidential nominees of the major parties had legislative experience in his own state.

Few governors who have won recent national fame were ever enrolled in the legislatures to which they now direct their messages and recommendations—not Stevenson of Illinois, Dewey of New York nor Warren of California. And a compilation of United States senators without apprenticeship in state legislatures would feature such diverse names as Morse of Oregon, Douglas of Illinois, Bricker of Ohio and McFarland of Arizona.

Legislatures have lost prestige and standing in many instances because they are attempting to perform a twentieth century task with tools and methods of our frontier days. State constitutions, written before the age of the internal combustion engine or the urban metropolis, reach a bony hand out of the distant past and hold legislatures in a viselike grip. In only ten states are legislatures authorized to meet annually. This means that expenditures, appropriations and taxes must be forecast up to 24 months in advance, an impossible chore in a swiftly changing society. One reason for the sad condition of state mental institutions is this lag in legislative ability to confront new needs as well as the old, familiar problems. In a state as populous as Pennsylvania—where more than 10,000,000 people live—the legislature can sit in regular session only every other year.

Cinderella Legislatures

Still more amazing is the fact that many legislatures, like Cinderella, must quit on the stroke of some specific midnight after a comparatively fleeting whirl. More than half the states impose such a rigid limitation. Alabama's legislature can meet for a mere 36 days, the Washington legislature for 60 days, Indiana's assembly for 61 days. The usual result is a tremendous torrent of bills surging through both houses during final hours, with the clocks ceremoniously stopped or blacked out to preserve the legal fiction of conforming to the state constitution.

Under this stress bills become law without any real study or debate. I have fidgeted through mornings in the Oregon State Senate when haste goaded us into voicing "yeas" and "nays" on more than 30 important measures in the space of two hours. On one occasion we passed a bill 42 pages in length which only a handful of senators had even scanned. Later we discovered that we had doubled the license-plate fee on small passenger automobiles but reduced it for the heaviest trucks. This was quite the opposite of what most of us intended.

Because state legislative sessions are so far apart, few of these law-making bodies have permanent staffs. Each meeting of the legislature begins from scratch. Nearly all employees are new—clerks, secretaries and committee counsels. The opening weeks are spent groping for a start. By the time the personnel finally knows its way around, a session often must fold up to comply with the time ceiling on its tenure. Bills pour through the hoppers like confetti, even though they pertain to such vital matters as schools, highways, courts, public health and taxes.

The Council of State Governments has recommended "skilled and full-time legislative employees appointed on the basis of merit and competence." But this still is only a faint hope in most assemblies, where temporary staffs are patched together from among loyal and deserving workers for the party in power.

Political Employees

In the legislature where I serve, two factors ordinarily decide who shall be hired—politics and nepotism. An overwhelming majority of the legislators are Republicans, and thus only Republicans pass muster as chief clerks or calendar clerks. In the one-party Democratic states the same political monopoly prevails in reverse.

The few Democrats recruited for employment in our legislature usually are the relatives of Democratic senators or representatives. At least half the members of both parties have their wives on the legislative payroll. Because many of these wives cannot operate a typewriter, take shorthand or file documents expertly, the work of the session bogs down.

Yet the people of the state rarely protest this situation because of a strange sense of guilt. The guilt arises out of the pay for legislators in Oregon—$600 a year.

Unless a member can get his wife on the payroll he cannot meet ordinary living expenses at the state capital. My wife and I are both elected members of the Oregon legislature, but our combined salaries barely take care of out-of-pocket costs during a session, when we must be away from home. We constantly have to travel back and forth between the capital and our districts to familiarize ourselves with local problems involved in legislation. Yet the state does not even provide mileage expenses.

Nor is Oregon at the bottom among the states in pay to the men and women who enact laws. A friend of mine in the New Hampshire legislature said he could earn much more at baby-sitting or caddying on a golf course than passing upon the principal social, economic and political issues confronting the state.

Legislative pay in New Hampshire is $200 for a two-year term in office. Tennessee rewards its law-makers with $4 a day when the legislature is in session. This rate has not gone up since 1870. Kansas, North Dakota and Rhode Island pay senators and representatives $5 a day. In Arizona the fee for a day's work on the statute books is $8. Many states pay legislators $10 a day, a sum balked at by doorkeepers and custodians. Connecticut's state senators and representatives are paid annually; the amount is $300.

These absurdly low salaries are are often cemented in state constitutions, another indication of the rigidity with which legislatures today are controlled from out of the past. The pay cannot be raised by mere statute, as can be done in the national Congress, for example. Most of the constitutional provisions governing pay, procedure and length of legislative sessions date from a period when Indian hostiles and donation homesteads were the states' knottiest problems.

Legislative rules in my state have changed little since Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce were on the warpath. These rules are part of the constitution, for many states have charters five or six times as long as the constitution of the United States.

California's constitution contains 72,000 words and that of Louisiana 63,000 words. Contrast these with the 7,500 words in the constitution which guides the entire nation and it becomes clear why legislatures, which should be deciding matters of basic governmental policy, must devote precious days to fixing the hours of work of deputy sheriffs and outlining the boundaries of water districts.

Meager Compensation

A committee of political scientists organized by the National Municipal League has announced that "legislative compensation in the larger states should not be less than $7,500 or $8,000 per year, and that in no case should it be less than $4,000." But only a token number of states even approach this goal. New York and Illinois each pays legislators $5,000 annually. These are the top figures for the country. The general run of legislative pay, rooted in the granite of state constitutions, is closer to the $500 a year received by senators and representatives in Utah, West Virginia and Vermont.

One of the unfortunate phases of trifling legislative pay is its symbolism. It seems to herald, to legislators and public alike, that the job of enacting state laws is not very important, after all. The dignity is squeezed out of the title. Could this be why a study showed 40 per cent of all legislative members in the nation to be without previous experience? Good men quit in disgust or never even make a try for the legislature.

Out of this atmosphere comes a stream of shoddy episodes. Rhode Island legislators leave the capitol building early to man the $2 windows at a nearby race-track. A Missouri representative turns up on the payroll of a trucking company while the assembly is debating highway taxes. New Jersey legislators, deciding upon transportation bills, vote themselves passes on the railroads which cross the state. A multimillion-dollar California lobbyist for beer interests boasts that he is "the governor of the legislature."

What can be done to restore grandeur to state government and to add something besides oratorical meaning to states' rights?

(1) Legislatures should be in session whenever important issues arise and not at sporadic and widely separated intervals.

(2) Pay must be adequate to attract good men—at least $6,000 a year in all states.

(3) States should call constitu-

tional conventions to draft new charters and to free legislative bodies from picayune restrictions dating from nearly a century ago.

(4) Legislatures should be smaller in size to revive orderly procedure and to familiarize voters with the qualifications of candidates. Why should the Vermont, Connecticut and New Hampshire legislatures each include more members than the Canadian Parliament?

(5) Permanent staffs, protected by civil service, should hold over between sessions and thus assure continuity and experience to the legislative process.

These reforms would put meat on the skeleton of states' rights, which is ostentatiously exhibited at so many political clinics. State government is only as strong as the legislature that enacts state laws and shapes basic state policy.

Lopsided Legislatures

Yet states' rights, to endure, need something still more. Too many legislatures are predominantly one party in make-up. Where there is no effective opposition, skulduggery flourishes and idealism withers. Most Americans think only of the south in terms of one-party system. They are dimly aware that the Georgia legislature contains 257 Democrats to two Republicans, but they overlook the fact that this kind of domination is not confined to southern states.

The legislature of North Dakota numbers 160 Republicans and two Democrats, that of Oregon includes 72 Republicans and eighteen Democrats. In Vermont, laws are written by 245 Republicans and 23 Democrats. Regardless of how the national elections go in Connecticut, the state House of Representatives has stayed Republican in every election since the Civil War. These lopsided Republican majorities approximate the contrasting situation in Tennessee, where the legislature consists of 109 Democrats and 23 Republicans.

What remedy exists for this one-party rule which robs legislative operation in many states of vitality and the will to pioneer?

If the legislatures were divided into new districts according to population in the states north of the Mason and Dixon line, Republican control on a lopsided basis soon would end, or at least be modified. Rural areas now are over-represented in many states. These agricultural counties mainly elect Republicans to go to the legislature. At the same time the metropolitan realms, largely Democratic in voting behavior, are denied their full quota of seats.

I speak for 85,000 urban residents; the state senator at the desk next to mine represents 8,000 rural residents. Yet each of us is supposed to have the same number of constituents. Adjustment of these inequities would ameliorate the one-party rule by Republicans in Oregon.

But the solution to one-party hegemony in the south is not so simple. Long, slow years of attrition may be necessary to erode the time-honored habit of voting the straight local Democratic ticket on election day.

A healthy, active opposition to the majority party in state legislatures the country over is one of the most practical methods for rehabilitating states' rights, right at the source of these local freedoms.

Cities Rush Home Rule Gate

Rhode Island communities, long kept in chains by state, obtain new charters under recent constitutional change.

By ROBERT J. M. O'HARE*

THE state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is famous for a number of reasons. First, it is the smallest of the 48 states. Of course, it was the first state to allow full and complete religious freedom for all sects. It was the site of the first naval engagement in the Revolutionary War. It is the site of the first cotton mill. For a small state, a number of other "firsts" could be cited. Historically, Rhode Island is able to stand beside other states of our nation in accomplishments.

When we speak of government matters, however, Rhode Island has a number of "lasts" on its records. It was the last of the original thirteen colonies to ratify the federal constitution. It was one of the last states to rid itself of bicameral local city councils. Until the November 1952 election, it was among the last four states not having a council-manager city within its borders. Only Arkansas, Indiana and Louisiana lag behind Rhode Island.

In between these records of "firsts" and "lasts," Rhode Island has reason to be proud of other accomplishments. One of these is constitutional home rule. Home rule is still an infant, having been born on June 28, 1951, when the voters of the state ratified a good home rule amendment to the state constitution.

Historically, Rhode Island, and I speak now of colonial times, was accustomed to much local home rule. This dates from the founding of Providence by Roger Williams, through the founding of the Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay under a patent from the Earl of Warwick, to the creation of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations under a charter granted by King Charles II of England. In every step of the way the local communities of the new colony organized and managed their own local affairs and services. Each town retained its own individuality and functioned to a great degree without reference to any higher authority, except for those few laws which were commonly accepted by all communities.

During the 1700s this situation flourished even though the King Charles Charter had set up a General Assembly for the entire colony with vast authority over local matters. During the 1800s, with ever-increasing population and with the development and expansion of the state, the General Assembly, which had up to this time held in reserve its powers over matters of local concern, began to assert itself. As each new statute was pressed through the state legislature, the powers which formerly belonged to the local communities were gradually but steadily diminished, so that by the 1900s, the General Assembly held full sway over local matters.

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*Mr. O'Hare, formerly staff assistant to the Massachusetts Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government, is executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, San Antonio, November 19, 1952.

With the legislature in full control, there have been no modern charters in Rhode Island. There were four cities with ancient charters that all but pre-dated their organizations as cities.

In 1939 the General Assembly did enact a law enabling Providence to establish a charter commission of eleven members, three chosen by each of the two major political parties and five appointed by the mayor. This commission drafted a creditable charter for the capital city, but not what is considered as a modern charter in the strict sense of the word. It did not undertake to reorganize departments to any extent, nor did it streamline the election procedure. Though referred to as a strong-mayor charter, it is really a modified strong-mayor document.

Charter Pleas Rejected

Outside of this one authorization, no other changes were forthcoming. This does not mean that there were no communities in need of charter change. There were many communities in need of immediate change. On one occasion, the people of Jamestown petitioned for a council-manager charter, but were rejected. On three occasions the people of Newport petitioned for a council-manager charter, but were denied the opportunity. In point of fact, it is commonly accepted that the General Assembly continually played one community against another on specific legislation, so that charter revision was more a subject of polite conversation than it was a plan for action.

What took place to change this picture? A little over two years ago, Rhode Island elected a governor who had just previously served as mayor of Providence. He had witnessed the all-powerful grip that the General Assembly had on cities and towns. He was aware that Providence had benefited by charter revision. He also understood that, as present conditions stood, the chances for charter revision in other cities and towns were remote. As candidate for the office of governor, he pledged himself to secure adoption of optional charter and home rule legislation. He included home rule in his inaugural address.

Governor Dennis J. Roberts in office knew that it took more than an inaugural address to carry out such a plan of action. He probably realized that such a progressive concept of local government was anathema to most members of the legislature. There was need for something extraordinary, something to which he could point more objectively, in order to focus the people's attention on the existing need for home rule legislation.

Fortunately or unfortunately, depending upon one's outlook, that necessary ingredient for activating such a program rested with the second largest city in the state, Pawtucket. This city of 81,000 population had been boss-ridden and machine-ridden for over a half century. I do not intend to portray the multitude of incidents and events that took place in this city over the past few years, but I will put my finger on the occasion that prompted active consideration of home rule legislation.

It was on the morning of April 24, 1951. A house committee had scheduled a hearing on a funding bond bill for Pawtucket. The mayor, a member of the opposition party, had opposed the bill from its inception but it had passed locally over his opposition and had been referred to the legislature for action. The Citizens League of Pawtucket, an infant organization at the time, decided to send a delegation to the State House to sit in at the hearing on the bond bill. Approximately a hundred persons made the trip to Providence.

Members of the group were met by a sergeant-at-arms who notified them that they were to be denied admittance to the hearing room on orders of the committee chairman. This was a strange edict and set the stage for a march on the governor's office. Governor Roberts spoke with leaders of this assemblage and, after being told of what had transpired, promised them he would sign no bond bills until they had been given an opportunity to be heard.

On the day following, we had what we refer to in Pawtucket as "The Great Compromise." So that the bond bills would not be held up to the detriment of the communities concerned, Governor Roberts agreed to approve all bond bills. At the same time, he directed that a state audit be made of the records and accounts of Pawtucket—the first within memory; he obtained enabling legislation to have a charter commission appointed to draft a new city charter for Pawtucket; and he promised to support home rule in the contemplated constitutional convention.

On May 1 Governor Roberts met with leaders of the two major political parties to discuss the proposal for a constitutional convention, and he himself insisted on a sound home rule amendment. Twenty-five days later the voters of Rhode Island approved the first such convention held in the state for 109 years.[1] It is no secret that leaders in both parties opposed the calling of such a convention. Neither is it any secret that they opposed home rule.

Home Rule Achieved

Opposition carried over to the floor of the convention in the first days of June. Political lines were drawn on what should have been a strictly nonpartisan amendment. It was only after strenuous effort on the part of the governor and a few real leaders that the amendment was reported out of committee and approved by the convention by a vote of 172 to 0. A special constitutional election held on June 28, 1951, saw home rule ratified by a greater vote than was given to any of the other proposed amendments. It received more support in Pawtucket proportionately than it did anywhere else in the state. Home rule became part and parcel of the state constitution.

Rhode Island was the first of the New England states to ratify such an amendment and it became one of the few states in the nation with a self-executing amendment.

Under this amendment, we have the following provisions:

(1) Section 1 itself is significant.

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[1] See the Review, July 1951, page 360.

It reads: "It is the intent of this article to grant and confirm to the people of every city and town in this state the right of self-government in all local matters."

(2) Every city and town has the right to elect a charter commission at any time to draft a new charter.

(3) Under any such charter there must be a local legislative body elected by the qualified voters.

(4) The state legislature may pass no law which affects the form of government of any city or town.

(5) The state legislature may still pass laws pertaining to the property, affairs and government of cities and towns which apply alike to all such cities and towns.

(6) The state legislature may pass a special act for a particular city or town, but this may not become law unless it is approved by the voters of the community at a special referendum election.

(7) The state legislature still retains powers in regard to borrowing and taxation, but this is not restrictive or controlling in nature since even acts passed in conformity to these reserved powers must be approved by the local electorate.

How to Get a Charter

The charter revision procedure of the amendment is relatively simple and uncomplicated. Fifteen per cent of the qualified voters petition for a special election to vote on the question of electing a charter commission to frame a charter. When this petition is filed with the local legislative body, it is first verified by the canvassing authority to determine its sufficiency. Then it is referred back to the council, which must hold a special election within 60 days. At this election, the voters vote first on the question: "Shall a charter commission be appointed to frame a charter?" and second on the candidates for the charter commission. The local council provides the method for the nomination and election of these charter commissioners but the amendment specifies that there be nine, that they be elected from the community at large, that they run for office without political or party designation, and that they be listed on the ballot in alphabetical order.

The votes cast for and against the question are counted first. If a majority of the votes favors a charter commission, the votes are then counted for the candidates to the commission. The nine who receive the greater number of votes are declared elected.

Within one year from the date of its election, the charter framed by the commission must be submitted to the local legislative body, which must provide for its publication and for its submission to the electorate for ratification at the next general election. There is one stipulation that a charter must be submitted to the legislative body 30 days prior to such election in order that it be placed on the ballot.

If the charter is approved, it becomes effective on the date set in it. It may be amended thereafter by local legislative action in the form of a referendum placed before the people at either a special or general election.

A number of communities have taken advantage of this charter revision procedure to date. Seven charters were presented to the voters in seven different communities in the November 1952 election. Four were ratified. Of those, there are three strong-mayor charters in the cities of Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls.[2] Newport became the first and only council-manager city in the state. All four charters have nonpartisan, off-year local elections, and all four are modern charters in the sense that they reorganize the entire structure of their respective city governments.

There has been one advisory opinion on the powers of cities and towns under present charters and under home rule charters. The Supreme Court was emphatic that until such time as cities and towns adopt home rule charters they still remain creatures of the state legislature, subject to its whims and acts.

Home Rule Association

In March 1951, just prior to consideration of the home rule amendment, there was formed a Home Rule Association, a nonpartisan statewide federation of civic groups and lay leaders. This organization played a leading role in helping to create favorable consideration of home rule. It circularized delegates to the convention with a model home rule amendment. It publicized by radio and television the necessity for constitutional home rule. It has, through a well manned legal committee, drafted a number of model resolutions and even model petitions and nomination papers, to assist local government bodies in the charter revision procedure. It has published a brochure explaining all the ramifications of home rule. It has sponsored a conference dealing with important charter problems. In short, it has lent a hand wherever possible to help communities take advantage of home rule. I believe it is the only such organization in existence today and much credit goes to its leadership.

This, in short, is a digest of what one state has done to increase responsible local government. If one man deserves recognition for his part, he is Governor Dennis J. Roberts. The League of Women Voters, the Rhode Island Home Rule Association, the Citizens League of Pawtucket and the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council deserve a word of praise for their participation as well.

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[2] See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 570.

Education — A Thing Apart?

Educators and political scientists in conflict over relationship of schools to local government system.

By **ERNEST A. ENGELBERT***

THE status of education in our governmental system is an issue of grave public conflict in America today. The past year has witnessed bitter political battles in a number of communities over proposed changes in the organization and administration of the public school system. Communities and civic organizations are being split apart by campaigns to save the schools. Moreover, all signs indicate that controversies will become more serious as the hard-pressed tax-conscious citizen endeavors to appraise the quality of education as a governmental service.

On the one side are arrayed those forces who believe that the function of education should be independently organized, independently financed and independently controlled by boards of education and professional educators, answerable only to a voting public. On the other side stand those who believe that the function of education should be integrated more closely into the over-all political process and general government to produce greater effectiveness and democratic responsibility.

It is tragic that during a time when both education and democracy need vigorous support, two distinguished groups, the educators and political scientists, are in general gravely divided over the status of education in our governmental system. The cleavage began to take root some time before the turn of the century when local governments and services were first subjected to administrative reorganization. It has, however, deepened in recent years with the growth of professionalism and the competition between educational and other governmental jurisdictions for administrative controls and financial support. Today, both within academic institutions and government agencies one finds great antagonisms between professional educators and political scientists on almost every issue concerning education.

Following is a brief resumé of some of the points of conflict which reflect how difficult any resolution of the controversy has become. There are, to be sure, a few educators who will side with political scientists on some of these issues and vice versa. Moreover, this presentation does not purport to represent the thinking of all members of these respective groups.

Philosophy and Function of Education. The disagreements between educators and students of government originate in what are regarded to be differing concepts about the philosophy and function of education in our governmental system. The educators view education as the queen of all governmental services. It is a public responsibility which they feel is so basic to the growth and culture of our civilization and to the values of our democracy that it cannot be treated in the same perspective as other governmental services. Education deals with life's most precious creation—the human being.

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*Dr. Engelbert, formerly with the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship at Syracuse University, is assistant professor of political science, University of California at Los Angeles. Some points of this article, which is his address before the National Conference on Government at San Antonio, November 18, 1952, are drawn from his experience as a member of a school board and his work with local education groups in the University of Wisconsin Extension Service.

It is, therefore, a social and spiritual undertaking which cannot be classified in the same category as public works—utility regulation, police and fire protection—or other governmental undertakings. Educators feel that political scientists are primarily concerned with the structure and organization of education and not with the child. They also feel that the political scientist's interest in all phases of government causes education to be placed in a subordinate role.

Political scientists, on the other hand, counter with the claim that educators have a grossly exaggerated concept of the importance of education in a democracy vis-a-vis other governmental services. They deny that democracy, culture and civilization are primarily the product of our educational system, rather than the product of our total social and economic environment. They point to a number of other public services, such as health and social welfare, which likewise deal directly with the human being and which in many respects could be considered as sacrosanct as education. Political scientists feel that educators have developed a narrow and inbred concept about the function of education which is reducing its potential effectiveness for good government and democracy.

Schools vs. Politics

Education and the Political Process. Educators and political scientists are at odds over what should be the relationships of the educational function to the general political process. Educators look at education as a nonpartisan function which should be divorced from the maelstrom of politics. They stress the need for keeping the educational function independent of general government, to protect it from the compromising situations, if not outright corruption, of the political environment.

They maintain that a public school system with independent boards of education elected directly by the voters is not only democratically organized but gives a greater measure of citizen interest and participation in the educational function than would occur if education were integrated into local government. The educators feel that the proposals of the political scientist to bring the function of education into the framework of general government would put education at the disadvantage and mercy of political elements, who would show neither understanding nor sympathy for the goals and needs of the schools.

To this argument the students of government answer that the educators exhibit a distorted and unwholesome attitude to the political process which undermines public confidence in the institutions of government. Political scientists stress the need for bringing the function of education more closely into relationship with other governmental services and the political process generally so that education will be exerting its rightful influence upon the problems and institutions of democracy. They contend that neither the educators nor the public schools make their biggest contribution to democracy by endeavoring to build a Chinese Wall around their function to exclude supposedly contaminating influences of politics.

As a professional group, educators should be the first to know that democracy thrives on participation and criticism, and they should be the first to appreciate that, when education withdraws from the general political process which is the essence of democracy, its chances of becoming a sterile activity with little significance for democratic society are correspondingly enhanced. Furthermore, political scientists point out the danger of building a special citizen clientele whose major interest is to protect politically the function of education. Political scientists maintain that the function of education should be the concern of all citizens, not simply parents or teachers; and that education will be less vulnerable to political attack if support is broadly based.

School Record Better Than City?

Organization of Education. Educators and political scientists are far apart upon the issue of the organization of education in our governmental system. Though educators admit that the educational system is by no means administratively perfect, they stress the fact that the school system has on the whole a far better administrative record than the average city or local government. They contend that the independent school system results in greater organizational effectiveness, in better assurance that the judgments of experts will prevail, in more financial stability, and in better relations between executives and elected officials.

Placing the education function under the city government, in their view, produces political and administrative decisions by persons unfit to make judgments for education, brings in unsympathetic budget scrutiny, leads to interference with teaching personnel and procedures, and breeds unwise competition between education and other public services. Educators point out that political scientists are so obsessed with theories of organization and administrative structure they would force all functions of government into the same mold, irrespective of the unique differences among subject matter fields that may be involved. The political scientist simply does not appreciate that the organization pattern for education cannot be the same as for the fire department.

On the other hand, the political scientist denies that, if separate school districts were abolished and the function of education incorporated into a department of city government, the professional quality of education would suffer. They point to the quality of programs and high administrative standards which are maintained by other governmental services as evidence that administrative integration does not compromise professional values and goals. They contend that independently elected boards of education and separate administrative structures make it difficult for either the people or their elected representatives to make any single effective over-all judgment about all governmental functions and their relationships. They stress the fact that the crying need today is for more responsible government which can come only through integration. Political scientists maintain that the proposals of educators weaken the whole system of state and local government, which in the end weakens the local system of school administration as well.

Fiscal Support of Education. Another area which has given rise to bitter controversy is how education should be supported fiscally. Educators have pressed strongly for complete financial autonomy for the public schools both in the revenue-raising and the expenditure process. At the local level they have fought bitterly to retain tax powers for school districts and freedom from municipal budget review. At the state level they have sought to write into the constitution and into legislation provisions which would guarantee education a fixed percentage of revenues. Educators contend that education suffers more than other governmental services in our uncertain fiscal environment, and that educators as political neophytes are least able to protect their interests in the give and take of the legislative process. Educators contend that political scientists are so absorbed in achieving over-all governmental fiscal harmony and financial review that they are blind to political realities.

Political scientists, contrariwise, state that they are seeking to develop an over-all governmental system which will permit the citizen to make one single intelligent over-all decision about his tax dollar rather than a series of unrelated judgments. They point out that other functions, such as highways and social welfare, are likewise trying to secure financial autonomy and security. This trend they maintain not only weakens the administrative powers of our chief elected officers but in a period of declining revenues leads to financial chaos. On the basis of inadequate teachers' salaries and school facilities, they deny that the function of education has spectacularly prospered as a result of independent financial authority. Political scientists take the position that, if educators had a more wholesome conception of the relative importance of other governmental services, the fiscal fears of the educators would disappear.

Education Personnel

Training and Control of Personnel. Great division exists between educators and political scientists over the training and control of educational personnel. Educators have fought for an independent school system for the purpose of establishing high standards for the teaching profession. They have fostered the development of teacher training schools in separate professional schools within colleges and universities. Through their numerous professional associations they have exercised powerful influence in legislative halls upon the content of legislation. Through state and local boards of education they have endeavored to set the administrative standards governing the work and conduct of teaching and institutional personnel. Educators contend that only by vigorous surveillance and control of the entire educational system will their profession advance.

Political scientists reply that they heartily favor the professional advancement of education but not at the risk of giving a single profession complete control over a major function of government. They point out that no group, the medical profession not excepted, has gone so far in proposals to insulate its profession. They suggest that there is grave danger that the educational profession will become a hierarchy of inbred personnel. Political scientists recognize the need for a thorough-going merit system in the educational field, but want to insure that the experts will be on tap and not on top.

To Change or Not to Change

Success of Education. Finally, educators rest their case for an independent school system on the grounds that it has proved successful. Why change a system that has provided the world with the most spectacular educational achievement in the history of civilization? To integrate the school system into city governments as they now exist might retard the advancement of education for decades. Educators contend that, as far as the layman is concerned, the question of an independent school system is a closed issue. Why do not political scientists and others envious of education's status accept the public mandate and turn their efforts to issues of greater importance?

Political scientists reply that educators on this issue at least are living in the past and not in the future. They say that the remedy for advancing the cause of education does not lie in finding historical justification for a continuation of independent organization of the school systems. Educators still conceive of city government in terms of the corruption of the 1890s and ignore the advancements in municipal administration that have taken place in the last half century. Moreover, political scientists contend that educators are failing to interpret properly the crises in which public education finds itself today. The current financial struggles of the public school system, the rise of anti-school campaigns and the growing controversies of public versus private schools, are not coincidental phenomena nor unrelated to this issue. Political scientists contend that educators will need all the help they can get in their fight to protect public education. The first step is to reorganize education out of its independent status into a function that will give it better protection not only from the other institutions of government but the public at large.

Here then are some of the major issues in the controversy between schools and local government. Undoubtedly there are merits in the arguments on both sides. Unfortunately neither the political scientists nor the educators have given this problem sufficient attention. A number of studies urgently need to be undertaken to shed light on this major controversy. Educators and political scientists need to close ranks and restudy afresh the relationships of the public school system to the governmental process.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

64 Council-manager Additions in 1952

Total for U. S. and Canada Becomes 1147

CITIES and other local governments to the number of 64, according to the latest available information, were added in 1952 to the list of communities having the council-manager form of government in the U. S. and Canada. This makes a total of 1,147.

At the current rate of adoptions the council-manager plan will become the prevailing form of government for American cities by 1960. Almost 40 per cent of all communities in the U. S. over 25,000 population now have the plan, as do about a third of those between 10,000 and 25,000.

Illinois led all states in adoptions last year with eleven, eight of which took advantage of an enabling act passed by the state legislature two years ago. The other three adoptions were accomplished by local ordinance.

Newport became the first council-manager city in Rhode Island, taking advantage of a 1951 constitutional amendment providing home rule.

Tacoma, Washington, (population 143,000) was the largest city to adopt council-manager government in 1952. Cincinnati (504,000), often called the "best governed city in America," is the largest council-manager city today; Teterboro, New Jersey, (28) the smallest.

Council-manager government is most popular in Maine, where 117 communities now have this plan, California is second with 105, followed by Texas with 93, Michigan 83, Virginia 64, Florida 58, Pennsylvania 54, North Carolina 47 and Oklahoma 45.

Snyder (1950 population 12,010) and **Ranger** (3,989), **Texas,** are reported by the International City Managers' Association as having adopted the council-manager plan in 1952. The ICMA has also added to its list **Escondido** (6,544) and **Paso Robles, California,** stating that they had adopted the plan prior to 1952.

Indio (5,300) and **Nevada City** (2,505), **California,** and **Deerfield, Illinois,** (3,288) adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance in 1952.

After counting absentee ballots, the final vote tally in **Bristol, Rhode Island,** showed that the proposed council-manager charter was defeated on November 4 by the narrow margin of 44 out of a total vote of 4,307.

The charter commission of **North Kingstown, Rhode Island,** has tentatively decided to draft a council-manager charter.

A group advocating a council-manager plan of town government for **Watertown, Connecticut,** has been seeking a charter from the state legislature. The need of reducing the number of independent officials, boards and commissions — now twenty — is stressed.

In a panel discussion in December on "What's Right and What's Wrong with **Peekskill (New York)**" former corporation counsel Isadore Vogel urged the need of a trained city manager, especially in view of a city budget of nearly $1,000,000.

A charter revision commission is at work in **Geneva, New York.** The council-manager and strong-mayor plans of government are topics of study.

Petitions in **Savannah, Georgia,** seeking to force the city council to appoint a new charter commission, in line with the people's advisory vote for the manager plan, have been declared insufficient. The Junior Chamber of Commerce and the League of Women Voters are considering circulation of new petitions this year.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Elmhurst, Illinois,** is working for a referendum election on the question of adopting the manager plan.

Alton, Illinois, in January defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan.

Petitions for an election on the recall of five members of the **San Antonio, Texas,** city council were declared to be lacking in sufficient valid signatures, even when additional signatures were obtained after the first rejection. Proponents of the recall are reported as having organized for the purpose of proposing candidates for council at the regular city election on April 7. The Citizens' Committee for Council-Manager Government, however, is hoping that a crushing defeat will at that time be administered to the recall group's candidates.

In **Eureka, California,** City Councilman George C. Jacobs advocates an election this year on the question of adopting the manager plan. **Oroville, California,** has such an election scheduled for April.

Commission Plan Dropped By Beatrice, Nebraska

Forty years of commission government have been ended by the voters of Beatrice, Nebraska, (population 11,813) who in November decided two to one to abandon it in favor of the statutory mayor-council plan.

This change is illustrative of the optional forms of city government available to cities in Nebraska. The standard form is the mayor-council plan and applies to cities of from 1,000 to 40,000, with minor differences for first and second class cities. Most cities follow this plan which applies automatically unless a change is voted locally.

The commission form, authorized by statute in 1911, may be adopted by any city of 2,000 or more. The council-manager plan is available to cities of 1,000 or more. Under a constitutional provision any city of 5,000 or more may adopt a home rule charter. Thus, Nebraska has a somewhat liberal plan for general, optional and constitutional home rule.

Nine cities have adopted the manager statute. None have abandoned it. Only four cities ever adopted the commission plan. The two largest, Omaha and Lincoln, adopted the plan in 1911 and 1912, respectively, but each of these has since adopted a home rule charter.[1] Only Nebraska City (6,872) will continue with the statutory commission plan, which it adopted in 1912.

In Beatrice, proposals for adoption of the council-manager statute were defeated by the voters in recent years. In 1948, furthermore, a charter convention was called, but the proposed home rule charter, providing for a strong mayor government, was defeated when put to a vote on September 15, 1949.

The new government will be effective after the spring 1954 elections. There will be a mayor and at least eight councilmen (there are three commissioners at present) since the statutes provide for two councilmen from each of at least four wards. The statutes also require election of the treasurer, clerk and police magistrate.

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[1] Omaha has commission government under home rule. Grand Island, the third largest city, also has home rule, with a manager plan.

Provision is made for a water commissioner, but his functions will be performed by an appointed board of public works which exists already by ordinance. Under the general operation of an appointed manager, this board supervises the municipal water and electric utility systems. As the result of a referendum proposal adopted at the November 1952 election, the board will take on added functions over streets, sidewalks, sewers and bridges. Finally, there is an airport board and a park board, each appointive. Thus, the city will not have a unified administration.

One little used provision in the statute may become a local issue, and it may be used to approach some degree of unity. The council may by ordinance provide for a manager. The mayor, indeed, may also be the manager but, if he is not, then the appointed manager may hold "any other appointive office." The appointive officers specifically include the city engineer, attorney, street commissioner—whose functions have been transferred to the board of public works—chief of police, fire chief and city physician. It is possible, therefore, that the manager of the present board of public works could be appointed also as "city manager" within the meaning of the statute, holding one or more of these appointive offices, plus any others established by ordinance.

Perhaps before too many years will have passed another opportunity will be presented for the people of Beatrice to express their preference for the unified manager plan.

A. C. Breckenridge
University of Nebraska

Revision Seen for Bicameral Charter

In Springfield, Massachusetts, one of the eight remaining cities with two legislative bodies, a poll of elected officials by the *Springfield Union* on the question of charter revision showed that Mayor Daniel B. Brunton and nearly three quarters of the bicameral council favor some amount of revision. The mayor, four aldermen and five councilmen incline to a basic change —to either a council-manager or a strong-mayor form of government. Springfield now has a weak mayor form with a board of eight aldermen and a common council of eighteen members.

Mayor Brunton advocates the strong-mayor form—Plan A of the optional statutory forms. The Springfield Taxpayers' Association, the League of Women Voters and the Plan D Committee prefer Plan D, a council-manager form.

Atlanta to Have Single Council

Atlanta, Georgia, heretofore reported as one of the few remaining cities with two legislative chambers,[1] will lose that dubious distinction on January 5, 1954, according to the Governmental Affairs Department of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. The city charter was amended by an act approved February 15, 1952, which substitutes for the present board of aldermen (nine members) and the board of councilmen (eighteen members) a single board of aldermen consisting of two members from each of eight wards. A new officer, president of the board of aldermen, will be elected at large. Each alderman must reside in the ward he is supposed to represent, but all are elected by a city-wide vote for four-year terms. An alderman will receive $2,400 per annum; the president of the board $3,-

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[1] See editorial, "And Then There Were Nine," the Review, December 1952.

600. The first election will be this year.

Effective at the same time is a reduction in membership of the board of education from eighteen (two from each of nine wards) to nine (one from each of eight wards, plus one elected at large).

San Antonio Adds 80 Square Miles

San Antonio, Texas, has annexed 80 square miles of territory, with about 40,000 population, in order to prevent several fringe communities from incorporating as independent towns, the American Society of Planning Officials reports. By gaining control of the fringe area, the San Antonio Planning Commission hopes to block the growth of slums that have been developing just outside the city limits.

With the addition, San Antonio now has a total area of 154 square miles and a population of 455,000.

Louisville Announces Personnel Policy

Following a ruling by the Kentucky Court of Appeals that it would be illegal for the city of Louisville to enter into collective bargaining contracts, the city issued a policy statement governing employee-management relations, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The statement covers all employees except professional, supervisory, clerical and fire and policy personnel. The basic purpose of the policy is to provide a means of giving employees an opportunity to present their views, both individually and through representatives of their choice, without abrogating the responsibilities required of the city by law. It describes the rules governing hours of work, wages, leave, overtime, holidays and vacations. It also explains the terms under which employees may organize, be represented during grievance procedures or discussions regarding conditions of work, and hold elections to determine the union which represents a majority of the employees.

AMA Stresses Problem of Metropolitan Areas

The American Municipal Association, at its annual American Municipal Congress in Los Angeles, declared that "the problems of the metropolitan areas have increased at an alarming rate during the past decade and threaten to strangle the political, economic and social life of American metropolitan cities." It called for vigorous action by the agencies of government most directly affected by the problems of such areas.

A Committee on Metropolitan Areas was established by the association to undertake a comprehensive research program of the major problems of metropolitan areas. The committee was directed to draft a program designed "to strengthen local municipal government in metropolitan areas and solve the problems created by growth, overlapping governmental jurisdiction and existing laws."

In a resolution on temporary defense housing in cities, the association said the "federal standards, including density of population, provision of adequate play space, off-street parking, and other matters related to reasonable living, should be evolved and applied to those projects which are to continue for the duration of the emergency."

Community Planning Explored in Arizona

The first Arizona Community Planning Conference was held on the University of Arizona campus December 12-13, with city and county officials of the state in attendance. The program included panel discussions on parking, zoning, parks and recreation, and the legal basis of planning. Charles B. Bennett, director of planning for Los Angeles, stressed the need for vigorous planning by Arizona's rapidly growing cities, and John Beatty, Phoenix planning director, in summarizing the work of the two-day session pointed out the importance of amending the state's 10 per cent budget limitation,[1] annexation and other laws which interfere with the implementation of plans for city and county development.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Study Made of New York Primaries

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This study is based on the August 21, 1951, primary elections in New York State. Elections in 1951, as in other odd-numbered years, were chiefly local. Mr. Bell's study (of which this represents excerpts) utilized the results of questionnaires, supplemented by newspapers, while the author was with Champlain College, Plattsburgh, New York.

It is commonly stated that the direct primary, while a valuable advance in democratic procedure, has failed to bring about a political millenium. Certainly, if its advocates in New York expected the primary to break the grip of established political organizations, they have been sadly disappointed. This study indicates that the application of the term "deserted"[2] is aptly descriptive of most primary elections in New York.

Primary elections in New York State are of the closed variety and used only for certain offices. Candidates to run on a statewide ticket—governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, state comptroller, U. S. senator and judges of the Court of Appeals—are nominated in conventions. The candidates for justices of the Supreme Court are also nominated by conventions which are held in each of ten judicial districts. However, candidates for U. S. representative, state senator, state assemblyman and all elective county and city offices are nominated by direct primary. Candidates for village and town office are nominated in some cases by primary but in most cases by a caucus open to all enrolled voters of the party.

While the state as a whole is fairly well balanced between Democrats and Republicans, the center of Democratic voting strength (hence, leadership in the state organization) is in New York City. The rest of the state, with a few exceptions, is heavily Republican, so that in many counties the winner of the Republican primary is almost certain of victory in the general election. As is to be expected, most contests for county positions were within the Republican party, while the Democrats had no candidates in the primary for at least one-fouth of the positions up for election and in seven counties had no names at all on the ballot.

A study of the data reveals that in both major parties there were few contests for nomination for county office. Even in the Republican primaries there were contests for only 6.8 per cent of the positions to be filled. The Democrats, who have little incentive for nomination, had contests for only 1.2 per cent of the positions.

Data were also obtained on primary nominations for the office of mayor in cities. Here we find more contests than for county positions. Out of 49 cities, in ten (20.4 per cent) there were contests in the Republican primary and in five (10.2 per cent) in the Democratic, together comprising 28.8 per cent of the cities.

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[1] The limit of increase is 10 per cent of the budgeted expenditures of the preceding year.

[2] See "The Deserted Primary in Iowa," by Kirk Porter. *American Political Science Review,* August 1945, pages 732-740.

In the counties the office for which there were most contests was that of sheriff: out of 23 counties the Republicans had three contests, or 13 per cent, and the Democrats two, 8.7 per cent, for a total of 21.7 per cent. Thus, while the contesting of nominations is found more frequently in cities, primary battles, whether city or county, are found in only a small percentage of the elections.

New York City Primaries

In New York City the situation is much the same. There were fifteen vacancies for various judicial positions throughout the five counties within the city, and for only one of these was there a contest. This was in the Democratic party. There were two nominations for district attorney to be made, and for one of these there was a Republican contest. The only city-wide office at stake was that of president of city council, and for this there was no contest in either party.

The lack of contests in most elections throughout the state may be attributed chiefly to the fact that the party organizations of the two major parties are comparatively strong. There are few cases of definite factional splits within either party. The contests that did occur were probably, in most cases, because of personality factors rather than factional disputes. This probability is best indicated by the fact that the thirteen contested primaries were spread over eleven counties.

The idea behind the closed primary is, of course, that the rank-and-file members of the party shall select the candidates to run in the general election. However, the accepted system in New York is that the county committee (in the case of county elections) draws up a slate of candidates, which will then be placed on the primary ballot by petition. Any person seeking office goes to a county committeeman, especially the chairman, to obtain designation. If not selected by the county committee, the office-seeker generally accepts the committee's decision in order not to prejudice his chances of consideration in the future.

For many county positions it is not a case of the man seeking the job; rather, the committee seeks a man who will consent to run. The fact that there were more contests for mayorality nominations in cities is probably because of the greater desirability of that position as compared to most county positions. Even for mayor, however, the organization-selected candidates were unopposed nearly 80 per cent of the time in one party, 90 per cent in the other, indicating widespread acceptance of the organization's decision. Undoubtedly beneath-the-surface tensions exist, and threats of contests are made, but the interests of party harmony usually prevail at some point prior to the deadline for filing primary petitions.

This suggests, then, that in New York the primary has not resulted in a breakdown of established party leadership. After the county committee decides the party's nominees, the enrolled party member is satisfied to assent to those decisions, or at least he is seldom sufficiently dissatisfied to go to the trouble of organizing an opposition that would have some chance of success.

Obviously, in most cases where there is only one candidate for nomination, there is little or no campaigning and little or no publicity, and primary day can slip by with but small newspaper or radio coverage. Under these circumstances voters can hardly be blamed for failing to realize that the polls are open, and even if they do realize it there is no incentive to induce them to go. Thus, in the Republican primaries only about one-fifth of the enrolled party members voted, but in a majority of counties with a Republican contest over half of those enrolled voted.

It is interesting to speculate about the effect the existence of the state convention system has on county party organization. The feeling of necessity for cooperation, for getting on the bandwagon, is definitely present in state politics, and it is possible that this feeling would be minimized if a statewide primary were used. On the other hand, strong state organizations are traditional in New York, and such traditions are not easily overcome. The presence of a strong state organization would render difficult a successful campaign for nomination under independent auspices. Organization is the key to success in primaries, and as long as strong leadership is present the organization can control most nominations regardless of the nominating process used. But the primary allows, far more than the convention, the possibility of successful revolt backed by substantial numbers of party members and, therefore, no matter how much or little it is used for this purpose, it remains an important part of New York's democratic process.

George A. Bell
University of Michigan

Columbia River Interstate Commission Organizes

Boise, Idaho, has been selected for the headquarters of the Columbia River Interstate Compact Commission, which has been authorized to negotiate a compact between Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming concerning use of waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries.

Business Executives Polled on Civil Service Problems

The National Civil Service League has conducted a poll of 200 business executives, who have held high-level government posts in recent years, concerning inadequacies of federal personnel administration and ways of correcting them. A committee of the league made five recommendations based on the results of the poll:

1. Reorganize the entire federal civil service system, including the U. S. Civil Service Commission. Appoint an administrator with ample experience in government and industrial personnel work as chairman, then reorient the personnel system around the doctrine that it is not merely to guard against the spoils system but is primarily to bring into government the most advanced administrative techniques and the most efficient personnel.

2. The president should make the efficiency of federal personnel his own responsibility, with dynamic backing of the Civil Service Commission and the maintenance of close liaison with the chairman of the commission and the civil service committees in Congress.

3. A clear-cut, unified personnel policy should be formulated to supersede red tape that now presents a major barrier to efficient administration.

4. Government should adopt the executive and supervisory training programs which private industry has used so successfully. It should also make use of orientation and on-the-job training programs and establish provisions for workers in government

(Continued on page 108)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Philadelphia Merger Problems Studied

Commission Makes Report on Consolidation of Functions

THE Philadelphia Advisory Consolidation Commission, an eleven-member, bipartisan agency created by the city council to study and report on problems of merging the county and city offices, recently issued its tentative proposals relating to thirteen city and county agencies. It recommends abolition of the board of revision of taxes, clerk of quarter sessions, coroner,[1] inspectors of county prison, recorder of deeds, sheriff, city commissioners and registration commission. Their functions would be transferred to other agencies.

It proposes further that the city treasurer be no longer elected but be appointed by the finance commissioner and that the register of wills be appointed by the judges of orphans' court rather than elected. New agencies recommended in the report include a board of trustees of Philadelphia prisons in the welfare department, a chief assessor under the director of finance and a popularly-elected board of elections.

After hearings on the report, the commission will review it, put it into final form and submit it to the city council for consideration and possible action.

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research has issued a 28-page report on *The Problem of Completing City-county Consolidation,* prepared by Leigh B. Hebb, a staff member. It outlines the "general scope and problems of city-county consolidation and describes briefly the agencies in Philadelphia's local government which appear to come within the compass of consolidation."

Court Rulings Asked

A new case has been appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court requesting a further interpretation of the Philadelphia city-county consolidation amendment to the constitution, approved by the voters in November 1951. In an early case, when newly elected county officers attempted to remove an employee in the sheriff's office in January 1952, the employee sued on the ground that because of the consolidation she was protected by the merit provisions of the city home rule charter. Upon appeal, the Supreme Court supported this contention in the Carrow decision.

In the current case before the Supreme Court, the board of revision and the registration commission contend they are state, not county, agencies, but if they are found to be in the latter category, they declare the home rule charter specifically exempts agencies engaged in functions such as they perform. Two other officials, the prothonotary and the register of wills, claim to be exempt both on the grounds that they are judicial officers and that there is specific provision for them elsewhere in the constitution. Still other county agencies are requesting a reversal of the Carrow decision. It is expected that decisions in these matters will be rendered shortly.

Philadelphia Coroner May Be Abolished

A bill has been prepared for introduction into the 1953 Pennsylvania legislature providing for abolition of the elective office of coroner in the county of Philadelphia (which is coterminous with the city) and substituting a medical examiner. The latter would be a physician and pathologist appointed by the managing director of the city, with approval of the mayor, from a list of candidates supplied by the deans of the several medical schools in the county. He would be certified by the American Board of Pathologists and have special training in forensic medicine. The coroner's functions of a legal nature would be distributed to the prosecuting attorney and the courts. The bill has the support of the Clinical Pathology Section of the County Medical Society, the Pathological Society of Philadelphia and the Medico-Legal Committee of the City Bar Association.

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[1] See also item below.

One Government for Atlanta Area Urged

A county commissioner of Fulton County, Georgia, in a recent speech before the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, urged consolidation of the city and Fulton County into a single unit of government. He emphasized that present duplication in tax departments, public works and school systems could be eliminated by such consolidation. Many other functions of the city and county have already been consolidated.[1]

Two Counties Consider Manager Plan

The board of supervisors of Fresno County, California, has appointed a 25-member county study committee to investigate the feasibility of the manager plan, which has been recommended by two successive county grand juries.

A newly elected board of supervisors of Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, has appointed the city clerk of Phoenix to the top administrative position in the county. The move is regarded as the first step toward the county manager plan.

New Attempt to Abolish Bi-county Agency

The delegation in the Maryland state legislature from Montgomery County has announced its intention to reintroduce legislation abolishing the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission and transferring its functions to Montgomery and Prince George's Counties. Similar legislation failed to be reported from committee in 1947, 1949 and 1951.

The Montgomery County council is seeking legislation to permit it to name two members on the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission.

Maryland Metropolitan Area to Be Studied

A joint study of the commercial potentialities of the area embraced by the two counties is being undertaken by the governing boards of Prince George's and Montgomery Counties, Maryland. The cost of the economic survey, estimated at $25,000, will be borne approximately one-third each by the two counties and the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

Improvements Sought in Prince George's County

The Prince George's County commissioners are seeking legislation to create a unified department of finance, to establish a county merit system, to transfer control of the library system from the state to the county and to extend more home rule to the county in other matters.

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[1] See "Atlanta Pioneers in Merger," by Lynwood M. Holland, the REVIEW, April 1952, page 182.

South Dakota County Absorbed

Armstrong County, South Dakota, recently was annexed to Dewey County. It had no local government and, according to the 1950 census, it contained 52 inhabitants.

According to a report in *Business Week*, it was an old-fashioned farming area, among the richest in South Dakota, with few modern improvements; roads consisted of Indian trails.

The number of counties in the United States now stands at 3,048.

San Diego County Surveys Employee Attitudes

A survey by county authorities reveals that employees of San Diego County, California, like their jobs better than they did in 1949, when a similar survey was conducted. However, they are not as proud to tell people where they work as they were in 1949. A plausible interpretation of these answers is that, although the county is now a better employer, recent unfavorable publicity regarding the federal service has caused employees to feel a lowering in prestige of all public service.

Employees ranked the various aspects of their jobs in the following order of importance: security, interesting work, pay, good physical working conditions, promotion on merit, and credit and recognition for work done. This ranking constituted no change from order in which the factors were rated in 1949.

Arlington City Again Proposed

The Arlington County, Virginia, Civic Federation has proposed that the county board create a charter commission to attempt again to change the county to a city.[1] It declared that the plan rejected by the voters last November was inadequate.

Tennessee City and County Officials Confer

The Tennessee Municipal League reports that close relationships have been developed with county officials on road and street financing and other common problems. A standing committee on city-county cooperation has met with similar committees of the County Highway Association and the County Judges Association on several occasions. The league states that its policy is based on the assumption that the great threat to local government is not competition between cities and counties for revenues and powers but the growing tendency of state and federal governments to absorb the taxpaying capacity of people and the functions of government.

Women's League Urges County Planning

The League of Women Voters of Howard County, Maryland, has initiated a series of forums on the need for and the various aspects of county planning.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 572.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New York Struggles to Balance Budget

State Cool to Requests of City for New Revenue

ONE OF the most unpalatable—and possibly most ineffectual—revenue proposals ever cooked up for presentation to a skeptical legislature was transmitted by Mayor Vincent Impellitteri to the New York General Assembly when it opened in January. Designed to produce something on the order of $170,000,000 new revenue to balance the 1953-54 city budget, and an additional $100,000,000 or so to meet estimated additional needs through 1957-58, the proposals embraced nearly every imaginable device from the juggling of tax collection dates to amendment of the state constitution to permit higher property tax levies.

The largest increase in requirements for the new year is for the transit deficit, estimated to amount to about $45,000,000 for 1953-54. The obvious way to meet this problem is to raise fares on the city-owned subways and bus lines above their present ten-cent level—which is the lowest among large United States cities. Mayoral elections are due in 1953, however, and the ten-cent fare is sacrosanct politically—or so the city administration believes.

Device number one proposed by the city, therefore, is to sweeten up a future fare increase by dedicating new, non-revenue receipts to the transit operating budget. (To meet all transit charges from revenues, inclusive of debt service, is regarded by even the most optimistic as requiring a fare much beyond the realm of possibility.) The formula proposed is to have riders meet 60 per cent of operating costs through their fares, real estate to bear 20 per cent of the cost in general property taxes and "business" to meet 20 per cent of the cost through a "transit tax" to be levied on business net income at rates ranging from ½ of 1 per cent to 2 per cent. The administration calculates that the present ten-cent fare will meet the riders' share under this formula.

Budget increases for non-transit purposes are estimated by the mayor to require for 1953-54 some $126,500,000 in new revenues. Roundly $73,000,000 of this total represents increases in appropriations, with the remainder replacements for money raised by various devices for 1952-53 and not available hereafter. A change in the city sales tax collection date, for example, produced about $30,000,000 for 1952-53 which will not be available hereafter, while double collection of auto use taxes and liquor license taxes yielded $11,500,000 which will not again be available. Use of these expedients has caught up with the city, but their failure to solve the basic problems involved has not prevented the city suggesting similar devices to finance 1953-54 needs.

The new revenue program for non-transit purposes submitted by the mayor contains proposals estimated to produce a total of $218,700,000 above receipts otherwise available. Of this total, $62,700,000 is increased state aid, $40,000,000 is to be raised by moving up the payment dates of the state per capita grant, $49,000,000 is to be secured by increasing the tax rate limit or, alternatively, by a "county" tax to be authorized by the legislature, $25,000,000 is to be raised by a tax on the sale or transfer of securities,

$20,000,000 is to be gotten by including real estate sales in transactions taxable under the city sales tax, and the remainder is to come from various miscellaneous sources.

None of the potential taxpayers tapped by the mayor's program has responded with joy to the proposals, and some groups promise to register stiff opposition. The business net income tax and the securities sales or transfer taxes have drawn fire from business and financial spokesmen, and the real estate groups have already begun their campaign against the proposal to raise or evade the tax rate limit.

Property Tax Limit

The property tax proposal, in fact, illustrates the sketchy nature of the whole body of suggestions. Taxes, except for debt service, are presently limited to not exceeding 2 per cent of the average assessed valuation of the five preceding years by the state constitution. The proposal to raise the limit to 2½ per cent requires adoption of a constitutional amendment by two successive state legislatures and its ratification by the voters. The proposed amendment was passed by the 1952 legislature, but to continue on its way must be passed again by the 1953 legislature, before it can be submitted to the voters in November. Even if adopted, the amendment would not become effective before January 1, 1954, by which time half of fiscal 1953-54 will have transpired.

To provide for the contingency that the amendment raising the tax rate limit is not submitted, or if submitted not adopted, the city proposes alternatively that the legislature by statute authorize the levying of a county general property tax, a proposal more obnoxious to some real estate spokesmen than the proposal to increase the tax rate limit.

Also requiring special legislation is the city's proposed treatment of the transit deficit. The mayor's proposal included the setting up of a "transit authority" to take over responsibility of the operation of the subways and city-owned bus lines, and its subsidization as outlined above with general property taxes and proceeds of a tax on business income. The city would continue as at present to meet transit debt requirements from general property taxes.

While the suggested device would lack the essential characteristic of an "authority" in its presently accepted meaning in the United States—that characteristic being that the authority is entirely dependent for its financing on fees and charges made incidental to the sale of its services, and without the power to levy taxes—the idea of separating the transit operation from other city activities has been gaining ground among civic and other groups. In mid-January the Citizens Budget Commission, a civic organization, suggested that the authority idea might be utilized acceptably provided there was set up a mandatory schedule of diminishing subsidy for the annual operating expense. They proposed that the schedule for underwriting the enterprise from taxes be such that by 1958-59 transit would stand entirely on its own feet, except for debt service.

The city would continue to meet, from general property taxes, service on outstanding transit debt and on such additional debt as might be approved by the city board of estimate and apportionment within the $500,000,000 limit exempt under the constitution in figuring the city's borrowing capacity. Proponents of the authority idea in general believe that it will remove the ten-cent fare from the realm of politics, since all proposals so far advanced envision an organizational structure placing responsibility for fixing the fare on the authority rather than on the mayor and board of estimate.

Most of the remainder of the city's proposals are also dependent entirely on the enactment of permissive legislation by the state. The development of a long-range financial program prior to the meeting of the 1953 legislature had been a condition under which the Republican-controlled state administration had acquiesced in the enactment of the 1952 stop-gap measures which permitted the balancing on paper of the 1952-53 city budget, but the city administration failed to prepare or announce any such program in the remaining months of the year and the mayor's recommendations and requests were not submitted until the eve of the legislature's opening. Governor Thomas E. Dewey, in fact, reportedly did not receive the mayor's requests until his message to the legislature had been printed the night prior to its delivery, and the New York City requests consequently got a chilly reception in both executive offices and legislative chambers. It was not until the second week in the session that Democratic sponsors were lined up for the city bills. Most of the measures seemed likely to go through in one form or another, however, notwithstanding their evident shortcomings and the city's tardiness in formulating its proposals.

Courts Halt Jersey City Payroll Tax

Efforts of Jersey City, New Jersey, to secure an estimated $3,000,000 to $4,000,000 by levying a payroll tax beginning January 1, 1953, were thwarted on the last business day of the old year when Superior Court Judge Haydn Proctor granted an injunction staying collection of the tax until its constitutionality has been determined.

The proposed tax would have imposed a "license fee" of ¾ of 1 per cent on the payrolls of manufacturing concerns in Jersey City, and "license fees" at varying percentages on most other types of businesses, for establishments with gross receipts in excess of $20,000 annually. Proceeds of the tax would have permitted some reductions in the city's tax rate for 1953, an election year.

Buffalo Subsidizes Parking with Tax Exemption

Acting under an old statute applicable only to itself, Buffalo recently adopted an ordinance granting tax exemption to buildings constructed, altered and remodeled to provide off-street parking. According to the American Municipal Association, the exemption applies to general property taxes only, not to special assessments, and is to run for a period of fifteen years following completion of the parking structure. The exemption will not apply to the land, only to the building improvement.

To qualify for exemptions, buildings must have a minimum capacity for parking 150 cars. At least 75 per cent of the floor area must be used exclusively for off-street automobile parking. In structures not used entirely for parking, exemption is proportionate to the percentage of parking area to the total. Another provision is that construction or remodeling must be completed by December 31, 1955.

This unique tax exemption is the result of a recent amendment to a 1927 city ordinance authorized under a state law granting cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000 population power to exempt such buildings from taxation. The state law apparently was written specifically for Buffalo, since it is the only city in New York able to qualify.

Students Try 'Fieldwork in Politics'

University of Minnesota Conducts Unique Course

EDITOR'S NOTE—The story below is reprinted from *Minnesota Chats,* "A Quarterly for Parents of University of Minnesota Students," for October 1952.

ALL during October, fourteen University [of Minnesota] students were out interviewing candidates for the state legislature, helping them in their campaigns, ringing door-bells, addressing envelopes and writing up a running account of their activities. They are students in Fieldwork in Politics, a unique course in political parties which has no textbook or final exam.

Aimed at giving students a working understanding of political organization at the local level, the course is taught by Arthur E. Naftalin, associate professor of political science. The students meet once a week for class discussion, but the main part of their work is spent "in the field" and writing three long papers summarizing what they have actually learned about a specific candidate, a pressure group and a single committee in the state legislature.

At the beginning of the quarter each of the fourteen students chose a candidate he could willingly support for election to the state legislature. Then he had to scour the candidate's district and find out all about it—its minority and nationality groups, income levels, past voting records.

"It's amazing," says Professor Naftalin, "how quickly the students get a full sense of the district's political set up."

Then the students concentrated on the candidates themselves. "The candidates see these are honest students who aren't trying to 'throw any curves,'" says Naftalin, "And they're usually delighted at the chance to get volunteer help."

While students don't ordinarily become full-fledged campaign managers they *have* done everything else—from writing publicity releases and licking envelopes to arranging meetings and soliciting votes door-to-door.

By the end of October each student will have found out all about his candidate in a series of interviews—even down to some pertinent details of his private life (married? income? children? summer home?)—and particularly his stand on major campaign issues.

After digging up all this information, each student faces the job of finding out who is backing his candidate financially, what publicity techniques are used in the campaign, who helped run the show.

After the fateful first Tuesday in November an election post-mortem is held, and each student tries to estimate why his man won or lost, how the campaign could have been improved, and in what districts the candidate showed greatest and least strength. All this hard-gleaned information will be summarized in a written report prepared by each student with the aid of a long question sheet designed by Naftalin.

Next on the class agenda is the study of a special interest or pressure group — whether it be conservation, education or mental health, the American Legion or the Minnesota Wine and Spirits Institute. Student reports on this project will discuss the history, organization, financing, publicity and lobbying techniques of their pet pressure groups.

By winter quarter the Minnesota state legislature will have begun its sessions. The third and final big assignment will be to choose a particular committee of the legislature and follow its treatment of a specific bill —when possible one in which the student's pressure group has a direct interest.

Watching the Legislature

"I tell the class to beat it over to the Capitol to attend the opening session and committee caucuses and clip newspaper accounts of legislation and procedure," says Naftalin with a grin. "These kids are all the time on streetcars to the Capitol and back. They sit in on all meetings of their committee; they get to know most of the legislators by name and even strike up brief friendships with Capitol guards. In this way they get a sense of committee functioning you just can't get from books."

After many treks to St. Paul, plus some sober thought, the students write reports which are not debates on the pros and cons of the bill but outlines of how a bill gets to be a law. Who introduces it and how? How is it referred to committee? How is it brought to the floor and what action is taken on it?

The actual class sessions are conducted round-robin style, with each student sharing his experiences. Occasionally, guest lecturers from the major parties talk to the class.

"Though this is a practical course in politics, naturally some theoretical questions are bound to develop out of the fieldwork," says Naftalin. "We discuss these at length in class. Questions like: how much should representatives reflect their constituents' opinions and how much should they consult their own convictions? How much power should a majority have? How have press, radio and television influenced legislation?

The students in past years have continued going to legislative sessions long after the course is over in March. In fact, many of them have continued their interest in politics and even run for office after taking this course. But its purpose, Naftalin makes it clear, is not to create or recruit candidates.

Naftalin himself tries to keep the course nonpartisan. He makes it plain that he himself is a Democrat and has participated extensively in politics—formerly as secretary to Hubert Humphrey, now as vice chairman of the Hennepin County Democratic-Farmer-Labor party.

However, the fairness with which he teaches the course was noted in a recent nation-wide survey of university courses in practical politics. The authors of this report to the Citizenship Clearing House, affiliated with the New York University Law Center, [Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed] say, "It is significant to record that all present and former students [in Political Science 51-52] interviewed agreed that the professor's well known political views did not in the least interfere with the conduct of the course. Those who were Republicans testified specifically to the fairness with which they and their political views were treated."

Although all students interviewed for this survey said the course took more time than any other they had taken at the university, many of them said it was the most valuable. "The fact that students will give up so much of their leisure time to political participation," the report concludes, "is an indication of how strong a hold such courses as this can get on those who take them." The report adds that Professor Naftalin's course "applies the fieldwork idea more thoroughly than any other course we have observed."

Citizens and Legislatures

The Citizens Union of New York City, in announcing its legislative program for 1953, states that because of recent developments the organization will concentrate this session on election reforms and party organization controls. "The shocking revelations of the State Crime Commission as to underworld influences and improper political practices," says Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the union, "should make it possible this time to enact some of the remedies which the Citizens Union has long advocated." Among the matters the union will stress are permanent personal registration, direct election of district leaders and changing the primary date from summer to spring.

As a handy reference, the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, has issued with its December *Civic Bulletin* a list of federal and state legislative officials for Allegheny County.

"Legislative Preview—1953" is the headline for December's *Facts,* published by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta. Discussed are three problems which the league would like to see the legislature do something about: improvement of election processes, revision of the Fulton County budget law, and home rule for Atlanta. Senators and representatives for the Atlanta area, with addresses, are listed.

Bait for the Voter

Coffee and cakes were served at the January council meeting in Pine Hills, New Jersey, in an attempt to attract a greater attendance of voters. Result—75 persons present instead of the usual two or three, largest number ever to appear at a regular session. In an effort to get even greater attendance, Mayor Wilfred T. Forrest announces a change of council meetings from Wednesday evenings to Mondays so as not to compete with popular radio and television programs. The refreshments, to be continued, are served by the Parent-Teachers Association.

Court System Discussed

Revision of the Illinois Judicial System was the topic of the discussion at the December meeting of the Illinois Civic Exchange—"a medium through which civic organizations of Illinois exchange information and conduct joint investigations of public issues." Professor Rubin G. Cohn, of the University of Illinois' law faculty, stated the problem and presented suggestions for change. He pointed out that the present organization of the courts is substantially the same as set forth in the 1848 constitution—over a hundred years old. Others who discussed the matter were Judge Walter T. Gunn and State Senator George Drach. General discussion followed. Loren M. Bobbitt, of the Illinois Legislative Reference Bureau, presided.

Tokyo's Citizenship Day

Tokyo's Metropolitan Assembly has passed two bills dealing with citizenship. One names October 1 as Citizenship Day. This date commemorates the first public election, October 1, 1897, for the governing heads of the cities of Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto, previously appointed by the national government. The other ordinance provides an "appreciation of distinguished services rendered by those who have made substantial contributions toward the progress of culture in community and the enlightenment of the whole citizens." Such distinguished citizens will be given the title of "Honorary Citizen of Tokyo Metropolis."

Plan Spring Campaign

The Citizens Charter Association of Dallas, Texas, plans to present a strong ticket of council nominees at the April city election. The ticket will be pledged to support the present form of city government—the council-manager plan.

Preparation for Politics

Six colleges and universities sent delegates to an all-day conference held at the Law Center of New York University November 8, 1952. They discussed their individual courses and methods to promote more effective preparation of college students for participation in politics after graduation. Represented were Allegheny College, Pennsylvania State College for Women, Ohio Wesleyan University, Hamline University, Boston University and Washington Square College of New York University. Each of these schools conducts programs to aid in the training of college students for political responsibilities under grants of funds from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh, says the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University, which also receives such a grant.

New Bulletin

The first monthly *Bulletin* of the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University appeared in December. It "presents a medium for exchanging information on the preparation of college men and women for participation in the affairs of the major political parties. In addition it provides notes on projects in which the Citizenship Clearing House is directly involved as well as programs and courses on practical politics developed in colleges and universities throughout the nation. The *Bulletin* will report examples of college students actively and successfully participating in party politics."

Citizen Planning Conferences

For the first time in its history, reports the American Planning and Civic Association, its annual conference will be held in New Orleans. Dates are March 11-14, with headquarters at the St. Charles Hotel. The program will "highlight the problems of population growth into far-flung metropolitan and regional areas. . . . It is generally recognized that we must find a way to plan and to administer the physical development of entire metropolitan regions and to provide county planning before the counties repeat the mistakes of the crowded cities," reports *Planning and Civic Comment,* organ of the association, for December. Special emphasis will be placed on plans and projects in the south. Planners, members of planning commissions and leaders and members of citizens' organizations are expected to attend the conference.

The St. Louis Metropolitan Plan Association and Washington University together sponsored a conference on metropolitan problems. Meeting November 14 at the university, the conference discussed many planning problems besetting the area—economic and governmental relations, traffic and transportation, sewers and drainage, etc. The dinner session stressed citizen participation in solving metropolitan problems. Leland Hazard, vice chairman, and Park Martin, executive director, of the Allegheny (Pittsburgh) Conference on Community Development, described how citizens and officials of Pittsburgh work together to solve local problems.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Fiscal Problems Confront 1953 Lawmakers

Major Sources for State Revenues Are Inspected

THREE recent reports reflect the types of finance questions confronting state legislatures this year and also reflect three of the sources of studied criticism and advice active in this field today. From Pennsylvania, Indiana and Kansas have come reports on state expenditures, revenues and fiscal organization, published by a state chamber of commerce, a governmental commission and a university research bureau. Additional reports from a labor organization, a southern and a western state would be necessary before a minimum "cross section" could be claimed for purposes of comparison.

In a reprint of three speeches, presented during its annual meeting, *Pennsylvania's Fiscal Problems and Some Possible Solutions* (Harrisburg, 1952, 36 pages), the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce comments on that state's expenditures, taxation system and government organization. They are concerned with "the exceedingly large share of the tax burden borne by business"—42 per cent of all state tax collections—and indicate clearly their belief that either a personal income tax or a retail sales tax must be adopted to meet anticipated increases in expenditures during the next biennium. A few statistics are presented in connection with this conclusion, although no choice between the alternatives is made. The pamphlet states frankly that "the primary consideration in selecting sources of additional revenue in Pennsylvania is whether the levy is likely to precipitate the flight, to a contiguous state, of the citizenry, property or activity subject to tax."

The possibilities for changes in Indiana's taxation system are subjected to lengthy analysis and comment in *Report of the Tax Study Commission, 1952, Tax Policy in Indiana* (Indianapolis, Indiana Tax Study Commission, 1952, 177 pages), prepared with the aid of staff from Indiana University and Princeton Surveys. Expressing satisfaction with Indiana's situation in comparison with other state and local jurisdictions examined, the commission feels that, "Any important changes in the tax structure, further burdening the economy, will clearly alter the relation unfavorably." As in the Pennsylvania report, business problems again receive great emphasis, and the commission concludes, "It is of the utmost importance to maintain Indiana's tax position as compared to competing industrial states, and any adjustments in rate or structure must give this position first consideration."

Incidentally, the Indiana group gives brief consideration to the retail sales tax and the net income tax in comparison with that state's present gross income tax and finds there is little reason for abandoning the existing tax. It does recommend that individual cities and towns be permitted to levy a limited surtax on their state gross income taxpayers and that it be collected through state facilities.

In its bulletin, *Your Government* (Lawrence, December 15, 1952, four pages), the University of Kansas Governmental Research Center calls attention to the measures for comprehensive reorganization of state fiscal administration that will appear in the

1953 legislature. The Commission on State Administrative Organization, appointed in 1950, devoted five months of study in great part to the handling of state finances. Certain of its recommendations were turned down in the 1951 legislature and the governor appointed a five-man committee to advise a division of administration created in the governor's office to continue the studies. This year's proposals, recommending the creation of a department of administration, with budgeting, accounting, reporting, purchasing and personnel divisions, and a department of post-audit, are the result of that study in which the University Governmental Research Center participated.

Guthrie S. Birkhead

Southern Conference Explores Income Tax Payments

The bureaus of business research of seven southern universities and the Tennessee Valley Authority, with assistance from six other universities, three federal reserve banks and various government offices, during three years have been studying how to estimate the incomes of individuals by counties. They have published such estimates for 1939, 1947 and 1950 in *Conference on the Measurement of County Income, A Report of Three Years of Work,* by James W. Martin (Lexington, Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, 1952, eleven pages).

These basic tabulations should prove invaluable to many researchers, as should the additional projects which have grown out of these studies at the seven universities: market analyses, examinations of the "balance between sources of income," labor supply problems and so on.

Perhaps just as important is the degree of cooperation between institutions that has been developed in these projects, particularly through the use of the "seminar" device for interchange of ideas. The name of the conference has recently been changed to Southeastern Economic Research Conference.

One of the individual studies resulting from the project is *Paducah and McCracken County Revenue Base,* by James W. Martin (Frankfort, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Kentucky, 1952, eleven pages). This report "is deliberately confined to analyzing the level of assessments and the extent to which they are geared to providing a fair tax base."

A second study of the Paducah area has also recently been issued: *Paducah and Western Kentucky Income, Labor and Retail Trade Patterns,* by Frank G. Coolsen, Will S. Myers, and James W. Martin (Frankfort, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Kentucky, 1952, 73 pages. Data is presented concerning income of residents, labor market conditions and retail trade movement for recent years. The authors feel that, "With the results of this survey, the civic leaders, public administrators and businessmen of Paducah have a practical tool for formulating their judgments respecting a master plan for Paducah and a sound program for continued economic betterment." These two studies of western Kentucky are aimed at meeting the obvious need to plan the use of resources where vast atomic plant developments are under way today.

Hawaiian Tax Study

In *The Tax System of Hawaii* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1952, 206 pages $2.50), Robert M. Kamins, associate professor of economics at the University of Hawaii, has provided a useful, well annotated and illustrated study of the problems of finance of this Territory which may well become the 49th state. The author points out that the Islands have a tax system unusually uniform for an American area and that these taxes have yielded revenues sufficient to keep the net public debt low in postwar years (approximately $139 per capita in 1951). On the other hand, he finds serious shortcomings: too heavy a load on low-income groups; too many local producers placed at a disadvantage in competing with the mainland, a dual system of income taxation that discriminates against certain taxpayers, too complex a method of taxing personal incomes, and so on.

In the final chapter, Kamins outlines his suggestions for alternative tax programs that conceivably could improve some of the conditions he has found.

Strictly Personal

Merle W. DeWees has resigned as executive director of the New Haven (Connecticut) Taxpayers Research Council to become sales manager of the Ansonia Electrical Company. Francis J. Kelly, former research assistant of the council, has become its executive director.

Formerly senior research assistant to the Pennsylvania Economy League, Gerald N. Hardy has resigned to become executive secretary of the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County (Texas), succeeding William E. Davis, Jr. Mr. Davis has entered private law practice in Texas.

Daniel L. Kurshan, former executive director of the New York City Citizens Budget Commission, has accepted an appointment as assistant to the executive director of the Port of New York Authority. The Budget Commission has appointed John M. Leavens as its new executive director. Mr. Leavens, as New York resident manager of the consulting firm of Griffenhagen and Associates, has been in charge of the career and salary plan study under the auspices of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey. As a consultant to governmental agencies, he has directed and participated in such studies as that of the top organization of the U. S. Treasury Department, organization and management of the city of Cleveland, and operations of the Rhode Island Department of Health.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

The 1953 City Budget. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* December 12, 1952. 4 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on the Budget. Lincoln, the Council, 1952. 34 pp.

Charters

Charter Suggestions for Maryland Municipalities. By Richard D. Andrews. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952. 67 pp.

City Halls

City Hall-Court House Requirements in the City of Toronto. Toronto 5, Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, 1952. 73 pp.

Debt

City Debt Bears Watching. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* December 1952. 3 pp.

Education

Public School Curriculum Evaluation. By Clarence E. Ackley; **Textbook Evaluation,** by Richard A. Ware; **Teacher Recruitment and Advancement,** by Henry Toy, Jr. (Addresses before the Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association, September 10-12, 1952.) New York City, the Association, *GRA Reporter*, November-December 1952. 12 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Education. Lincoln, the Council, October 1952. 65 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on School Land Lease. Lincoln, the Council, September 1952. 51 pp.

Forms of Government

Forms of Town Government in Connecticut. By Max R. White and Shirley Raissi. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, October 1952. 25 pp. 25 cents.

Intergovernmental Relations

Relationship Between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa. By Louise Noun. Burlington, *League of Iowa Municipalities Monthly Magazine*, December 1952. 12 pp.

Legislation

Summary of 1951-1952 Georgia Laws Affecting Local Government. By Olive H. Shadgett. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, November 1952. 44 pp. $1.00.

Legislative Bodies

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Rules of Legislature. Lincoln, the Council, October 1952. 15 pp.

Libraries

Survey of Library Facilities in Contra Costa County. Martinez (California), Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, *Research Bulletin*, December 1952. 4 pp.

Old Age Assistance

Trends in Old Age Assistance . . . and a Suggested Program. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, December 1952. 8 pp.

Parole and Corrections

Administration of Corrections and Parole in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, November 1952. 33 pp.

Permanent Registration

Permanent Registration of Voters in Louisiana. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *PAR Report*, December 8, 1952. 4 pp.

Personnel

The City Personnel Plan. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, Bulletin, November 1952. 2 pp.

Personnel Administration in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, November 1952. 23 pp.

Police

Sixth Annual Peace Officers Training School. A Report. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Governmental Research, August 1952. 101 pp.

Public Health

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Public Health. Lincoln, the Council, July 1952. 39 pp.

Public Works

Public Works Administration in Maryland, Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, November 1952. 40 pp.

Reapportionment

Legislative Apportionment in Kansas. By Thomas Page. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 192 pp.

Regulatory Administration

Regulatory Administration in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, October 1952. 81 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities and Schools (Revised). Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, November 1952. 44 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Taxation. Lincoln, the Council, September 1952. 62 pp.

Books in Review

Civic Victories. The Story of an Unfinished Revolution. By Richard S. Childs. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1952. xvii, 350 pp. $3.50.

> EDITOR'S NOTE—The author's long and intimate connection with the National Municipal League and his position among scholars and civic leaders posed a delicate problem in getting an appropriately objective review of his book. This problem has been nicely solved by the appearance of the book's first review, published January 11, 1953, in *The New York Times Book Review,* written by William D. Ogdon, a member of *The Times* editorial board. It is reprinted, with permission, herewith.

A business executive and veteran reformer in politics, election law and government, Richard S. Childs gives us in *Civic Victories* the dividends of a busy lifetime devoted to producing better municipal, county and state government. New Yorkers know him well as a civic leader. But this is not a book about New York. It reflects, rather, the whole landscape of Mr. Childs' interest as an officer of the National Municipal League, the American Political Science Association, and the Institute of Public Administration.

Mr. Childs knows the self-serving politician will win out if the election process and government are not so formed as to be responsive to an electorate composed, not of the ideal, but of imperfect, indeed indolent, human beings. Voters will make no sense out of a ballot filling 40 to 56 offices at one time. Voters in Michigan elected the same man state treasurer four times, but upon later questioning only 4 per cent even knew his name.

This book promulgates three rules. First, elective offices must be "visible," not concealed from public scrutiny by being too numerous, unimportant or dull. Second, the constituency must be wieldy, not so large that it cannot be canvassed by the independent candidate. Otherwise the "organized political mercenaries" have a monopoly. Third, governments must be well integrated, without needlessly numerous units.

The cheering record of far-flung progress on the fronts of state government, the judiciary, municipal governments and other constituencies is recorded. Mr. Childs believes in the one-chamber legislature, as in Nebraska. An inventor of the council-manager form of city government but claiming no patent, he writes most persuasively of this 40-year-old innovation which has been adopted in 658 of the 2,525 United States cities of 5,000 population or over. The council is a small board of directors like a school board. It is the government. It hires a professional, a city manager, who is the administrator.

This book's breadth defies brief summary, and so does its usefulness. It is practical politics. It should be meat and drink for the college students, the citizen who wants to know how to go about improving his home town, the state legislator who thinks there may be a better way of doing things, but who wants tested ideas.

WILLIAM D. OGDON

Judicial Review of Legislation in New York 1906-38. By Franklin A. Smith. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1952. 251 pp. $3.50.

Seven hundred cases in the courts of New York, as a typical state, are sorted into subject groups and examined to find where constitutional clauses most often find their way into court and the effects of court interpretations on progress. The conclusion: "The tendency has been, particularly with labor legislation, for the courts to acquiesce eventually to enactments if the legislative determination to pass them is persistent enough. In short, neither the hopes of its advocates that judicial review would be the cure for legislative misbehavior, nor the fears of its opponents that it would act as an insuperable obstacle to essential laws, have been realized."

R. S. C.

Informal Groups and the Community. By Hurley H. Doddy. New York, Columbia University, Teachers College, 1952. 34 pp. 75 cents.

Dr. Doddy, a sociologist, has studied 50 "informal groups" in 60 blocks of New York City's most depressed and overpopulated area, with the hypothesis that, "Underneath the impersonal life of the large city . . . there will be found some of the characteristics of the small community." Loosely banded together because of proximity, desire for personal security, degree of personality attraction and so on, these associations "have identified themselves as groups by the selection of a name or through acknowledgment of a central activity or purpose."

The pamphlet is focused primarily on the implications these groups hold for improving adult education methods, but the recommendations made by the author might be heeded in the conduct of any community improvement program. "The first step in community improvement . . . is . . . opening effective lines of communication between the people and the institutions. . . . Community self-improvement must stem from the people, and this can be done only by beginning the process in the smallest units of association—the informal group." Finally, community programs must continuously help people to meet and solve the problems of communal living, to acquire problem-solving skills.

Guthrie S. Birkhead

City Manager Government for Illinois. Carbondale, Southern Illinois University, Department of Government, 1952. 36 pp.

A handsome, comprehensive, illustrated brochure telling about the Illinois optional council-manager law, how to petition and campaign for its adoption and what to do thereafter. It complements a more technical instruction book put out in 1951 by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce.

Charter for New Jersey. The New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1947. By Richard N. Baisden. Trenton, New Jersey State Library, 1952. 118 pp. $1.50.

Mr. Baisden, now assistant professor of political science at Occidental College, Los Angeles, was a staff member of the 1947 constitutional convention of New Jersey. In this narrative of the background and proceedings of the convention, he exhibits the five main disputes which split the delegates and follows the progression to final vote. It was a well managed nonpartisan convention and an illuminating example of American self-government and intelligent progress. Mr. Baisden has described it well.

R. S. C.

The Law of Municipal Contracts with Annotated Model Forms. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1952. 192 pp. $7.50.

This volume is the first of its kind in its field. It is a practical handbook, suitable for the use of both municipal attorneys and municipal purchasing agents.

The model forms presented include: model contract proposal forms; general contract conditions (with annotations); special contract provisions suitable for general use; special model provisions applicable to paving of streets, highways or sidewalks; model forms for contractor's performance, payment or maintenance bonds; model forms for prequalification of bidders, a form of bid, and other model forms suitable for other contract purposes.

Court decisions on the basic law of municipal contracts are outlined. There is a detailed table of contents and index and a table of court decisions.

Educational Planning by Neighborhoods in Centralized Districts. By Paul L. Essert and Robert West Howard. New York, Columbia University, Teachers College, 1952. 132 pp. $2.25.

In the centralized school districts of rural New York, these authors have looked for the ways in which individuals and neighborhood groups are learning to communicate with one another.

The authors conclude that the leadership in gaining "a balance of independence and interdependence in centralization" may come from any of several sources, "but in every case that succeeds there is a coming-together . . . of citizens . . . and technical leaders who for a time represent the interests of the emerging larger centralized units. As the process continues, the outside inventors recede in actual participation and leadership is deployed among those who will directly use the new centralized unit."

Written in a popular vein, this publication is intended to be a handbook for rural districts in strengthening the ties within new and larger units of government. GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

How Much Government? Individual Savings and How They Increasingly Funnel into Government Debt. New York 17, National Industrial Conference Board, 1952. 32 pp. $1.00.

A reduction to graphs and captions of salient facts about current economics, taxes and the drift of public policy.

Local Government in Canada. By Horace L. Brittain. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1952. x, 251 pp. $6.00.

Dr. Brittain, since 1914 a municipal researcher in Toronto with side expeditions into other Canadian municipalities, condenses his accumulated knowledge into this volume, the first comprehensive description of Canadian local government since 1907. The text is severely factual with little comment or appraisal and 100 of the 251 pages are appendices.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Authorities

Future Financing of the Port of New York Authority. By Austin J. Tobin. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York City, the Forum, 1952. 14 pp. (Apply E. Joseph Scherer, c/o B. J. Van Ingen & Company, 57 William Street, New York 5.)

Civil Defense

The Ever-Present Danger. A Magazine Program for the Self-protection of the American People Through Civil Defense. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Civil Defense Administration, November 1952. Variously paged.

Codification of Ordinances

The Codification of Ordinances in Wisconsin Cities and Villages (Revised). Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1952. 23 pp. $1.00.

Economic Development

An Analysis of the Income Structure of Idaho. By William E. Folz. Moscow, University of Idaho, October 1951. 117 pp.

Housing

New Housing in Metropolitan Areas, 1949-51. Structural Characteristics, Financing, Sales Prices, Rents, Incomes, Veteran Status. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1952. 64 pp.

Law Bibliographies

A Selected Bibliography on the Classification of Law. By Harriet S. Martin. **A Selected Bibliography on the Law of Vicarious Liability.** By Charles F. O'Brien. Columbus, Ohio State University, 1952. 9 pp. each. 25 cents each.

Libraries

A Survey of the Cataloging and Order Department, Racine Public Library. Racine, the Library, 1952. 15 pp.

Parking

Cleveland Downtown Parking Survey. Final Report and Technical Supplement. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1952. 45 and 112 pp. respectively. Illus.

North Carolina Supreme Court Decision on Municipal Parking. Norfolk, Virginia, National Parking Association, 1952. 4 pp.

Parks

State Parks. A Proposed Program for Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission in cooperation with the Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of State Parks, November 1952. 35 pp. Maps.

Planning

A Report on the Tennessee State Planning Commission. Organization and History; Activities of Divisions—Administration, Research, State Planning, Industrial Development, Local Planning. Nashville, the Commission, *The Tennessee Planner,* October 1952. 80 pp.

Population

Sixty Years of Population Growth in Idaho—1890-1950. By Harry C. Harmsworth. Moscow, University of Idaho, Department of Social Sciences, 1952. 85 pp.

Pressure Groups

Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress. By Julius Turner. Baltimore 18, Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. 190 pp.

Public Employee Unions

Policemen in Labor Unions (Case Law). Public Employee Unions. By H. Eliot Kaplan. New York City, National Civil Service League, *Civil Service Law Reporter,* September and October 1951. 13 pp. and 7 pp. respectively.

Refuse Disposal

A Bulletin on Garbage and Refuse Disposal, Including Papers Presented at the 1952 Disposal Seminar. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1952. 54 pp. $1.00.

Taxation and Finance

Summary of City Government Finances in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 17 pp.

The Taxation of Business and Manufacturing Corporations. State-Local Fiscal Relations. Parts V and VI of Report of Massachusetts Special Commission on Taxation. Boston, the Commission, 1952. 81 and 169 pp. respectively.

Traffic

Courses to Be Offered 1953-54. The Traffic Institute of Northwestern University. Evanston, Illinois, the Institute, 1953. 31 pp.

Statistics with Applications to Highway Traffic Analyses. By Bruce Douglas Greenshields and Frank Mark Weida. Saugatuck, Connecticut, The Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1952. xix, 238 pp.

Traffic Law Enforcement. By Franklin M. Kreml. (Address before National Safety Congress.) Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, Traffic Institute, 1952. 32 pp.

Transit's Crisis Businessman's Concern. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1952. 12 pp.

Traffic Safety

Official Bicycle Safety Manual. Santa Monica, Department of Police, 1952. 24 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for February 1953, **Know and Obey Traffic Laws.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for March 1953: **Motor Manners.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

This Is Our Traffic Safety Program. New York, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1952. 8 pp.

Voting Machines

The Use of Voting Machines in Wisconsin Municipalities. Madison 2, Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, 1952. 12 pp.

Water

Fluoridation of Municipal Water Supply. A Review of the Scientific and Legal Aspects. By Charles S. Rhyne and Eugene F. Mullin, Jr. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officials, 1952. 62 pp. $3.

Zoning

Simplified Zoning for Small Communities. Hartford, Connecticut Development Commission, Research and Planning Division, January 1952. 5 pp.

Zoning in North Carolina. By Philip P. Green, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1952. 428 pp. $3.50.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 89)

and industry to be interchanged periodically for training purposes.

5. A definite plan for the recruiting, orienting and training of business executives for government service should be instituted, in addition to drawing upper-level executives from governmental career ranks.

Tokyo Strengthens Ward System

The metropolis of Tokyo, Japan, includes 23 wards, which were given the character of self-governing municipalities by the local self-governing law of 1947, according to the *Tokyo Municipal News,* published by the Tokyo metropolitan government. A reform bill, adopted by the Diet in 1952, includes measures directed toward greater coordination and efficiency of the ward system.

Definite distinctions as to functions and undertakings of the metropolitan government and the wards are made with a shifting of activities from the former to the latter. Public election of the heads of the wards is abolished in favor of their appointment by the ward assemblies, with the consent of the metropolitan governor. The latter official is to advise on coordination of administration between the metropolitan government and the wards, with power to act in furtherance of that purpose.

The reform bill is also reported to provide for reduction in the number of members of municipal councils in Japan, streamlining of prefectural departmental organization and simplification of administration.

The Winning Communities — —

Manhattan

Kans.

Pop. 19,056

In July 1951, the most devastating flood in its history swept through Manhattan, inundating half the corporate area, completely covering the downtown business district and causing damage estimated at $22,000,000. The city has made a brilliant recovery, made possible only by a tremendous amount of citizen cooperation and participation.

Charles Cochener
Spokesman

Individual citizens and the various organizations in the community joined hands and tackled the task of cleaning up. Many hours of labor were freely given, even by people untouched by the flood, such as the Kansas State College students and faculty. By the end of the year, great strides had been taken in restoring the business and community facilities.

But blighted areas remained which could never be rehabilitated. So a bond issue was passed to acquire the hardest hit properties and enable their former owners to relocate, 50 acres were annexed by the city to provide an opportunity for residents who had suffered flood loss to obtain new homes. Modern sewage and other facilities were extended. The Community Building was rebuilt by the combined service clubs. Another bond issue was passed to improve the city airport. Many other projects are still being carried on.

Miami

Fla.

Pop. 249,276

For years, the Miami-Dade County area has been a favorite hangout for gamblers and racketeers. They have thrived in an atmosphere of free-moving money typical of a winter resort because law enforcement in Miami and Dade County has been at a low ebb. Contracts and other official business have been conducted in defiance of law.

M. L. Todd
Spokesman

Respectable Miamians, aroused in part by the nationwide notoriety caused by the Kefauver Committee hearings and in part by the efforts of a local crime commission, exposures by press and radio, and information supplied by a local research bureau, took matters in their own hands. A citizens committee was organized to work for good candidates for office in Miami and Dade County. Two of its endorsed candidates for the city commission were elected and one of them became mayor. The committee also screened, endorsed and helped elect key school and county officials, including the sheriff. Endorsed by the committee after it had screened ten candidates, the sheriff won by a large majority despite an unusually ugly campaign against him.

Miami still has problems but its citizens have proved they can act.

The Winning Communities — —

Minneapolis

Minn.

Pop. 521,718

Minneapolis has long suffered under one of the nation's poorer city charters and has been strait-jacketed by unusually low tax limits. Nevertheless, the people of this mid-western metropolis have always taken pride in their schools.

Raymond D. Black
Spokesman

Sparked by a citizens' committee in existence for twenty years, the people of Minneapolis have voted to raise the tax limits, launched a rehabilitation of their schools and have made parents more conscious than ever of the problems of educating their children. In 1952, a special week was set aside to focus attention on the schools and remind people of the importance of the role of teachers and other school personnel. Highlight of the week was a Salute to the Teachers Day when each of the city's 2,500 teachers received gifts from the students and their parents, were dined, and were guests of a program at the University of Minnesota honoring them.

Increased citizen activity on school matters has resulted. Teachers approach their classes with new confidence, knowing that the community is behind them.

Perhaps more important than the 1952 achievements is the continuity which has been characteristic of the committee's work through the years, making the committee of greater service as time goes on.

Newburgh

N. Y.

Pop. 31,956

Newburgh in 1950 found itself with a constantly increasing budget, a two per cent retail sales tax, inadequate municipal services, and a system under which no citizen could ascertain either the financial condition of the city or the efficiency of its departments.

Edward G. O'Neill
Spokesman

In that year, an association of private citizens was formed, known as the Newburgh Tax Commission. These citizens gave willingly of their free time to help conduct a survey of the city government. Outside financial experts were hired at a cost of several thousand dollars, every cent of which came from private contributions.

Results of the survey were publicized and here's what followed: the sales tax was repealed, a lower budget was approved, services were increased, salaries of many public employees were raised, shorter work weeks were established for firemen and policemen, and a model off-street parking system was created. In addition, a city manager with broad municipal experience was imported to assure that the city would move ahead efficiently. Newburgh's city administration today is responsive to the needs of the citizens and the community.

Municipal achievement through intelligent citizen action, the basis for the All-America Cities awards, is clearly illustrated by The Newburgh Story.

— — And Why They Won

Owensboro

Ky.

Pop. 33,651

Owensboro's case is strikingly similar to that of Bemidji: citizen action was responsible for a comprehensive school building program and for adoption of the council-manager form of government.

Ralph W. Cherry
Spokesman

This city was faced with two educational problems common to many U. S. communities. Its school buildings had become obsolete and unsafe and fast-increasing enrollment was causing overcrowded conditions. In 1950, the Owensboro Council for Education, formed by public-spirited citizens, recommended a special tax to finance new school construction, then acquainted the voters with the reasons for the need for such a levy. The P.T.A. joined in during an active campaign, and the tax was approved by the voters. The council is now working with school officials in planning a building program.

For many years, Owensboro has had the commission form of government. It hasn't worked too well. A Citizens Association was formed to study ways and means of improving the city government. The association recommended the council-manager form and, aided by the League of Women Voters, conducted a campaign to inform the voters why it believed the plan was needed. The result: adoption of the plan.

Roanoke

Va.

Pop. 91,921

An amazing wave of civic consciousness has swept this southern city since World War II, thanks to an awakened citizenry which has virtually pulled Roanoke up by its bootstraps.

M. Carl Andrews
Spokesman

At the end of the war, Roanoke found itself in an unhappy position. The schools were run down, the water system was in need of expansion, a new sewage disposal system was mandatory and nearly all phases of capital improvement were lagging.

The year 1952 saw the climax of a many-faceted program of progress fostered by civic groups and a crusading newspaper. A $4,250,000 bond issue was voted which, augmented by $2,000,000 of state money, has completed a magnificent school program. A new sewage disposal system, financed by $4,050,000 in self-liquidating bonds, has been completed to help clean up the "filthiest river in Virginia," water service has been improved, and a new library has been opened. Plans were completed for a viaduct to overpass railroad tracks in the heart of the city, merchants collaborated to finance a new $150,000 parking building, and the city provided other public facilities.

The Roanoke achievement shows that vigorous citizen action can pay dividends.

Woonsocket
R. I.
Pop. 50,211

This New England city for years has been bogged down in the familiar morass of mismanagement, waste and secrecy in public matters. Woonsocket has been dominated by political machines, partisan politics and bossism.

J. Edmund Naylor
Spokesman

Last year, two public officials were convicted on corruption charges. Two others are under indictment. Public attention was focused on irregularities in the city's purchasing board and repeated diversion of public property to private channels.

When a constitutional amendment at last made home rule available to Rhode Island cities last year, aroused Woonsocket citizens went into action. The Citizens League launched a charter revision proposal which was adopted by an overwhelming 42-1 margin. The League then elected nine endorsed candidates to a charter commission. Labor, business and civic groups showed their interest by drawing up recommendations for the new charter and presenting them to the commission as an indication of public opinion on what should be incorporated. The commission produced a strong-mayor charter which was approved by the voters November 4 by a twelve-to-one margin. In addition, candidates opposed by the local machines of both parties were elected to the city government.

League Initiates Staff Fellowship

The National Municipal League Fellowship has been established by th League's Executive Committee. Th first holder of the Fellowship is Guthri S. Birkhead who joined the staff i September on a one-year leave of ab sence from the Maxwell School o Citizenship, Syracuse University, wher he is assistant professor of politica science.

The decision of the Council mean that Mr. Birkhead is the first of a serie of young but professionally establishe men and women on one-year tours o duty with the League.

A precedent was set ten years ag when the League had another young political scientist, Edward W. Weidner on the staff for about a year and a half Mr. Weidner, who returned to universit work, is now head of the politica science department at Michigan Stat College and director of its Governmental Research Bureau.

The League Fellowship is designe to serve several purposes: to give th League the benefit and stimulus of a continuing flow of young blood through the organization, to provide an educational experience for promising political scientists in what might be describe as the practical application of political science on the citizen level and to strengthen the cooperative relationship between the political science profession and the League.

Discussions have been initiated with representatives of the American Political Science Association looking towar a regular procedure for securing candidates for the Fellowship.

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NEWS for League Members

Winning Cities Look to Future

"We must carry on" was the rallying cry of the eleven All-America cities of 1952, which held ceremonies during the last several weeks to receive the award certificates from representatives of the National Municipal League.

The same "intelligent, purposeful citizen action" which won national acclaim for the citizens of these communities will be sustained, it was indicated by those who accepted the citations. All saw the need for further citizen action to solidify their gains. Most newspaper editorials emphasized the need for continuing interest in good government to offset the inevitable letdown from the excitement of winning.

Elaborate planning marked the various ceremonies. Civic organizations, public officials and employees, merchants, school children, churches—all cooperated to make the event a memorable one in each community.

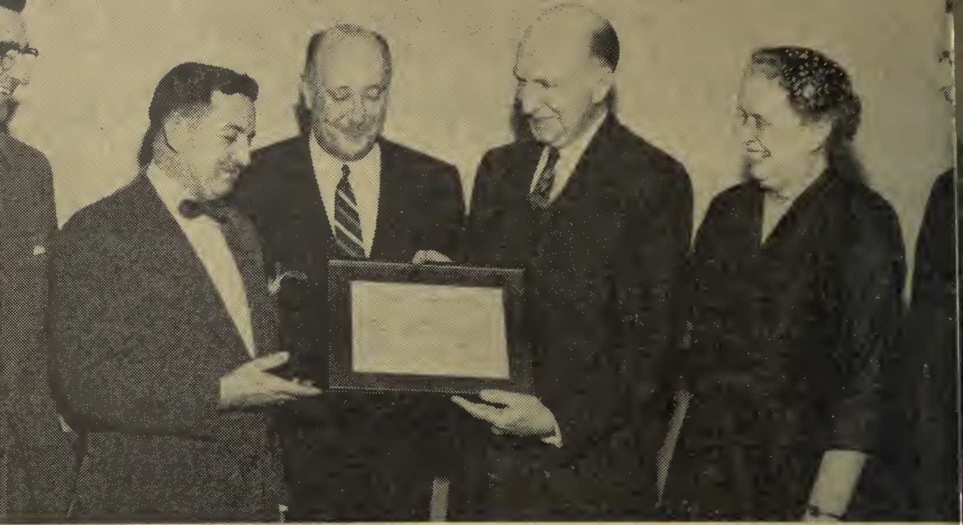
Following are reports from some of the winning cities:

NEWBURGH, NEW YORK: The proud citizens of this Hudson River community went "all out" to celebrate. Crowds lined the streets to see "Operation Cooperation," a colorful parade of public officials, all city employees, four bands and 65 vehicles of seven city departments. Huge pylons announcing the award were placed at the main highway entrances to the city. A banner proclaiming the news was stretched across City Hall. Milk bottle collars, auto windshield stickers and parking meter cards told the story, too, as did a special eight-page supplement of *The Newburgh News,* made possible by 883 inches of congratulatory ads placed by local merchants. A song about their city was composed by two citizens and a contest was held to design an appropriate All-America City emblem.

The largest crowd, 404, ever to attend a dinner in the Hotel Newburgh heard Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's executive committee, present the award in behalf of the League and *Look* magazine, co-sponsor, represented by William Arthur, assistant managing editor. Mr. Childs said achievements like those in New-

(Continued on next page)

Mayor Herbert A. Warden, right, of Newburgh, New York, receives the All-America citation from Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee. Seated at Mr. Childs' right is Edward G. O'Neill, president, Newburgh Chamber of Commerce, who was spokesman for the city at the jury hearing during the National Conference on Government in San Antonio.



John Nuveen, League regional vice president, third from right, presents award to Orville Kocour, of the City Manager Advocates of Brookfield, Illinois. Left to right, others are Village President Dan Kulie, State Representative Arthur W. Sprague, State Representative Bernice T. Van der Vries and Senator Everett M. Dirksen.

(Continued from previous page)

burgh are almost unheard of in most parts of the world today. "Americans rarely realize that the free activity of free citizens as a corrective influence on government and as a supplement to it is almost unique among the nations," he declared.

The admiring neighborhood municipalities of Beacon, Walden and West Newburgh sent congratulatory telegrams, as did Governor Thomas E. Dewey and Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore. Said the Governor: "We in the state government share the pride of the citizens of Newburgh in their city administration for the signal distinction it has earned. I hope your citizens' achievement in the field of governmental efficiency and services will continue and that other cities in our state will profit by your inspiring example."

BROOKFIELD, ILLINOIS: "On the municipal front you find the laboratory of good government. It isn't in Washington. I'd rather know what they're doing in a grocery store in Brookfield over a cracker barrel than I would in some high councils, because the heart speaks and the mind speaks there. It's in those laboratories that you find the answers for these challenges today."

This is what Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois said as he paid tribute to the "undramatic application of hard work" by the citizens of Brookfield to overcome "municipal illiteracy." He spoke at ceremonies in the Riverside-Brookfield High School where John Nuveen of Chicago, regional vice president of the League, presented an All-America Cities certificate before hundreds of proud citizens.

Cars and storefronts abounded with stickers proclaiming "All-America City for 1952—For Citizen Action." A twelve-page booklet telling the "Brookfield Story" was prepared and distributed to residents. The newspapers in nearby Chicago, as well as in Brookfield, reported the award with news stories, editorials and pictures. The Illinois House of Representatives passed a resolution congratulating Brookfield and

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Editorial Comment

An Office Seeking a Man

IN MOST communities it is difficult to persuade the most competent people to come forth as candidates for public office.

A healthy tradition of unselfish public service is absent. Those for whom the people have an opportunity to vote are all too often politically ambitious self-seekers or are brought forward by "kingmakers" who hope to be the power behind the throne.

Radio Station WNBC in New York is performing an especially significant public service, therefore, in cooperating with the Citizens Union of the City of New York to launch a program to search for a candidate for mayor. Each Sunday afternoon a person who has been mentioned as a possible candidate is interviewed by a panel of political reporters and writers as well as by civic and labor leaders.

The program, called "Citizens Union Searchlight," will focus New York's public opinion on issues and personalities and, at long last, give New Yorkers an opportunity to measure the qualifications of potential candidates before they are suddenly confronted by several aspirants handpicked behind the scenes by no one knows just what standards.

Four years ago, for example, when Vincent R. Impellitteri insisted on running as an "independent," the two major parties were so worried by the so-called "Italian vote" that their chief consideration seemed to be to find possible opponents with Italian names and ancestries.

The ensuing scramble to "balance" the remainders of the party tickets almost solely on the basis of variety of ancestral background was a disgraceful performance, especially since it was by the very politicians who somewhat earlier had slaughtered the proportional representation method of voting with the spurious claim that it encouraged racial voting.

Everything that will help voters to rise above such unworthy considerations is all to the good. WNBC and the Citizens Union are, with this program, striking a solid blow for self-government that might well be followed in all our cities.

Leading the Loyal Opposition

OUR election system is inherently wasteful of political talent. Two men run for governor or president. One is elected; the other, who may have won almost as many votes, is defeated. Typically, the one who is elected is plunged into the toils of office while the other enjoys a vacation and drops back into the relative obscurity of private life.

The defeated candidate is by courtesy recognized as titular head of his party but actual party leadership is hard for a private citizen to sustain in competition with party representatives on the firing line in the state legislature or the Congress. Thus, the cohesion and discipline developed during the campaign are soon dissipated with the result that the party in power is faced not by a loyal or responsible opposition but by at least as many oppositions as there are rival leaders in the minority. Weakness in the minority tends to encourage disunity and irresponsibility among the representatives of the party in power so that the most effective opposition to the administration often comes from legislators bearing its own party label.

The failure to develop responsible party leadership in American legislatures has contributed to a dangerous decline in the esteem in which they are held and shunted more and more of the burden of policy leadership to the executive. This helps pressure groups make a field day of the legislative session and makes it difficult for the voters to place responsibility.

Nobody wants political parties in our free society to ape totalitarian parties in enforcing dull uniformity or iron discipline. Nevertheless, the party system would serve the country better if both majority and minority parties could develop the kind of visible, responsible legislative leadership that would give the voters clearer guidance as to the true nature of the alternatives they face when they go to the polls.

State Senator Richard L. Neuberger has come up with a proposed amendment to the Oregon constitution designed at once to make more efficient use of political talent and to provide the minority party with more effective legislative leadership by giving a seat in the State Senate to the defeated candidate for governor.[1] Senator Neuberger hopes that if this experiment is tried and found good in a single state it will be copied not only in other states but also at the national capitol, thus affording the defeated candidate for president official status and a forum in which he might make good on his title to continuing leadership. In thus giving constitutional recognition to the function of the minority and vesting it with more dignity and more effective leadership, a state or the nation would put the majority more clearly on its mettle.

There are obvious "practical" hurdles to be overcome in obtaining acceptance for such an innovation and it is not to be supposed that every defeated candidate would be the ideal minority leader. However, the fact that, win or lose, the party's top candidate would surely have an important role to play should have a good effect on the choice of candidates. In any event, as James Bryce pointed out long ago, one of the principal values in our system of separate states is the fact that one state can try out ideas like this without involving the whole country. The need for more responsible parties is great enough to challenge the states to some bold political invention and experimentation.

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[1] See page 139, this issue, "Senate Seats for Defeated Executive Candidates?" and Senator Neuberger's article in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* January 18, 1953.

New Cure for Growing Pains

St. Louis and St. Louis County, long suffering with their metropolitan problem, may try functional consolidation.

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN*

ST. Louis is making another attempt to solve its metropolitan problem. Two different joint St. Louis-St. Louis County charter commissions are at work trying to devise ways and means of heading off the creeping paralysis of suburbanitis. One commission is preparing a charter for a joint sewer agency and the other is tackling the transit problem.

It was more than a hundred years ago that St. Louis had its first taste of intergovernmental jealousies. At that time St. Louis was an incorporated municipality in St. Louis County. In the early 1840s some of the suburbanites were unhappy with their lot as part of the same county with St. Louis City. The 1843 state legislature provided for an election in the county outside St. Louis to ascertain if the rural area wanted to separate from the city. The proposition was defeated.

Soon after the Civil War, a discontent with the system then prevailing arose in St. Louis City, which felt it was being unfairly taxed by the county for services rendered primarily to the rural areas. St. Louis also rebelled against the stranglehold which the legislature seemed to have over its affairs. The 1875 state constitutional convention offered St. Louis an opportunity to attack both these situations, and its delegation to the convention set about the task with determination.

The rebellion against state domination resulted in the inclusion in the constitution of the first municipal home rule provision to be written into any state constitution. St. Louis was given authority to adopt a charter for its own government.

Rebellion against the county government resulted in a constitutional provision for a charter commission to prepare a scheme of separation of the city and county. The commission prepared such a scheme and it was adopted by the voters. The area of the city was more than doubled. The boundary was drawn to include all the nearby built-up areas and a substantial amount of the surrounding farm land. It was hailed as the solution of St. Louis' boundary troubles for all time. The new city became both a city and a county and the remaining part of the county, with less than 30,000 people and three small incorporated cities, became St. Louis County.

By the time people were singing "Meet Me in St. Louis, Louie," at the 1904 World's Fair, the 1875-size shoe was already beginning to pinch. Forest Park, in which the fair was held, had been almost a wilderness in 1875 but was now surrounded by developed areas.

The population of St. Louis County increased from 50,040 to 100,739 in the twenty years from 1900 to 1920 and the proportion of the population classified as urban increased from 5.6 per cent in 1900 to 30.9 per cent in 1920. St. Louis City went from the fourth largest city in the country in 1900 to the sixth largest in 1920.

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*Dr. Sparlin, director of the Cleveland Citizens League and Bureau of Governmental Research, was until early this year, assistant director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute. Dr. Sparlin has contributed numerous articles to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Growing Pains

Metropolitan pains showed up in devious ways. Communities in St. Louis County began dumping sewage in streams that ran through St. Louis. Street-car lines were extended far out into St. Louis County, making transportation a common problem. Industries sprang up just outside the city boundary to "escape" city taxes. A private water company was formed to supply the county communities, and its facilities partially duplicated those of the St. Louis City system. County residents used St. Louis' art museum, parks, streets, swimming pools and other public facilities without paying taxes necessary to support them. Most important of all, a large proportion of the intelligensia of the community moved to the county and turned provincial. They were no longer available to serve on important civic committees and to assume leadership in the development of the metropolitan area.

The first attempt to alleviate the situation was made in the state constitutional convention of 1922-23. This convention prepared 21 amendments and submitted them separately at a special election February 26, 1924. One revised the entire article of the constitution relating to local government. One of its sections would have authorized a charter commission to draw up a scheme of consolidation for St. Louis and St. Louis County. The amendment was defeated, however.

A new proposed amendment to the state constitution was drafted and placed on the ballot by initiative at the November 1924 election. It was adopted by the voters. This amendment authorized establishment of a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a plan for integration of the two areas. It specified that the charter commission could propose one of three plans: (1) consolidation of the city and county under the city government; (2) extend the county boundaries to include the city, with the city becoming an incorporated city in the county and having the same power to annex as other cities; or (3) retaining the separate status of the two but moving the boundary of St. Louis to bring the built-up parts of the county into the city.

A joint city-county charter commission was established in 1925 and sat until June 1926. It prepared a charter which embodied the first option given in the constitution in which the city and county were consolidated under the city government. The charter was submitted to a vote of the city and county separately at a special election on October 26, 1926. It received a seven-to-one favorable vote in the city but a two-to-one unfavorable vote in the county. If the vote of the two had been added, the charter would have been adopted by a two-to-one vote. As the constitutional amendment required a favorable majority in the two areas separately, however, the charter was defeated.

During the 1920s, the population of St. Louis County increased 110 per cent. The problems of metropolitan government intensified in about the same proportion.

Another big push was made at the fall election of 1930. This time a constitutional amendment was submitted which would have authorized establishment of a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a federal plan of government. All the existing political subdivisions would have continued but a Greater City of St. Louis would have been created with power over certain major functions such as planning, through highways, sewers and water supply. The amendment was defeated.[1]

Constitution Convention Acts

During the 1930s the population of St. Louis County increased 29.6 per cent while the population of St. Louis decreased 0.7 per cent. St. Louis had fallen from the fourth largest city in 1900 to eighth place in 1940.

Missouri held a constitutional convention in 1943-44. There was considerable agitation from St. Louis for a consolidation provision in the new constitution. The framers, however, were allergic to propositions which would alienate voters and it was certain that a city-county consolidation amendment would cost the proposed constitution votes in St. Louis County. Instead, the constitutional convention kept the old provisions intact and added one new method for cooperation between the city and county. The 1945 constitution provides that a joint charter commission may be formed by separate petitions in the city and county. Such a charter commission is authorized to draft a charter "to establish a metropolitan district or districts for the functional administration of services common to the area included therein."

By 1950 the population of St. Louis County was 406,349. There were more than 90 incorporated cities plus a multitude of sewer districts, fire districts and other public and quasi-public agencies. Only Cook County, Illinois, had more incorporated cities.

Of all the different problems that faced the people of the metropolitan area, the sewer problem seemed to be the most acute. In early 1951, the mayor of St. Louis and the county supervisor of St. Louis County appointed a citizens committee to study ways and means of straightening out the mess. The committee held a series of eight public hearings and carefully analyzed the situation.

The committee found that: "The problem in St. Louis County is magnified by the multiplicity of separate governmental units operating sewer systems. The county has fifteen municipal sewerage systems, 21 sewer districts and 75 individual subdivision sewerage systems. These 111 public units operate 49 sewage treatment plants and, in addition to these, there are another 151 plants serving industries, schools and other institutions. A great many systems discharge untreated or only partially treated sewage into ditches and streams."

It was also found that "approximately 132,000 persons [in the county] live in areas either without sewers, or with inadequate sewers, or in sewered areas where sewage disposal is inadequate. About 61,000 persons are served by septic tanks, the great majority of which do not work satisfactorily because of the clay soil found in most areas of the county.

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[1] See "Missouri Voters Reject Metropolitan Amendment," by Martin L. Faust, the REVIEW, January 1931, pages 12-15.

"One of the serious effects of this multiplicity of sewage systems is the practical inability of the various levels of government to enforce existing sanitation laws and regulations. Testimony before the committee brought out the fact that many communities simply do not have the financial resources to abate unsatisfactory sanitary conditions. To attempt to correct such conditions would, in many cases, create a more unsatisfactory situation than already exists. For example, in some areas the only remedy for an overflowing septic tank would be to require the property owner to disconnect the plumbing and construct a privy."

In the city of St. Louis the committee found that there was a serious need for relief sewers. Its report pointed out that: "The development both within the city and the county has resulted in an increase of sanitary sewage flow in the River Des Peres foul water sewer [the city's main trunk sewer] and has seriously overcharged it. The overflow sewage from the foul water sewer into the open River Des Peres channel creates a menace to public health.

"Despite the fact that most eastern St. Louis County's drainage is through St. Louis City, no over-all program for the coordination of sewer facilities has ever been devised. Instead, the city and the county municipalities and sewer districts have engaged in makeshift contract arrangements for the connection of county sanitary sewerage facilities with city sewers. This arrangement has become complicated because some of the communities wishing to connect with St. Louis sewers do not abut on St. Louis City. In such cases, the county communities through which the sewage must pass also are parties to the contract."

Two Commissions Appointed

The citizens committee recommended formation of a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a plan for the "functional administration" of the sewers in the area. Petitions were circulated and filed in October 1952. A commission has been appointed and is now functioning. It is composed of nine residents of the county, nine residents of the city and a nineteenth member appointed by the governor from outstate Missouri. The commission has one year in which to prepare a plan and it must be submitted to a vote in the county and city within 90 days after it is completed. It must receive a majority vote in the two jurisdictions separately.

The presumption is that some type of joint agency will be proposed to take over responsibility for solving the very acute metropolitan sewage disposal problem.

The discussion of a sewer charter commission gave those elements of the community who are discontented with the transit system an idea. They decided to circulate petitions calling for a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a plan for the "functional administration" of the common service of mass transportation. Just as in most large American cities, the problem of mass transportation has plagued the St. Louis area. The principal carrier is privately owned. It has street-car and bus lines throughout the city and a number of lines extending into the county. Another privately owned system serves a substantial part of the county. As no prior study was made of the transit situation, it is impossible to outline the transit problem with definiteness.

Because of the almost universal unpopularity of transit systems—both public and private—sufficient signatures were quickly secured on the petitions calling for a joint city-county charter commission. These petitions were filed about the same time the sewer petitions were filed and the transit charter commission of nine residents of the county, nine residents of the city and one appointee of the governor were appointed about the same time. This commission too has a year to prepare a plan, which must be submitted to city and county voters separately.

The work of the two commissions is being watched with much interest. There are many skeptics in the St. Louis area. Some believe that the only solution to the metropolitan problem is through a reconsolidation of the city and county or in some type of federal system. They feel that the creation of metropolitan districts or authorities for different functions will unduly complicate the governmental structure of the community and that this solution of adding more layers of government on top of those already existing is worse for the patient than the original disease. They point to the existence of two charter commissions meeting simultaneously, but separately, each devoted to a different single problem, as evidence that the method will complicate the government of the area. Will we have another charter commission for water supply, another for airports, another for parks, etc.?

Functional Consolidation Best?

On the other hand, the proponents point out that separation and consolidation have been kicked around for more than a century, that both a consolidation and a federal plan have been submitted to the voters in the last 25 years and soundly defeated, and that all the evidence indicates any new "over-all" solution will be rejected, making efforts in that direction somewhat discouraging. The proponents also point to Dr. Arthur W. Bromage's conclusion that: "It is clear that our most significant trend to date in integrating public administration in metropolitan areas has been the special district device. Although this adds still another unit to the agglomeration of local units in an area, it is one practical way of achieving metropolitan treatment of one or more functions."[2]

Finally, the proponents point to the principal conclusion of the joint citizens committee on sewers that: "There is at present a spirit of cooperation between the city and the county and a desire to solve the sewer problem, which indicate that the voters of both areas will accept and approve a reasonable plan which may be developed by a joint charter commission."

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[2] See *Introduction to Municipal Government and Administration,* by Arthur W. Bromage. Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1950, page 125.

Why State Cost Has Gone Up

Inflation, greater demands for services, assistance to local governments cited as reasons for rise in spending.

By HOWARD D. HAMILTON*

THE cost of Michigan state government is steadily increasing for the same reasons that costs are increasing in the other 47 state governments and in nearly every government of the world. There are three major reasons: inflation, state assistance to local governments, and expansion of government services.

The cost of living has practically doubled since 1940. The dollar today has only 52 per cent as much purchasing power as in 1940. Hence, a large part of the increase in the cost of state government since 1940 is merely an adjustment to the changing price level. Increased appropriations may represent no increase at all in real expenditures. In fact, when allowance is made for inflation, some of the functions of Michigan state government cost less today than in 1940.

To understand the causes of increased government expenditures we must look for the reasons for the expansion of government services. This is a nation-wide, even world-wide, trend and a long term trend. Some causes apply to expansion of services of all governments, some apply to state governments and some are peculiar to Michigan state government.

The ultimate causes are rooted in the changing character of our economy and society, in the transition from a simple rural society to a highly complex industrial and urban society marked by impressive levels of national income, as shown by Table I.

TABLE I

	National Income (billion dollars)			
	1930	*1940*	*1950*	*1951*
Compensation of Employees	$46	$52	$153	$179
Corporate Profits	7	9	35	42
All Other Income	22	30	51	57
Total	$75	$81	$239	$278

Government is the framework which organizes, orders and binds together all society. In the last analysis the expansion of government is a product of the industrial revolution which began with Watt's steam engine and has been accelerating ever since. Every new invention, every change in social patterns, every increase in economic demands, adds to the responsibilities of government.

Some salient aspects of modern life which manifestly impose tremendous and ever mounting responsibilities on government are:

1. Modern transportation and communication systems, which entail not only government supervision but also tremendous outlays for highways, streets and traffic control.

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*Dr. Hamilton is budget and research analyst in the Budget Division of the Michigan Department of Administration. He has taught political science at the University of Illinois and Albion College and published a dissertation in constitutional law as well as articles on various aspects of public finance and administration.

2. Urbanization with its myriad problems of housing, sanitation, utilities, land-use, traffic, recreation and public safety.

3. The nation-wide and world-wide commercial network, which requires government supervision and assistance at every link.

4. The factory system with its attendant social strata and problems of industrial relations.

5. Advanced culture and technology, which require government research institutions, universities and experiment stations, and ever greater amounts of education, making the latter the biggest function of both state and local government.

6. An economy of scarcity which requires government to husband resources by checking exploitation, managing public lands, reforestation, soil districts and agricultural extension.

7. Economic insecurity, which has necessitated public welfare programs, social insurance, public works and cyclical control policies.

8. International tension and war which today consume 85 per cent of the budget of our national government and entail outlays by the state for civil defense, national guard and veterans services.

Demands on State

Concurrently with the foregoing social and economic developments have occurred political and philosophical changes which have enhanced the demand for public services including: the advance of political democracy; increased influence of labor; demands for higher standards of living—better housing, economic security, employment services, better education, more recreational facilities, etc.; a changing attitude toward the role of government. These political and philosophical changes have produced a popular demand for the "positive" or "social service" state to keep pace with standards and modes of living reflected in a rising national income which has tripled in three decades.

In addition to the foregoing general causes, these factors have contributed to the expansion of Michigan state services and costs:

1. Rapid increase in population and urbanization,

2. Tremendous expansion in state aid to local governments,

3. Backlog of institutional and highway construction,

4. Demand of Michigan citizens for high standards of service.

As Table II shows, Michigan's population has tripled since 1900, doubled since 1920, increased 21 per cent between 1940 and 1950 and continues to grow at a rate of 100,000 a year. Such rapid growth necessitates rapid expansion of community services. The recent state survey of public school facilities indicates that in school construction we are running behind the stork.

TABLE II

Year	*Michigan Population*
1900	2,420,982
1920	3,668,412
1940	5,256,106
1950	6,371,766
1952 est	6,665,000
1960 est.	7,353,000

Also Michigan is a highly urban state; 71 per cent of its people reside in urban communities as compared to a national average of 60 per cent and Detroit is one of the five U. S. cities of more than a million population. City life may be attractive but it is also expensive.

For example, construction of the expressways in Detroit is costing Michigan $8,000,000 per mile!

Total "local benefits" payments—grants, shared taxes and welfare grants—in Michigan rose from $110,000,000 in 1940 to $394,000,000 in 1952, nearly quadrupled. Since 1947 local benefits have constituted 60 per cent of all state operating expenditures and have exceeded the aggregate taxes of all the local governments, including school districts.

The foremost factor in the phenomenal growth of state assistance to local units was the "sales tax diversion" amendment to the constitution in 1946. That popularly initiated measure channeled essentially 78 per cent of the revenue of the state's three-cent sales tax to school districts, cities, villages and townships. The sales tax is—or was—the cornerstone of the state revenue structure, yielding more than all other state taxes combined.

Viewed functionally, 83 per cent of state assistance goes for education, welfare and highways, three areas in which public demand for governmental service has centered. State assistance pays 60 per cent of the operating costs of the public schools, 94 per cent of public welfare costs and about 75 per cent of the costs of local streets and roads. Most of the township governments operate exclusively on state sales tax proceeds, levying not a penny of property tax.

Everyone knows that the cessation of highway construction during World War II created a great backlog and that vehicle traffic, particularly heavy vehicles, continues to rise. In the four fiscal years 1948 through 1951 Michigan expended $155,500,000 for state trunkline construction. In 1952 approximately $39,000,000 is being spent, and the end is hardly in sight.

What is less well known is that simultaneously the state has had a backlog of institutional construction. A recent survey of Michigan state institutions reports that 37 per cent of the buildings (in terms of cubic feet) were built prior to 1900. Thirty-two per cent between 1900 and 1925 and only 31 per cent since 1925. As the survey correctly observed: "These statistics indicate that a substantial portion of the buildings at these institutions are in an age group where repair and maintenance costs are high and that in the foreseeable future a substantial portion of buildings at these institutions will require replacement."[1]

In an effort to remedy the situation the state is engaged in an extensive program. A tabulation in August 1951 showed 89 projects approved by the legislature and under way, costing an estimated $86,000,000 of which $56,000,000 had been appropriated at that date.[2] This recent survey of institutional buildings indicates that the backlog has not been eliminated and much remains to be done.

New State Services

The demand of Michigan citizens for high levels and standards of government services is reflected in additional state services and in enrichment of existing functions. In response to new problems, some new services are authorized at each session of the legislature. The following is a list of some 35 major services initiated within the past fifteen years, and which together comprise 25 or 30 per cent of state government activity. This list includes only new state-administered services and not those new local services financed by state grants.

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[1] *Institutional Management,* Staff Memorandum to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization, April 1952, page 2.

[2] Building Division, Department of Administration, State of Michigan.

Area of Industrial Relations:
- Public employment offices (1937)
- Unemployment compensation (1937)
- Labor mediation (1939)

Area of Planning and Service to Industry:
- Michigan Planning Commission (1935, since 1947 Economic Development Commission)

Area of Welfare:
- Categorical welfare programs (1937): aid to blind, dependent children, aged, disabled

Area of Health and Mental Hygiene:
- Child guidance clinics (1940)
- Adult guidance clinics (1951)
- Hospital survey and construction program (1947)
- Heart disease research (1949)
- Cancer control (1948)
- Venereal disease control (c. 1940)
- Water pollution control (1949)
- Industrial hygiene (c. 1940)
- Alcoholism—research and treatment (1951)
- Neurophsychiatric Institute (1937)
- Veterans Readjustment Center (1945)

Area of Transportation:
- Aeronautics regulation and promotion (1945)
- Airport construction program (1945)
- Waterways development (1947)

Area of Public Safety:
- State Troops (1942)
- Civil defense (1943)
- Conservation-Corrections Camps (1950)

Area of Agriculture and Conservation:
- Wildlife restoration (1938)
- Fish restoration and management (1951)
- Agricultural marketing analysis and research (1947)
- Cooperative woodland management (1937)
- Soil conservation districts (1937)
- Recreation areas (c. 1940)

Area of Education:
- Ferris Institute, acquisition (1950)
- Michigan College of Mining and Technology — Sault Ste. Marie Branch (1947)
- Survey of public school facilities (1950)
- Veterans Vocational School (1944)

Concurrently, the various social and economic factors enumerated above have necessitated expansion and enrichment of the older functions, particularly in health, mental hygiene, highways, education and conservation.

In 1939 there were 22,000 beds in overcrowded mental hospitals and waiting lists of committed patients. During the next twelve years newly constructed facilities barely managed to keep pace with population growth, so that in 1951 there were 29,000 beds in overcrowded hospitals and still an indeterminable waiting list. Viewed from a different angle, in 1940 the operating expenditure for mental hygiene was $7,000,000; in 1953 it will be $38,000,000, and yet the hospitals fall short of the standards of the American Psychiatric Association. During this period the hospital employee work-week was reduced from an official 48 hours to 40 hours.

The expansion in the area of highways has been noted above. Higher education has experienced a comparable expansion and enrichment. In 1940 the total enrollment in state universities and colleges was 27,000; in 1950, 49,000. In 1940 the operating appropriations totaled $8,600,000; in 1953, $39,000,000. And it should be noted that, although enrollments are now static, authorities are agreed that there will be another big spurt by 1960.

What Is the Cost?

What is the actual cost? What has been the increase? How does Michigan compare with other states? The best yardsticks of government costs are per capita expenditures and the ratio of government expenditures to personal income payments.[3]

Table III shows comparisons of per capita state expenditures for fiscal year 1951, the most recent year of complete data.[4]

These data clearly show that Michigan expenditures are somewhat above the national average, but far from the top, ranking eighteenth in 1951 (Michigan ranked higher in earlier years). In respect to local benefit expenditures Michigan is way above the average, exceeded by only three states. But in expenditures for state administration, i.e., "state purposes," Michigan is below the average, ranking 35th.

The increase in Michigan state government expenditures since 1940 is shown in Table IV.

TABLE III

	General Expenditures	*Rank of State*
48-state average	$86.56	
Michigan	98.80	18

	Aid to Local Government	+	*Direct State Welfare Expenditures*	=	*Local Benefits Expenditures*	*Rank of State*
48-state average	$31.25		$ 9.41		$40.66	
Michigan	46.86		13.86		60.72	4

	State Purposes Expenditures	*Rank of State*
48-state average	$45.90	
Michigan	38.08	35

TABLE IV

		Expenditures Per Capita	
Fiscal Year	*Total Operating Expenditures*	*Unadjusted Dollars*	*In Constant Dollars (1935 — 39 = 100%)*
1940	$185,000,000	$35	$35
1952	656,000,000	98	52

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[3] As computed by the Department of Commerce and published annually in the August issue of *Survey of Current Business*.

[4] Data from U. S. Census Bureau. "General expenditures" include colleges and universities and most state enterprises; exclude only liquor stores, insurance trust and debt retirement.

The increase has been substantial, but not nearly as much as a mere comparison of gross total expenditures suggests, because of the factors of inflation and population increase. When both these factors are considered, per capita expenditures in "constant" dollars increased from $35 to $52 in the interval, slightly less than 50 per cent. An examination of other states shows that their expenditures increased by the same amount. But while expenditures have increased, both in total and per capita, so has the income of Michigan people. One of the basic reasons why Michigan people demand more government services is because they have more money and elect to consume more government service. Also Michigan people have an income level above the national average.

Table V compares the relative burden of Michigan state government with the average of all states in fiscal year 1951.

This calculation shows that Michigan expenditures were 5.7 per cent of the personal income of its citizens, only slightly more than the 48-state average of 5.5 per cent, despite Michigan's extraordinary local benefits expenditures.

Comparison of the expenditures of various state governments is becoming less significant and reliable, because of the growth of state aid and shifts in functions. A more significant measure of the cost of government is the combined state and local cost. Interstate comparisons of the combined state-local costs are difficult, because of incomplete and incomparable data. However, valid intra-state comparisons may be made.

For Michigan, state and local tax collections are the best available indices.

Table VI indicates that since 1940 the income of Michigan citizens has grown more rapidly than the cost of state and local government, despite extensions and enrichment of services, and the burden of state and local government was substantially less in 1952 than in 1940.

Michigan's Financial Crisis

As suggested in the opening paragraph, developments in other states have been similar to those in Michigan. For example, in California,

(Continued on page 141)

TABLE V

	Per Capita Expenditures	÷	*Per Capita Personal Income*	=	*Percent State Expenditure of Personal Income*
48-state average	$86.56		$1,584		5.5
Michigan	98.80		1,734		5.7

TABLE VI
Michigan Taxes and Personal Income
(millions)

Fiscal Year	*State Taxes*	*Local Taxes*	*Total*	*Personal Income*	*Percent Taxes of Income*
1940	$140.8	$167.3	$308.1	$3,239.5	9.5
1952	484.2	375.3	859.5	11,776.0	7.3

Where Everyone Can See

Officials of new Philadelphia regime work in spotlight, with partnership between the citizen and his government.

By WAYNE B. BARR*

WHEN Philadelphia's municipal operations under its new charter emerged from behind the screen of disinterest and confusion which had obscured them for so long, the role of city information and public relations services also was spotlighted. This was no accident; no expose by alert reporters. It was planned that way, as part of the new administration's theory that the citizen is entitled to know just how his municipal government is operating.

In his inaugural address, in January 1952, Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., declared:

"We must utilize the modern tools of communication—radio, press and television. This administration, centering its activities largely through the mayor and his city representative, must bring its program to the people and in turn receive from the people their wishes and desires for government action.

"Policy decisions must be tentative until they have met the test of public debate. I promise you an end to government from smoke-filled rooms. In our public lives we must submit ourselves ceaselessly to your scrutiny and criticism. You must know what we propose to do and why. You must tell us when you disagree and why."

Implicit in this and similar statements was the promise that machinery would be set up to develop a free, two-way flow of information between government and citizen. That machinery took the form of the Bureau of Public Information and Service, under City Representative Walter M. Phillips, and the Mayor's Office for Information and Complaints. The bureau was charged with the responsibility of disseminating information; the Office for Information and Complaints was designed to give the citizen a chance to talk back.

Harold F. Schneidman, chief of the bureau, summed up the theory behind its establishment and operations in an address to the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government at San Antonio last November 17:

"We must face the fact that public relations is not a naughty thing and that the way to gain public acceptance for this necessary technique is to bring it out into the open," he declared. "Once this is done, the next logical step is a centralized operation. Municipal public relations is necessary, but the client of that operation must not be one commissioner, one department, a city councilman or the mayor, or the city manager, and certainly never the

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*A native Philadelphian, Wayne B. Barr observed the operations of city hall from a reporter's vantage point for some six years immediately before and after World War II as a member of the staff of the now-defunct *Philadelphia Record.* He engaged in free-lance publicity and public relations work from 1947 to 1952, with time out for a second tour of duty with the Army, and joined Philadelphia's Bureau of Public Information and Service in March 1952.

political party. The client must always be the city and its inhabitants—all its inhabitants."

Schneidman pointed out that the centralized operation permits economies, encourages the employment of qualified specialists who can develop a well rounded program of professional stature, and eliminates the need for departmental publicity men disguised as "administrative assistants" or "program assistants." At the same time, he asserted, the dangers assumed to be inherent in centralization are nullified by "the antiseptic glow of daylight," and the fact that self-appointed watchdogs will be on the alert to detect any real or fancied straying from the allotted path.

Town Meeting Spirit

With a publicly announced determination to develop a public relations program which would recreate the old "town meeting" spirit through modern means of mass communication, Philadelphia set out in January 1952 to prove it could be done. The resulting program has attracted nation-wide attention and brought the city the "Silver Anvil" award of the American Public Relations Association for the best governmental public relations program in 1952.

Many of the initial steps were of the most fundamental type. To fulfill the mayor's promise of a "goldfish bowl" policy, meetings of all boards, commissions and committees were opened to the representatives of all media of mass communication. Executive sessions have been held to a minimum, and when they have been necessary the reasons have been spelled out carefully to the press.

The bureau tackled its routine, day-to-day task of aiding newspapers, radio and television to report fully and accurately the activities of the city government. An average of more than twenty releases a week, with over 90 per cent of the stories appearing in print, have helped achieve the objective of providing complete information on the administration's plans and operations.

Upon this framework of essential news services, the bureau has overlaid a more imaginative pattern of information activities. Radio and television programs, created and produced by the bureau, play a vital part.

"Tell It to the Mayor," a biweekly TV presentation, has proved the most spectacular and successful of the varied efforts in this direction. Essentially an audience participation show, it offers the average citizen an opportunity to present his complaints directly to the head of his municipal government, and to air his most cherished opinions before the eye of the television camera. Completely unrehearsed, the program deals with controversial subjects and owes much of its success to the informality and spontaneity of the give and take between mayor and citizens.

Another successful telecast, presented weekly, portrays behind-the-scenes activities of the police and fire departments. In the radio field, "Report to the People" is a weekly broadcast by the mayor, a cabinet member or a councilman, spelling out specific issues of the day, the contemplated actions of the city government and the effect those actions will have upon the individual citizen.

Numerous other radio and television appearances are arranged for municipal officials and employees. They include participation in panel discussions on current issues, sponsorship of civic campaigns which the city has launched or in which it is participating and the exposition of city functions.

In a fresh approach to the "City Hall tours," traditionally offered to school children and civic groups in guise of educational activity, the bureau is attempting to make these visits meaningful. The first long step in this direction was accomplished when the bureau joined with the Board of Education in sponsoring a summer workshop for principals and teachers of the city's school system. The educators participated in roundtable sessions at which cabinet members discussed with them the city's problems and opportunities.

Reports to the People

Again venturing outside the accepted framework of municipal information service, the bureau is endeavoring to make the city's annual report something more than a reference work for students of municipal government. The basic theory is that of presenting a "running" report in progressive doses, more palatable and more easily digested than the usual bulky year-end document.

The aptly named "Report to the People" weekly radio broadcasts are employed as one element of this plan. Another approach is an outgrowth of the mayor's demand for quarterly reports from his department heads. These lengthy statements of progress, problems and plans are summarized by the bureau's staff; and highlights of the summaries are embodied in a news release. Copies of the summaries as well as the release are distributed to the press and radio, providing not only a spot news story but also source material for many future stories.

Motion pictures planned and produced in their entirety by the bureau also fit into this program by portraying the city's physical needs and the steps taken to meet them. Thus far, four films have been prepared dealing objectively with the facilities of various city departments, and one has been produced with the frankly avowed purpose of demonstrating that a modern incinerator need not lead to the deterioration of the neighborhood in which it is located.

It should be emphasized that these films are designed to provide information, not promotion. They show, for instance, the Department of Welfare's dilapidated House of Correction, as well as its ultra-modern Youth Study Center. They reveal the Department of Recreation's ancient, collapsing swimming pools, as well as its spacious camp for underprivileged children.

In pursuing further its function of disseminating information, the bureau directly promotes civic discussion of the more important problems facing the citizen and his government. Perhaps its outstanding effort in this field to date was in connection with the proposal for the establishment of a Delaware River Port Authority to promote the development of the vital port area.

It quickly became apparent that there was virtually unanimous agreement on the desirability of the project, but almost simultaneously it became evident that the necessary federal legislation was about to be emasculated by amendments. The bureau brought all its resources into play to mobilize the force of public opinion. Vocal support of civic, labor and business organizations throughout the area was enlisted, and representatives of those groups were encouraged in the formation of a nonpartisan operating committee. Employing its public relations knowledge in the guidance of this committee the bureau armed committee members with vast quantities of background material; prepared statements for news releases and for presentation at Congressional hearings; digested pertinent legislation and opinion; rallied legislators and prominent civic figures to the cause, and in general acted as the moving force behind the successful drive to bring the essential facts of the case to the attention of Congress.

Other debates were nurtured by the bureau during the year. Some resulted in affirmation of the administration's proposals and some did not, but in each case the decision was made by the people, after full and free discussion.

Educational Campaigns

The bureau also has been called upon frequently to aid particular departments in organizing non-controversial campaigns. Full-scale publicity efforts were carried out on behalf of the Department of Health's "multi-phasic screening" project; the Department of Streets' drive against litter in central city and shopping center districts; the nonpartisan registration effort; and the recruiting program of the personnel department, notably with regard to the employment of women traffic guards at school crossings and the Recreation Department's expansion of its summer program.

Meanwhile, the Mayor's Office for Information and Complaints was proving the most popular innovation in the city's recent history. It was launched with suitable fanfare by the bureau and promptly became the busiest office in the municipal structure.

Far more than an information booth, it provides a central point to which any Philadelphian may bring any question or complaint concerning municipal services. It is set up and staffed to provide the necessary answer or action. Complaints are recorded, then referred to the office directly concerned with the problem. The responsible official in that department replies by phone when feasible and in writing if necessary.

Meanwhile, the complaint section keeps the complainant informed as to which office is handling the matter and maintains an "action pending" file to ascertain that the required action is taken within a reasonable time. On numerous occasions, the staff goes far beyond the line of duty in fulfilling requests for information and service. An effort is made to fulfill even the most bizarre demands, and there have been many of them. The first day of operation brought about 150 visitors and 200 telephone inquiries. The volume has increased steadily and the office now handles about 550 calls a day.

There can be no doubt that a vastly increased flow of information concerning the city government has resulted from the city's experimental program. The "goldfish bowl" policy and the routine operations of the Bureau of Public Information and Service alone would assure this. It is the fond belief of all concerned with the program that Philadelphia is the nation's most "open city" in this respect. Far too busy to keep a check on "column inches" or radio and television time, the bureau's staff is more than satisfied to see nearly 100 per cent reproduction of the releases it aims at the various media. In this connection, it may be noted that the radio "Report to the People" is the first public service program ever to be broadcast regularly by all of the city's ten radio stations.

Public Relations Value

These are, of course, generalities. The peculiar nature of the city's public relations effort is such that it does not, in most cases, aim at influencing the decisions of the people. Rather, the objective is to provide full and fair information and to promote discussion of the pros and cons of any specific question. The decision rests with the people.

The Office for Information and Complaints also operates largely in the realm of intangibles. While it meets specific complaints and generates decisive action, its value from a public relations standpoint cannot be measured in terms of sidewalks repaired, vacant lots cleaned, barking dogs silenced or even the number of gamblers arrested through "tips" from indignant housewives. Its importance lies in its activity as a contact point between the city and his government; its assurance that any resident will receive a fair and impartial hearing "at the hall," and the encouragement it offers to the citizen who has lost contact with his government.

Only the passage of time will tell whether or not the entire program has fulfilled its basic task of bringing the people and their municipal government closer together. In this connection it is perhaps worthy of note that American democracy achieved its greatest growth during the period before the industrial revolution, when people were in direct contact with their local governments through their town meetings. With the rapid growth of population and industrialization, the citizens drifted out of contact with their government and, through default, left the management of municipal affairs to corrupt and self-seeking politicians.

Today in Philadelphia the attempt is being made to reverse this trend and to create a new partnership between the citizen and his government.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Trained Administrator Urged for New York City

Committee Calls Task of Mayor Preposterous

ACTING on the report of its City Manager Study Committee, a group of outstanding citizens appointed last year[1] to investigate the applicability of the council-manager plan to the unusual conditions of the city of New York, the executive committee of the Citizens Union of New York has announced the conclusion that, without drastically overhauling the charter at this time, provision for an appointive general administrator can and should be made.

As to method of appointment, some of the study committee urged that this be a function of the Board of Estimate. This is New York's peculiar executive-legislative body, where the mayor, comptroller, and president of the city council, all elected on a city-wide basis, have equal voting strength, while the presidents of the five boroughs, with unequal votes totaling less than the city-wide members, make up the rest of the board. Others favored appointment of the administrator by the mayor, with special safeguards, as in the recently adopted Philadelphia charter. The executive committee adopted the latter view, with modifications. Its report says:

"A majority of the Citizens Union Executive Committee favored a solution which was first proposed in the study committee and which they hoped might combine many of the advantages of the two other plans; namely, appointment of the chief administrator by the mayor, with the advice and consent of the Board of Estimate, after a public hearing. Removal would be possible at any time in the same way, or by the board withdrawing its approval after a public hearing even without the recommendation of the mayor.

"This would maintain the mayor's importance in the picture and concentrate in him responsibility for selection of the administrator and at the same time would make the board's satisfaction with the administrator essential for his appointment or retention. It would put the board in a position to insist on higher standards if the mayor was inclined to appoint a mere stooge and would enable the board to get rid of the administrator if he was improperly influenced by the mayor or anyone else or if the mayor was lax in insisting on proper standards of performance. It would make the administrator more independent of the mayor than if he were a mere deputy and would thus make the position more attractive to a high grade man.

"All were agreed that the selection of an administrator should be made from the entire country."

As to the immediate adoption of the council-manager plan proper the report said:

"To apply this pattern in its entirety to New York City would require substitution of a single board without administrative duties for the present Board of Estimate and City Council. It would raise the question of changing to some method of assuring a less lopsided board than the present 24-1 City Council or the recent one-party Board of Estimate to assume complete responsibility for the city government. It would require transferring the administrative duties of the borough presidents and the comptroller to the city manager, leaving an elective or appointive comptroller with merely auditing functions.

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1952, page 406.

"Such a plan might work well if adopted, particularly if available means for assuring adequate consideration of locality needs were added when the borough presidents were dropped as administrators, but a majority of the Citizens Union committees were not prepared to recommend attempting so sweeping a change at the present time.

"On the immediate desirability of one important feature of the city manager plan, however, there was virtual unanimity in both committees. That is the creation of an administrative head other than the mayor, appointed for his administrative training and ability and not chosen, as mayoralty candidates are, for ability to amass votes at the polls. . . .

Mayor's Task Impossible

"The present task of the mayor is a preposterous one. He is supposed: (1) to be the policy leader of the city, with three votes on the Board of Estimate; (2) to be the ceremonial head of the city, with frequent public appearances and private audiences unconnected with policy; and (3) to guide and control through his appointees nearly all of the far-flung city administration. Any one of these three functions could tax the full time of any official by itself. To do justice to all three is virtually impossible. The one which usually suffers most is the most exacting one, administration, for it is a lucky accident if administrative capacity is secured by election at the polls. Such accidents have not often come our way."

The study committee recommended that the administrator be authorized to appoint: (1) several assistants to serve as liaison officers between him and groups of departments—the city having too many departments for a single administrator to supervise directly; (2) a director of personnel, to administer the merit system, with a civil service commission, appointed as now by the mayor, to make over-all rules and hear appeals; and (3) a budget director, who would work on the basis of a performance budget, with more freedom for department heads than under the present "line item" budget basis.

To put the entire plan as recommended into effect will require a charter amendment and a referendum vote of the people. A petition to initiate such an amendment could still be circulated for submission at the city election in the fall, but as stated in the report:

"A majority of the Citizens Union Executive Committee, however, believe it would be bad strategy to put the question on the ballot at the mayoralty election. They feel that every effort should be centered on electing a capable, trustworthy administration for the next four years and that a charter amendment up at the same time might divert attention from the need for a change in the personnel of the city government and get the friends of good government to arguing among themselves. It might furnish the supporters of the present city administration with a specious alibi charging the defects of the government of the city to defects in the city charter rather than to incompetence in its administration. They agree, however, that the subject is a most timely one for discussion as an issue in the campaign and hope that a reform mayor may follow through after his election with support for constructive charter revision as LaGuardia did in the revision of 1936.

"This report is submitted to all the civic forces of the city for immediate serious discussion."

Council Manager Plan Developments

Elmhurst, Illinois, (1950 population 21,273) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 3,063 to 1,732 on February 21. It also voted to retain the present method of electing aldermen from ten wards. **Oak Lawn** (8,751), in the same state, also adopted the manager plan, by 2,111 to 758, on January 24. In the following eleven Illinois municipalities (listed in order of size) the plan becomes effective this spring; appointment of managers awaits election of city councils: Peoria, Evanston, Oak Park, Rock Island, Bloomington, Elmhurst, Mt. Vernon, East Moline, Wood River, Oak Lawn and Savanna.

Greenville, North Carolina, (16,724) adopted the council-manager plan at a recent election. It goes into effect at the next general municipal election.

In **La Mesa, California,** (10,946) the city council in January unanimously approved an ordinance establishing a council-manager plan.

Amherst, Massachusetts, (7,900) at its annual town meeting on February 16, adopted the council-manager plan. The new system, to go into effect in 1954, replaces the government under which the town has operated since 1775.

The citizens of **Bethany, Oklahoma,** (5,705) voted 309 to 145 on January 13 to adopt a council-manager charter. It becomes fully effective on May 4. The council will have nine members. The manager to be appointed by them is required to have had two years' experience or a college degree.

The International City Managers' Association reports that it has added **East Ann Arbor, Michigan,** (1,810) to the official list of council-manager cities. It adopted a manager ordinance in 1948.

A bill to establish the town manager plan in **Burlington, Massachusetts,** has been introduced in the state legislature.

In **Concord, Massachusetts,** the League of Women Voters is sponsoring discussions of the town manager plan.

A town manager committee in **Provincetown, Massachusetts,** is spreading information about the town manager plan. A bill to permit such a plan in Provincetown has been passed by the lower house of the state legislature.

Another attempt is being made to obtain enabling legislation in **Pennsylvania** to permit third-class cities, 47 in number, to adopt the council-manager plan.

In **Erie, Pennsylvania,** the Erie Industrial Union Council, CIO, has appointed a committee of three to investigate the council-manager plan as proposed by others for that city.

A committee of the council in **Edenton, North Carolina,** is investigating the council-manager plan.

A bill to provide council-manager government for **Savannah, Georgia,** has been submitted to the state legislature.

In **Milledgeville, Georgia,** Mayor Harry Bone has presented a plan for council-manager government and has suggested that a charter for that purpose be acted upon before the next city election.

An active movement for the manager plan has been developing in **Steubenville, Ohio.**

In **Norwood, Ohio,** near Cincinnati, the Property Owners Association, headed by Hayden H. Sizemore, is heading a campaign for the manager plan.

The **Indiana** Senate on February 4 approved, 35 to 5, a joint resolution with bipartisan sponsorship calling for a constitutional amendment permitting cities to choose their form of government. The state Junior Chamber of Commerce is advocating passage of such an amendment, which would permit adoption of the council-manager plan by cities of that state—one of three not yet granting that right.

In **Iron Mountain, Michigan,** a Citizens' Committee for Council-manager Government has been formed. The League of Women Voters has been conducting a program of study and education on the subject over the last two years. An election on adoption of the plan is scheduled for April 6 as a result of the filing of petitions.

The City Club of **Chicago** asks that the state legislature permit the people of that city to vote on the council-manager plan—Chicago having been specifically excluded from the general enabling act of 1951.

Elections on the question of adopting the manager plan, held in three Illinois cities, suburbs of Chicago, on January 31, resulted in defeats: **Calumet City,** 2,793 to 1,657; **Des Plaines,** 3,013 to 829; and **Northlake,** 1,008 to 508.

A proposal for adoption of the council-manager plan will be voted on in the April election in **Northbrook, Illinois.** The League of Women Voters has been sponsoring study and publicity of the subject.

The city of **Hopkins, Minnesota,** recently supplied the residents of a newly annexed area with a five-page statement describing the council-manager plan of government in that city and giving information on the various services rendered and how to learn more about them.

A seminar for city council candidates in **Tacoma, Washington,** which recently adopted the council-manager plan, included a discussion of city manager responsibilities.

Charter Change Sought in Newark, New Jersey

Two separate moves for altering the form of government in Newark, largest city of New Jersey, were made in the second half of January. Newark is now under the commission plan. On January 16 Commissioner Leo P. Carlin, director of public works, announced that he favors a change and the creation of a charter study commission to make a recommendation as to the best available form, under the Faulkner Act. Commissioner Meyer C. Ellenstein, director of revenue and finance and a former mayor, joined in the proposal. Mayor Ralph A. Villani and Commissioner Stephen J. Moran were non-committal, but Commissioner John B. Keenan expressed opposition. On February 5 these three voted to reject the Carlin resolution.

Anticipating the failure of the Carlin resolution, the Newark Citizens Committee, formed four years ago, organized a drive to obtain 20,000 signatures to a petition which, if successful, will place the charter commission question on the ballot at the time of the city commission election in May. Members of the charter commission would be elected at the same time and, if authorized by a majority of those voting on the question, could recommend retention or improvement of the commission plan or its replacement by either the mayor-council or the council-manager plan.

Home Rule Extension Sought in Rhode Island

Although the home rule amendment to the Rhode Island constitution, ratified by the people in 1951, is largely self-executing, particularly as to provisions for the adoption of new charters by municipalities, legislation is still needed to enable cities and towns to obtain the full benefit of the principles laid down in the amendment and to bring the existing body of laws into harmony therewith. Governor Dennis J. Roberts has called for a grant of home rule beyond the requirements of the amendment itself.

The State Supreme Court ruled last year that unless a city or town adopts a completely new charter it remains subject to the legislature. The governor has urged that the legislature extend the principles of home rule, at least in large part, to the other cities and towns; and to include in the laws it adopts the right of small towns to have joint facilities for health, education, public works, etc.

State Leagues Urge Home Rule

Among state leagues of municipalities taking a vigorous stand for municipal home rule, those in Minnesota and Washington have recently urged upon their state legislatures the adoption of constitutional amendments to give a greater degree of autonomy to local governments. The Minnesota League of Municipalities seeks especially the removal from the constitution of rigid detailed rules for the presentation and adoption of home rule charters and amendments thereto, and the insertion of rigid constitutional restrictions on special legislation, together with the right of referendum on special laws. The Association of Washington Cities makes a home rule amendment the first objective in its legislative program for 1953.

Michigan Reorganization Committee Reports Progress

The Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, appointed in 1949, has made a progress report covering 1952 and pending activities. It notes that its studies have been financed by state appropriations of only $20,000 and private grants of $45,000, and that not all money available has been spent. Much service has also been donated. Loren B. Miller, of the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, has served as the committee's director of research.

During 1952 four reports and one memorandum were submitted to the committee by its research staff. They related to building engineering and management, state military establishment, state motor pool, department of aeronautics and institutional management. A report on regulatory agencies is in progress. This will bring the total number of reports to 30, plus two special memoranda. Not all reports submitted have been fully considered by the committee as yet.

The committee has submitted a number of bills to the legislature relating to various details of organization and administrative improvement; of 21 bills and resolutions introduced in 1952 nine were adopted, including one to create a joint interim committee to consider establishment of a legislative auditor. The committee is currently submitting twenty bills; topics included are creation of a joint pension board; appointment, instead of election, of the commissioner of education, while enlarging the elective state board of education; permitting the incoming governor to nominate and the controller to appoint a fiscal adviser to help prepare the budget; coordinate driver and vehicle services into one department; create a department of professional licensing to coordinate such activities; and coordinate state health agencies into one department.

The committee is also submitting various recommendations, including one that legislative rules be changed to provide joint Senate and House committee hearings on all budget matters, to conserve time; and that consideration be given to removal of restrictions on the general fund and reduction of the number of special funds.

Colorado State Organization Studied

A twelve-member committee on reorganization of the state government has been established in Colorado, as urged by Governor Thornton in his campaign for re-election and in his message to the legislature on January 13. He has appointed Robert L. Stearns, retiring president of the University of Colorado, to head the committee, which is made up equally of Republicans and Democrats. It includes four state senators, four representatives and four other citizens.

Governor Thornton said that although previous reports recommending changes in the organization of the state's government had been neglected, the work of the new committee would not go to waste.

He suggested that the committee might appoint advisory subcommittees of business, labor, educational, agricultural and professional representatives.

Virginia Redistricts for State Legislature

At a special session early in December 1952, the Virginia legislature accomplished a redistricting of the state for both the Senate and the House of Delegates. Large existing disparities in the sizes of districts were reduced—leaving many wide differences, however.

The 1950 Virginia legislature established a Commission on Redistricting which made a study of reapportionment problems as to the U. S. House of Representatives and the two houses of the state legislature. It reported to Governor John S. Battle and the legislature on November 2, 1951, with proposed plans of redistricting for each of the three bodies.

The plans adopted last December by the legislature for its redistricting represent a modification of the commission's proposals, and involve somewhat greater differences between districts.

For the Senate, with a statewide average or quota of 82,967 per senator based on the 1950 federal census, the superseded districts ranged in population per senator from a maximum of 190,491 to a minimum of 41,442. In the new apportionment the district of largest population is Arlington County (135,449); the one with the fewest people consists of Culpepper, Fauquier and Loudoun Counties (55,637). There are 36 districts, for 40 senators.

As to the House, with a quota of 33,187 per delegate, the old districts ranged from 106,092 down to 14,829 per delegate. The largest population under the new apportionment is the city of Alexandria (61,787) and the smallest is in a district comprising Botetourt and Craig Counties (19,218). There are 76 districts, for 100 delegates.

Thus in the Senate the district of largest population is nearly two and a half times as large as the smallest; and in the House the ratio is over three to one.

Senate Seats for Defeated Executive Candidates?

A proposed amendment to the Oregon constitution has been introduced in the legislature of that state, to provide a senate seat for the defeated candidate for governor after each election for that office. Sponsors of the amendment are Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Senator Robert D. Holmes and Mrs. Neuberger, who is a member of the House of Representatives. The present number of 30 senators, all elected from districts, would be increased to 31. The added senator would have a statewide status, with the same rights and duties as other senators; and it would be expected that he would function as a leader of the op-

(Continued on page 150)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Erie County Acts to Consolidate Libraries

Other Cities and Counties Consider Merging Functions

AFTER three years of negotiations and discussions among the Erie County (New York) commissioners, the Buffalo common council and representatives of the three library systems involved, a plan of merger of Erie County libraries has been evolved. After local adoption, the plan must be approved by the state legislature.

Libraries concerned are the Buffalo Public Library, which is privately owned though publicly operated, the Grosvenor Library, made possible by bequest with title now held by a board of trustees appointed by mayor and council, and some 25 town, village and city libraries outside Buffalo constructed and owned by the local governments. Since 1948 Erie County has been financing the full operating costs of all these libraries.

The proposal would transfer all assets of the Grosvenor Library and the Buffalo Public Library, but not its nineteen branches, to a newly created county unit to be known as the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library. The branch libraries and the libraries outside Buffalo would continue to receive their operating costs from the county. The new unit would be headed by a fifteen-member board of trustees, at least eight of whom would be residents of Buffalo. The members would be appointed for five-year overlapping terms by the county board of supervisors, but five would be nominees of the mayor of Buffalo.

Merger of Functions Sought by Counties and Their Cities

Chattanooga and Hamilton County, Tennessee, are considering the construction of a joint administration building which would cost approximately $2,000,000. The plan calls for construction of the new center to house all city and county administrative offices, jailing space for city and county prisoners, a 500-seat assembly room for employees and a recreation room and lounge. Provision would be made for off-street parking facilities for government employees and the public. The present court house would be devoted entirely to the courts.

Several communities in North Carolina report efforts to secure better coordination between the county and municipal governments in their respective areas. In Guilford County, the commissioners, the delegation to the General Assembly and members of the governing bodies of Greensboro, High Point, Jamestown, Hamilton Lake and Gibsonville met recently for the fifth time since 1949 to discuss problems of mutual interest.

Catawba County and the city of Newton are establishing a joint fingerprinting and photography laboratory.

Edgecombe, Nash, Pitt and Wilson Counties are discussing with the cities of Greenville, Rocky Mount, Tarboro and Wilson the possibilities of establishing a regional airport.

Two Washington Counties Consider New Charters

As a result of a survey it has made, the Municipal League of Seattle and King County discloses that its members agree on need for a new county charter. Although members differ as to what the charter should contain, they believe that defeat of the proposed council manager charter last fall should not cause the league to relax its efforts to modernize King County's government.

The Grange Committee on County Government of Klickitat County, Washington, is making a study of the council-manager form of government for possible adoption by that county.

Erie County Supervisors Plan Study

The board of supervisors of Erie County, New York, has initiated a study to "take stock of the county government and plan for its future role in serving the citizens of the whole county."

New York Town Association Meets

The New York Association of Towns held its annual meeting in New York City in January. Sessions were held by supervisors and councilmen, justices of the peace, town clerks, highway superintendents, assessors, welfare and service officers, collectors and receivers of taxes, town and county attorneys, planning and zoning officers, historians, fire officers and police officers.

Louisiana Moves to Supplement Coroners

In accordance with state legislation passed last year, permitting parishes (counties) within any of the eight congressional districts of Louisiana to cooperate to establish a forensic laboratory, two districts, the first and second, have consented to use one such laboratory located in Orleans Parish. The legislation was the result of efforts of the State Coroners' Association, headed by Dr. Willis P. Butler, coroner of Caddo Parish. Another laboratory, in Shreveport, serves the fourth congressional district parishes and, at times, nineteen other parishes, and organization of service to the fifth congressional district is nearing completion with a laboratory at Munroe.

Coroners remain elective in the state's 64 parishes. Only one of them is a pathologist and it is reported difficult to get well qualified doctors to run for the office.

STATE COST UP

(Continued from page 128)

where trends and problems closely resemble those in Michigan, recent enactments and referenda have sent the local assistance budget soaring and have left the state facing an operating deficit of $91,000,000 for fiscal 1954. To close the gap, the governor is recommending a series of new taxes. Probably Michigan's experience is distinctive in the fact that the developments outlined above have been more rapid than in most states and attended by more complications.

Michigan state government is in the throes of a widely heralded financial crisis. For the fifth year it is operating in the red and its cumulative deficit may be $90,000,000 by June 30 next. The foregoing data indicate that the state's financial crisis is not attributable to extravagant state administration nor to an intolerable burden of state and local government costs.

The state government's vicissitudes are the inescapable consequences of the sales tax diversion amendment, and other measures, which have saddled the state with so large a portion of the costs of local government without providing commensurate revenue. Belatedly, the legislature is engaged in the perplexing and painful task of adjusting the state's revenue structure to the situation produced by the sales tax diversion amendment.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Cheap Money Era Fades for State-local Units

Rude Awakening Now Faces Some Municipal Debtors

FOR the past decade or so the editors of the REVIEW have received in a steady flow, but rarely passed on for the edification of the reader, clippings or mimeographed press releases containing a common but fallacious syllogism. Briefly, the argument has been to the effect that well run cities with good credit can borrow at low interest costs; "our" city—or county, or school district—sold bonds recently at the lowest cost in its history; therefore, "our" city—or county, or school district—is extraordinarily well run and enjoys the highest credit.

The credit of a governmental unit, like that of an individual, of course plays a part in determining the cost at which it can borrow money at any given time. And many cities and other municipal units have markedly improved their credit standing by improvements in their charters, in the caliber of their administrative personnel, by adherence to soundly conceived capital plans, by improved budgeting and accounting, etc.

But other factors also play a large part in determining the interest cost to a borrower, including the well known twins, supply and demand. In the case of state and municipal borrowers, two other potent factors also influence borrowing cost: tax exemption (i.e., the exemption of interest on state and municipal bonds from federal income taxes) and federal monetary policy.

Credit factors have not changed markedly for the great majority of state and local governmental units over the past six months or so, but important changes are occurring in the other four factors mentioned, with the result that the cost of state and local borrowing has risen and may be expected to rise further. And already there is appearing another variety of press clippings, whose authors remonstrate in hurt or angry tones that their cities—or counties or school districts or what have you—have done nothing to warrant the higher interest costs now being demanded when they go into the money market to finance needed improvements.

The state and local units have, of course, done something to warrant the higher interest costs now required when they issue their bonds: they have issued bonds, or sought to issue bonds. Collectively, they issued more than four billion dollars worth in 1952 and in all probability will issue a somewhat greater quantity in 1953. In 1946, when state-local borrowing costs were at an all-time low, new state and municipal issues only slightly exceeded one billion dollars, and followed the lean-supply war years when volume had fallen as low as half a billion dollars.

The increase in supply fails to tell the whole story of rising state-local borrowing costs, however. The bugaboo is demand, as influenced by shifts in the value of tax exemption and federal monetary policy. The economists remind us that demand for a given supply is elastic, varying with price. In the case of the wartime and immediate postwar supply of state and municipal bonds, an abnormally low supply was accompanied by very high federal income tax and surtax rates, and by a federal policy of keeping interest rates low.

Tax exemption and monetary policy, in other words, operated to increase tremendously the demand for the limited supply and to raise the price (i.e., lower the interest cost) for state-local borrowers. Additionally, there was a virtual cessation of corporate borrowing and, at the same time, many corporations accumulated large reserves which, because of tax exemption, were advantageously invested temporarily in municipal bonds.

Increase in Costs

As the volume of municipal borrowing increased, as higher-bracket income tax rates were lowered, and as corporations used up their reserves for the improvements for which they had been accumulated, the cost of local borrowing gradually increased. At the same time, shifts in federal monetary policy upped the general level of interest costs (notably the "freeing" of the market for United States government bonds and notes in March 1951). Ignoring the fluctuations, *The Bond Buyer's* index of yield on twenty representative state and local bonds was in the vicinity of 2 per cent from 1949 through late summer in 1952, compared with its all-time low of 1.29 per cent in February 1946.

A more marked and fundamental change has occurred in the last six months or so, however. Collectively, the change is indicated again by *The Bond Buyer's* twenty-bond index, up from 2.17 per cent, at the beginning of August 1952, to 2.38 per cent at the end of December and 2.46 per cent at the end of January 1953. The recent level was just under the postwar peak of 2.47 per cent reached in March 1948, under the impact of then record-breaking large state issues for veterans' bonuses.

Underlying this rise of approximately 30 basis points in approximately six months are the two factors critically affecting demand: a prospectively lessened value of tax exemption, based on the general expectation that higher-bracket federal income tax rates will be lowered by the new Republican administration, and the formulation of a new federal debt policy which portends a rise in the general interest level.

One does not have to be a tax expert or mathematician to figure the value of the tax exemption feature of municipal bonds. To illustrate in simple terms, it is evident that a tax-exempt bond yielding 2 per cent is the equivalent in income to its holder of a 4 per cent taxable bond at a tax rate of 50 per cent. If the tax rate is reduced to 25 per cent, however, a taxable bond yielding 2.7 per cent before taxes will produce income equivalent to the 2 per cent tax-exempt security. Since the top-bracket surtax rate on individual incomes is presently 92 per cent, and on corporate income 52 per cent, it is evident that even relatively modest reductions in the rates will strongly affect the position of tax-exempt bonds relative to taxable bonds. Investors cannot afford to ignore such reductions when considering the price at which they will purchase bonds, moreover; the expectation of change either causes them to withdraw from the market to await the event or to anticipate it by requiring yields sufficient to discount the expected change.

Similarly, the effect of rising interest rates on the federal debt is a tangible factor. The new national administration is well known to be committed to a change in monetary policy, notably a shift from short-term to long-term debt. In early February the Treasury announced the plans for the large February 15 refunding, including the offer of either one-year 2¼ per cent certificates or 2½ per cent bonds due in five years and ten months in exchange for outstanding 1⅞ per cent certificates. In financial circles 3 per cent to 3¼ per cent rates for long-term bonds were freely discussed as the best that might be expected for a really long term refinancing—say twenty years. The interest return on the federal debt is all-pervasive in the money market and, as in the case of tax exemption, investors cannot ignore the developing trend.

All this would be of merely academic interest were it not for the fact that local government touches us all at the very closest level, that most of our communities still have urgent need for improvements which can be financed only by the issuance of additional bonds, and that the cost of carrying that debt—i.e., the interest on the bonds—is an inflexible budget charge once the debt has been incurred. It is important, therefore, that alert citizens and local officials alike recognize that recent low borrowing costs have not, *per se,* been the result of good administration or other favorable credit circumstances, nor will higher borrowing costs be themselves indications of contrary circumstances.

Effects of Deflation

Early 1953 provided some good examples of the extent to which deflation is catching up with states and local units which must issue bonds to raise money. Most striking was the example of the state of California, whose bonds are rated high grade by most investors. On February 3, 1952, the state sold $100,000,000 of bonds to finance its program of loans to veterans for home and farm purchases. The bonds were due in one to twenty years and were sold at an average interest cost of 2.415 per cent. Approximately one year earlier, on January 9, 1952, the state sold $50,000,000 of its bonds, including $25,000,000 veterans loan aid bonds, which fetched an average interest cost of 1.72755 per cent; not only was the 1952 price higher, or interest rate lower, but the 1952 issue was due in one to twenty-five years, or five years longer than the 1953 offering.

The difference in size between the offerings perhaps caused some small increase in the 1953 cost, but the change in market conditions was the overriding factor. Where the syndicate purchasing the 1952 issue reoffered the bonds then on a scale yielding from 1.05 per cent for bonds due in one year to 1.55 per cent for bonds due in ten years and 1.85 per cent for bonds due in twenty years, the 1953 issue was priced at retail at from 1.10 per cent for one-year maturities to 2.10 per cent for ten-year maturities and approximately 2.52 per cent for twenty-year maturities.

The reoffering scale, i.e., yield to investors who purchased them from the underwriters, for the February 1953 California state bonds was almost identical with that on $12,000,000 city of Los Angeles general obligations sold January 27, 1953, which were scaled at from 1.10 per cent for one-year maturities to 2.55 per cent for the twenty-year bonds. Los Angeles will pay an average net interest of 2.38998 per cent for this bond issue, compared with 1.624 per cent basis for a somewhat smaller issue sold in March 1952 and maturing also in one to twenty years.

These provide examples of the rise in the cost of borrowing as it affects units with good credit histories. Unfavorable factors in the credit picture, which were frequently ignored altogether by the market when interest rates were lower and demand extraordinarily good, are now tending once more to cause a spread between the average interest rates and costs to borrowers with less favorable histories. Where six months ago interest costs of 3 per cent or more were the marks of borderline situations and occurred mainly in the case of marginal or un-seasoned revenue bond issuers, now costs of 3 per cent and more are becoming common among issuers who defaulted in the 1930s, whose debts presently are markedly out of line, or who exhibit other weak credit features.

How much higher interest cost for local borrowers will rise is problematical, of course. One thing seems sure, however: few clippings and press releases are likely to cite the higher costs as proof that "our city" has gone to the dogs, and civic groups should study their communities carefully before so concluding.

State Turns Down Plea of New York for More Aid

New York City's requests for a $62,700,000 increase in state aid for fiscal 1953-54 received treatment considerably rougher than anticipated when the state's $1,072,500,000 budget came up for action. After hearing Mayor Vincent Impellitteri deliver in person an appeal for amendments to increase the city's share of state taxes and grants, the State Senate adopted the executive budget without change, 53 to 1. The budget bill now goes to the assembly, where city representatives are expected to renew their bid for more financial assistance.

St. Louis Group Endorses Earnings Tax, Charter Reform

The Citizens Finance Committee, appointed by Mayor Joseph M. Darst of St. Louis last year to report on the financial problems of the city, made its final report in January. It found that the city's expenses—which evidently were not out of line with those of comparable communities—had increased more rapidly than its revenues from ordinary sources, and concluded that retention of the earnings tax on the gross incomes of individuals and the net profits of corporations would have to be continued indefinitely beyond its expiration date of April 1, 1954.

It recommended also, however, reforms in charter and legislative law respecting city and county administration to eliminate duplication of personnel and services, improvements in the recruitment, classification and administration of personnel, enactment of enabling legislation to permit establishment of a uniform city employee retirement program, and adoption of a capital improvement program to rehabilitate the downtown business district and provide needed improvements elsewhere in the city.

Noting that it could find no opportunities for large-scale reductions in city expenditures, the committee observed that there was none the less opportunity for lowering costs and increasing efficiency, particularly in the areas where city and county functions overlap. Recalling the failure of the charter drafted in 1949-51 to secure voter approval in August 1951, the committee stated that "charter revision and administrative reorganization offer the most promising sources of economy and increased efficiency in the St. Louis city government. In spite of the difficulties involved, steps should be taken to achieve these objectives."

With respect to revenues, it was recommended that all fees for inspection services be reviewed and fixed at rates sufficient to meet the full cost of the inspections. Study of the fiscal aspects of the city's hospitals was also urged, with a view to securing larger revenues from patients, who pay only about 10 per cent of operating costs. Placing of the water system on a 100 per cent metered basis by eliminating all remaining flat rate customers was also recommended, to save an estimated $375,000 annually to pump and purify water wasted by flat-rate consumers.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Legislators Frown on P. R. Bills

Civic Groups Support Them at a Massachusetts Hearing

A HEARING on a number of P. R. bills before the Massachusetts legislature was held in Boston February 5. Representatives of civic groups in Worcester, Cambridge and Lynn spoke for a bill which would restore the right of additional cities to adopt P. R. in the state's optional council-manager law, known as Plan E, as well as for one which would raise from 5 to the customary 10 per cent the number of signatures needed in a city to place the question of P. R.'s retention on the ballot in a city which now has it.

Charles H. McGlue, former Democratic state chairman and longtime foe of P. R., urged the committee to approve his proposed measure, which would completely outlaw the use of P. R. in the state.

Colonel John B. Atkinson, former city manager of Cambridge, which has used P. R. since 1942, spoke in support of P. R., taking issue with Mr. McGlue's charges against the system. Mrs. Ruth H. Romer, representing the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, stated that the repeal of the P. R. option by the legislature[1] was a "direct violation of the principle of home rule."

The committee later voted to report all P. R. proposals adversely and thus retain the status quo.

Worcester Holds Recount for School Committeeman

The resignation of Worcester School Committeeman Francis X. Powers to become city auditor has called into play the vacancy-filling recount provisions of the Massachusetts "Plan E" charter legislation providing for elections by the Hare system of proportional representation. This was the second such recount since Worcester adopted its present charter. The 8,415 ballots which elected Mr. Powers in the 1951 election were redistributed according to the next choices marked thereon, selecting Timothy J. Dowd as his successor.

Bill to Emasculate P. R. Passes Italian Lower House

The new Italian electoral law, passed by the Chamber of Deputies last January, and awaiting action by the Senate, would abolish many of the proportional characteristics of the present system in order to give bare nationwide majorities a considerable preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies, while still retaining the party list type of ballot.

Passage of the measure by the chamber came only after 37 days of protracted sessions, during which opponents proposed 2,300 separate amendments, kept up a stream of oratory so long as the rules would permit, and even precipitated an occasional violent scuffle on the floor of the chamber. When the chips were down, however, at five o'clock of the morning after a 67-hour session following a call for a vote of confidence, the vote was decisive: 180 Communists and left-wing Socialists, representing the largest minorities likely to be left out of a government coalition and therefore discriminated against by the proposed law, walked out to abstain from voting and

(Continued on page 158)

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 409; May 1952, page 257; and June 1952, page 309.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Cincinnati Women Ring Doorbells — or

How One Woman Got into Local Politics

Editor's Note.—The article below is taken from a talk given by MRS. EDWARD KUHN, chairman of the Women's Division of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, San Antonio, November 18, 1952.

IN POLITICS I am a rank amateur and one of those unreliable characters known as the volunteer. My approach to public affairs was a somewhat gradual one. After college I entered nurse's training, received my R.N., promptly married and raised a family. That ended my nursing career, but not my interest and activity in a number of nursing and public health organizations.

During the war, as chairman of the Red Cross nurse's aide corps, I saw for the first time the tremendous possibilities of the woman volunteer and the literally thousands of hours of work that could be utilized under proper conditions. Nurse's aides came from all walks of life but the housewife predominated—the middle-aged housewife made the best worker. This work entailed some neglect of housework, but the families didn't mind. In fact, they were proud of mama.

For me it was an easy and natural step from public health to politics and this is how it happened.

About 27 years ago the Cincinnati City Charter Committee was organized by a group of amateur politicos and it succeeded in ridding Cincinnati of one of the worst political machines in the country. The result was a council-manager form of government, a small council of nine elected by proportional representation, and the merit system. The City Charter Committee is actually a local political party. It runs a coalition ticket of nine councilmanic candidates every two years in opposition to the machine ticket. Its aim is to continue good government in Cincinnati.

I had always been an enthusiastic though inactive supporter of the charter party. In 1946, after my wartime work was over, things began to happen in city hall that made me sit up and take notice.

Our charter councilmen had introduced a smoke elimination bill to rid the city of one of the worst smoke palls in these United States and a real menace to the health of the community. This bill was opposed by the machine majority in council, by two of our leading newspapers, by the railroads and by the soft coal operators who were literally pouring a fortune into Cincinnati to lick the bill.

But the charter volunteers, under the inspired guidance of one of our women, rolled up their sleeves and went to work. They obtained thousands of petitions, they bombarded city hall, they stood on street corners and they packed the public hearings. Under the pressure of an aroused citizenry the opposition finally and reluctantly gave in and for the first time in anybody's memory Cincinnati enjoyed clean air.

Again I saw the volunteer in action and I realized that these women were doing a terrific job in practical politics. So when the opportunity came to help in the fight for good government I happily accepted. My first work was to organize the thirteenth ward, and since 1948 I have been chairman of the Women's Division of the City Charter Committee which helps to organize the entire city.

The main job of the Women's Division is to elect a charter majority to council, in other words, to win elections. Of course, we don't always win—right now we are, let us say, a fighting minority. Our organization follows the usual pattern of ward chairman, precinct captain and lowly worker. We have anywhere from 1,000 to 1,400 volunteers working in election years. They do a house-to-house doorbell-ringing campaign in their precincts, they stand at the polls on election day and they act as challengers inside the voting booths.

But there isn't, in city politics, the flaming patriotism that drove volunteers into wartime nursing. So we must find a more reasonable approach to keep alive their interest and enthusiasm. This approach is education—the inspiration and indoctrination of our volunteers is perhaps the most important part of our program. You cannot send women out to work unless they know just what they are working and fighting for.

The education program goes on continuously, particularly at the ward chairman level. We have ward chairmen's monthly meetings the year around. We discuss important city issues, and some that are not so important, and we do enjoy a bit of good city hall gossip—we do not take ourselves too seriously. We also have neighborhood meetings throughout the city, particularly in election years. They are informal, amusing and we like to have the audience take a lively part in the program. In the months prior to election we often have councilmanic candidates as speakers.

In the past few years we have had pre-council meeting luncheons where the council calendar is discussed at length before the women go on to the session en masse. The opposition does not enjoy our little invasions of city hall, especially when controversial subjects are on the agenda and the sessions get a little rough. They realize, as do we, that this is one of the best ways of educating our volunteers in the ways of good government, for here they learn the importance of local issues and they see the councilmen in action.

But ours is not just an educational campaign. It is a kind of crusade. We want our volunteers, especially ward chairmen, to feel that the city charter is the most important thing in their town and many of them do. They get terribly excited about such things as slum clearance, capital improvement programs, the Master Plan, the street railway franchise, yes, even sewage disposal.

In short, every little crisis at city hall becomes a major conflict and they are part of it.

I have been asked, "What in your job is your most rewarding experience?" That's a silly question. The answer is—to win elections.

All Eyes Are on the Legislatures

The Legislative Committee of the Citizens Union of New York City started its 48th year at the beginning of the 1953 state legislative session. The committee meets once a week during the session to approve or oppose bills in which the union has an interest.

"Olympia Report" is the title of the section in the *Municipal News* of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County which reports on doings at the state legislative session. The report is made each week by Don Becker, *News* editor, who spends much of his time at Olympia, the state capital, during the session.

For the convenience of its members, the League of Women Voters of New York City has issued a 1953 edition of *They Represent You in Washington, Albany and New York City.* Listed are the names of executive officials for the federal, state and local governments, as well as congressmen, U. S. senators, state legislators and city councilmen. Included also are tips on how to address public officials and maps showing congressional, assembly and senatorial districts in the city.

State Leagues of Women Voters all over the country are keeping their collective eyes on legislative sessions, watching and working for their special projects. In Ohio it is penal institutions, aid to local governments, highway improvements and taxes. The New York league is striving for the fifteenth consecutive year to secure permanent personal registration; it is also working on other improvements in the electoral system and the regulation of political parties. The Connecticut league inquires "Why not a constitutional convention bill?" Its *Connecticut Voter* meets the arguments given against passage of such a bill. The Indiana league is also pressing for action by the legislature to secure a constitutional convention.

In Wisconsin the league is working in four fields—human rights and individual liberties, taxation, education and reapportionment. Prior to the opening of the 1953 Missouri legislature, the League of Women Voters of St. Louis held a luncheon attended by sixteen state legislators. The league's agenda—revision of election laws, redistricting, human rights, survey of state government and state education—was presented to the legislators who were told "what we were hoping for in the coming session."

Colorado Springs Group Plans Support of Candidates

The Charter Association of Colorado Springs, Colorado, organized last fall,[1] held its first members' meeting in January. The association elected A. Earl Bryson as its president. The board of directors appointed a candidates' committee about which Mr. Bryson had this to say:

"The board will function largely through standing committees, one of the most important of which will be an appointed candidates' committee of seven chosen from outside its own membership. This committee will canvass the field of potential candidates, make its choice, [quoting from the bylaws] 'of at least one willing and qualified candidate for each office to be filled', these recommendations to be submitted to the membership for final approval.

"If approved, these candidates will have the active support of the organization in the election, thus overcoming the reluctance of many good citizens to stand for election without organized support. The principal of the office seeking the man rather than the man seeking the office also has obvious benefits.

"Although I am sure it is the hope that we can all unite behind the carefully considered recommendations of the candidates' committee, provision is made, in keeping with our democratic objectives, for direct nomination by the membership. This alternative method of nomination is provided through petition signed by either 50 members or 10 per cent of the total membership, whichever is larger, and filed with the secretary of the board at least two weeks prior to the announced date of the members' meeting at which the candidates committee will report."

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 581.

Support for Manager Plan

The Citizens' Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut, largely responsible for adoption of that city's council-manager charter in 1947, plans a revival of its work, possibly with a paid secretary and permanent headquarters. Its chairman, Howard Goodwin, comments, "We have reached the point where the Charter Committee needs a long range program, not only for 1953 but for the future."

Commenting on the proposal, the *Hartford Courant* says, editorially: "If Hartford will continue, through its Charter Committee, to defend the principle of efficient government, it will, with each passing year, become a showpiece of intelligence and ethics in government. It is human nature to accept as commonplace anything that is familiar. Today we accept as routine the idea that the affairs of the city shall be run without favoritism, waste, corruption or any of the slipshod ways that are characteristic of many American communities, including our greater cities.

"Bows" to the Voter

The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, in a report on *Louisiana Voter Participation,* states that the registration of Louisiana citizens in 1952 was record-breaking. On October 4, the final date for registering for the November election, there were 1,056,873 registered voters, a 14.3 per cent increase over the number of registered voters for the 1948 presidential election. They represented 64.4 per cent of the population of voting age as compared with 59.5 per cent in 1948. The increase in registration was due largely to an increase in Negro registrants, reports the council. Tables set forth figures for parishes in Louisiana, an interstate comparison of voting participation and other interesting data.

Dearborn has won first place in a get-out-the-vote contest sponsored in thirteen major Michigan cities by the Bay City Battalion. A plaque was awarded to the city, says the *Michigan Municipal Review,* for the city's large turnout in the November 4 election of 87.2 per cent of its registered voters. Formal presentation was made by Arnold J. Copeland, chairman of the Bay City Battalion.

Strictly Personal

The newly organized Citizens of Greater Chicago,[1] has announced appointment of Fred K. Hoehler, formerly director of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare, as its executive director.

Thomas S. Green, Jr., has been re-elected president of the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts. Charles A. McCoy was elected secretary. Mrs. Martha M. Lindegren, former secretary, will continue as executive secretary.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 139)

position party in the Senate. He would not be barred from seeking the governorship again.

Senator Neuberger, in an article in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* on January 18, 1953, not only proposed that this plan be applied in states, but pointed out that a similar plan has been advocated for the nation—a defeated candidate for the presidency to be given a seat in the United States Senate, as a senator at large. He also called attention to the further possibility of senate seats for ex-governors in the states and ex-presidents in the nation, thus making the benefits of their experience and knowledge constantly available.

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[1] See the Review, September 1952, page 418.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Traffic and Turnpikes Studied

Intergovernmental Aspects Stressed in Recent Reports

THAT the 20,700 miles of new highways built in 1950 would hardly provide parking space for the well over six million autos produced that year is a wry reminder of the proportions of the ever-growing traffic problem—"nightmare" is perhaps a better term. But studies and action continue, giving hope of some relief for bedeviled drivers and harassed pedestrians.

Cities still are the principal bottlenecks, but there is some recognition that cities, suburbs and countryside must join hands to aid the auto owner. The Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, in three *Bulletins* (December 11 and 18, 1952, and January 28, 1953), quotes that city's Land Commission: "A metropolitan system of expressways is both necessary and desirable for Milwaukee. However, as a metropolitan system, it obviously cannot be planned for the area within the city limits of Milwaukee alone since it is a project which profoundly affects the planning, the financing and the future growth of the entire metropolitan community."

The *Bulletins* call for an intergovernmental agreement on this subject, citing the case of the Detroit expressways now under construction. The Detroit expressway program is also referred to in an item from the *Engineering News-Record* quoted in the December 1, 1952, *United States Municipal News*, published by the United States Conference of Mayors, "$180-million Expressway Program Passes the One-third Mark." These 23 miles of new Detroit expressways were jointly planned and are being built by city, county, state and national agencies. In effect, the same procedure has been followed in realizing Chicago's 67 miles and Pittsburgh's 28 miles of new expressways.

The Milwaukee bureau is also concerned with the large proportion of state highway aid that is being expended on rural roads and asks that the formula be changed to give Milwaukee County more funds. *The Municipality* (League of Wisconsin Municipalities, Madison) for December 1952 attacks this general problem from a slightly different angle in a report from its committee on highways, "How Should City and Village Streets Be Financed." Pointing to the high proportion of urban general property taxes now going to highway purposes, this report calls for an increase in the state gasoline tax and increases in state aid to localities, especially to cities. The *Wisconsin Tax News* (Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, Madison, December 31, 1952) reports that the tax rise is unnecessary, although it fails to mention any special problems in Milwaukee.

Paying for the required changes is an obstacle with which any feasible plan for solving traffic congestion must cope. A series of three articles by Joseph C. Ingraham in *The New York Times* for January 14 to 16, 1953, suggests that "efficient and fair enforcement" of traffic laws can bring financial support from private sources. The Detroit Traffic Safety Association, the Los Angeles office of the Automobile Club of Southern California and the Chicago Citizens Traffic Safety Board have devoted both money and effort to their local problems. The *Times* articles center on the questions of rush hour congestion, parking and law enforcement, and they sharply criticize New York on all of these counts, in comparing it with Los Angeles, Detroit and other large cities.

Two thorough, well illustrated reports of the Cleveland downtown parking survey, by the Cleveland City Planning Commission, *Final Report* and *Technical Supplement* (December 1952), suggest alternative solutions. A merchants' and building owners' association, within the terms of a city master plan, could buy, lease, construct and operate parking facilities, as has been done in Oakland, California, and Allentown, Pennsylvania. Or a parking authority could, among other measures, encourage and assist private enterprise to develop additional parking facilities.

Roanoke Builds Garage

One of the reasons why Roanoke, Virginia, was selected by the National Municipal League as one of the 1952 All-America Cities was the construction by merchants and other interested persons of a 500-car, $600,000 parking garage. Newburgh, New York, another All-America city, is expecting to realize about $250,000 per year from its new off-street parking facilities, built by the city. A news release from Public Administration Clearing House (Chicago, January 29, 1953) says that "waterfront development, especially along rivers, can provide needed additional parking space as well as add to the city's recreational facilities." Cincinnati and San Francisco are planning along these lines today. An *Off-street Parking Survey* (December 15, 1952), conducted by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, looks at off-street parking facilities outside the central business district and presents the results of a questionnaire submitted to about fifteen large cities.

Three recent reports on state highways indicate that planning, intergovernmental cooperation and financing are key problems in this larger area also. The Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, in its fourth report, *Highway Relationships in Maryland* (Baltimore, September 1952), states that: "Harmonious intergovernmental relationships in highway affairs are of utmost significance in achieving the goal of a modern highway plant adequate to meet present and future traffic needs." There must be "a unity of viewpoint and action; a unity not only between highway officials of the states, counties and cities, but between citizens, agricultural and industrial people, and government leaders as well." It calls for a complete reexamination of state and county roads and city streets, a revision of laws affecting their relationships and the preparation of long-range highway or street development plans by all cities, counties and the state.

Utah's Highway Finance Problem—1953 (Utah Foundation, Salt Lake City) briefly debates whether that state should catch up with long-range highway needs by adopting a "greatly accelerated construction program." It summarizes several reports on this question, published recently. A report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Highways (Committee Report No. 37, July 1952) recommends that Nebraska launch such an accelerated program and devote to it an additional $5,000,000 during each of two years. It suggests that the legislature direct the governor to appoint a temporary committee of eight members, charged with preparing "a layout showing Nebraska's accepted and ultimate system of highways" and specifying construction priorities.

Turning to toll roads, the Nebraska committee is of the opinion that they need not be considered there at the present time. A Public Administration Clearing House news release (January

15, 1953) reports that "toll roads are more likely to be successful in areas of high population density and traffic density." The New Jersey turnpike, the addition to the Pennsylvania turnpike, and the Denver and Boulder, Colorado, turnpikes have brought in more revenue than was expected. In about nineteen other states, including a few rather sparsely populated ones, new toll roads have recently been given serious consideration.[1]

The New Jersey Turnpike, an address by Paul L. Troast, chairman of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, (before The Municipal Forum of New York) November 7, 1952, (available in pamphlet form) relates some of the serious obstacles the authority encountered in building and operating that road. An article, "Working on the LEVY" (*Tax Outlook,* the Tax Foundation, New York, January 1953) openly attacks the bill, presented in the 82d Congress and due to reappear in the 83d Congress, which would provide for a parkway running from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico along the Mississippi River. The idea is an intriguing one.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Bureau Notes

The name of the University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research has been changed to Governmental Research Center.

The Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles has moved its offices in order to make room for a new freeway and, consequently, has announced two changes in policy. Its research library has been given to the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles. It will continue its practice of maintaining a staff of resident research scholars and in the future will operate as a financing agency for scholars working in its fields of interest.

The Western Governmental Research Association has reproduced the *Proceedings* of its twelfth annual conference, held at Sacramento, California, October 23-24, 1952. Copies are available at the Office of the Secretariat, 346 Library Annex, University of California, Berkeley, price $1.00 each.

The Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, in its *Illinois Tax Facts* (Springfield, January 2 to January 30, 1953), has published a series of statistics and other information about that state's schools and their problems.

Strictly Personal

Guy C. Larcom, Jr., former director of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research and Citizens League, left that post on February 1 to accept a position in private business. Estal E. Sparlin, assistant director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, has been chosen as successor to Mr. Larcom.

George H. Deming, director of the Bureau of Government Research at the University of New Hampshire, has resigned to accept a position in the Washington, D. C., office of the American Municipal Association.

Alvin S. Burger, formerly director of research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed executive director of the Texas Research League in Austin.

Bureau Reports

Annual Report for 1951-1952. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, July 1952. 26 pp.

Changing Times Mean a Changing Program. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, January 1953. 16 pp.

Record of Progress and Accomplishment. Cleveland, Citizens League and

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[1] See "State Turnpike Authorities Expand," the REVIEW, November 1952, page 504.

Bureau of Governmental Research, *Greater Cleveland,* January 7, 1953. 12 pp.

Report of Activities for 1952. Waterbury (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., January 12, 1953. 4 pp.

Research Reports and Articles

Assessors

What Qualifications Should Be Required of Assessors? Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 19, 1953. 4 pp.

Budgets

A Basic Change in Pittsburgh City Finance. The League Reviews the City's 1953 Budget. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, December 1952. 9 pp.

Meeting the Budget Crisis. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* January 13, 1953. 4 pp.

Statement Regarding the 1953 Budget of the County of Cook. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* December 1952. 11 pp.

Child Welfare

Aid to Dependent Children in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* December 1952. 4 pp.

Education

Condensed Analysis of Major Phases of the Missouri Citizens Commission's Study of Education. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, January 1953. 13 pp.

Public School Statistics of the Forty-eight States for the School Year 1949-50. A Series of Charts. Based upon Data Reported by the U. S. Office of Education. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, December 1952. 23 pp. $1.00.

Statement Made at the Chicago Board of Education Public Budget Hearing. By Harland C. Stockwell. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* January 1953. 8 pp.

A Study of State Support for Wyoming Schools. Cheyenne, Wyoming Legislative Interim Committee, December 1952. 18 pp.

Police

What About Detectives? Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 12, 1953. 6 pp.

Police Unions

Large City Police Departments and Labor Unions. Seattle, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, January 16, 1953. 3 pp.

A Unionized State Police? Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditures Council, Inc., *CPEC Special Bulletin,* January 1953. 2 pp.

Public Welfare

Improving Public Assistance. Some Aspects of the Welfare Problem. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, January 1953. 44 pp.

Purchasing

Houston's City Purchasing. A Survey Report. Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Inc., 1953. iii, 38 pp.

Sewage Disposal

Methods of Financing Sewers and Sewage Treatment Works in West Virginia. Charleston, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1952. v, 73 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The City's Revenue Structure. Providence (Rhode Island), Governmental Research Bureau, December 1952. 2 pp.

Control of the Purse Strings. Part I: **The Present Fiscal Process and Controls over State Expenditures.** Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, September 1952. v, 100 pp.

Exemptions Show Steady Rise. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Connecticut Government,* January 1953. 3 pp.

Books in Review

A Two-party South? By Alexander Heard. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1952. xviii, 334 pp. $4.75.

The author was principal associate of V. O. Key, Jr., in the three-year field investigation which produced the latter's current classic *Southern Politics*. In this volume some of the same voluminous material of 1947 is reviewed and arranged to provide fine factual reporting, exhibiting the chances for successful invasion of the eleven southern states by the Republican party and the development of the two-party pattern there in state as well as national elections. Unfortunately, the text necessarily stops short of the denouement furnished by the outcome of the 1952 election and the unprecedented strength shown by the Republican presidential candidate in that area, which now answers many of the author's conjectures.

Wisely Mr. Heard concludes: "If some of these things come to pass, they will surely come in fragments, with strife, and perhaps in unforeseen ways. Yet there can be little doubt that much of the south is moving closer to competitive party politics. The changes that occur will contribute to more representative, and more responsive, state and local government; and all citizens in the south will have a more straightforward—and more effective—means of influence in national politics."

R.S.C.

Raleigh City Government. A Handbook for Citizens. Raleigh, North Carolina, League of Women Voters, 1952. 65 pp.

This is another of those admirable pamphlets which various local branches of the League of Women Voters have been getting out in their respective cities. It includes some observations about the character of Raleigh, its economic characteristics and population, condensed to two pages. The rest is a manual of the structure of the city government and its departments and activities, in a form that can be comprehended by eighth or ninth grade students. It supplements the general civil government courses, in which all available text books stop short of the specific local field. In cases where such pamphlets as this can be used routinely in a certain grade of the schools, year after year, they are capable of great influence. In fact, it is hard to see how citizens can be methodically reached with such information in any other way.

Government in Rural America (second edition). By Lane W. Lancaster. New York City, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1952. xi, 375 pp. $3.75.

This valuable volume, first issued in 1937 and now brought down to date, describes all the types of rural government in the United States. It discusses the drifts of recent years as the people of rural areas, losing their isolation, have become less distinguishable from city dwellers and suburbanites, yet retaining an obstinate and curious indifference to many of the principles of political reform.

The differences between rural and urban governmental problems are numerous but seem to be differences of intensity rather than of principle, an unconsciousness of problems characteristic of all small business. About half the counties in this country are constitutionally able to take on our county-manager plan. Seventeen urban counties have done so but practically no rural county (except Petroleum, Montana) has stirred in its sleep. One of the latter might wake up some day and blaze a trail, establishing its own efficiency and then absorbing, function by function, the one-horse operations of townships, villages and school districts with general consent.

Or are we day-dreaming?

R.S.C.

Public Relations for Government Employees: An Action Program. By Eleanor S. Ruhl. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly, 1952. 32 pages. $2.00.

This helpful little booklet urges public officials to stress to their subordinates the importance of maintaining good relations with the people they serve day in and day out. Strongly emphasized is the author's justifiable assertion that good public relations must begin with good job performance. The employee who does a good job has a head start in winning public confidence. But he must go beyond that, the author warns. He must be courteous to the people he serves, as well as sensitive to the citizen's reaction to him and to his job.

Although the author admits that "on the whole, government public relations ranges from indifferent to bad," she calls attention to many good jobs that are being done in various parts of the country, projects which other municipalities might well undertake with an excellent chance of success.

Public officials are sure to profit from the first-rate bibliography on public relations techniques, as well as from the selected list of training films designed to help public employees improve their human relations ability.

One of the most lucid definitions of public relations we have seen is in this booklet:

"Many people think public relations is a news release, an annual report, a speech, an employee newsletter. It is. But it is more than that. It is your tone of voice when you answer the telephone; it is the way you write letters and the way you type them; it is the way you housekeep your office; it is the way you announce examinations; it is how you notify delinquent taxpayers; it is the dependability with which you pick up garbage; it is the neatness of a cop's uniform. Public relations is the effect everything you do has upon your public."

Mason Gould

Neighbor Flap Foot. The City Planning Frog. By Bill Ewald, Jr., and Merle Henrickson. New York, Henry Schuman, Inc., 1952. 56 pp. illus. $2.50.

This amusing, skillfully illustrated little book is intended for use in city elementary schools or in the home to teach certain rudiments of city planning.

Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress. By Julius Turner. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. 190 pp. $2.50.

In this study the author attempts to measure quantitatively the relative effectiveness of pressures on Congress from sources such as metropolitan and rural areas, foreign and native groups, and various "sections." With current statistical techniques, he studies congressional roll calls in four widely separated years. He finds, among other things, that "The pressure of metropolitan and rural districts was numerically much less important than the pressure of party, but arose on some issues of great importance to the country." Also, "the conflicting pressures of north and south were not much more important in determining Democratic behavior than metropolitan-rural or foreign-native pressures. In many respects, north-south pressure was less effective than foreign-native and, of course, was much less effective than party pressure."

Guthrie S. Birkhead

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Child Welfare

Future Citizens All. (Nationwide study of aid to dependent children.) By Gordon W. Blackwell and Raymond F. Gould. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1952. xxix, 181 pp. $2.

Civic Dictionary

Dictionary of Civics and Government. By Marjorie Tallman. Introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. 291 pp. $5.00.

Civil Service

Report of the Special Committee on Outside Employment of City Employees. To City Manager Department. Berkeley, League of California Cities, 1952. 4 pp.

Employee Suggestion Systems. By Robert J. Batson. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1952. 7 pp. $1.00.

Council-manager Plan

A Model Charter for Cities of Oklahoma (revised). **Diagram of Council-manager Government.** By Charles F. Spencer. Ada, Oklahoma, 1953. 15 and 1 pp. respectively. (Apply author, East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma.)

Democracy

Puerto Rico—A Study in Democratic Development. Edited by Millard Hansen and Henry Wells. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, January 1953. 246 pp. $2.

Directories

County Directory 1953-54. Listing the County Judges, Commissioners, County Clerks, Engineers, Auditors of Texas. Brownwood, County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas, 1953. 44 pp.

Housing and Redevelopment Directory 1952-53. Housing and Redevelopment Agencies Statistical Summary. Chicago 37, National Association of Housing Officials, 1952. ix, 227 pp.

Ethics

Conduct of Judges and Lawyers. A Study of Professional Ethics, Discipline and Disbarment. By Orie L. Phillips and Philbrick McCoy. (Final Report for the Survey of the Legal Profession under the Auspices of the American Bar Association.) Los Angeles, Parker and Company, 1952. 274 pp.

Handbooks

Handbook for City Governing Body. Mayor-Councilman-Commissioner of Cities of the Third Class. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1952. 104 pp. $3.

Handbook for Kansas Public Improvement—City, County, School, Township. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, December 1952. 272 pp. $20.

Immigration

United Nations Immigration Control? By Edwin E. Grant, Lloyd G. Luckmann, and J. C. Russell. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth*, February 2, 1953 (Part II). 20 pp. 25 cents.

International Relations

The Economic Situation in Western Europe. By Marion B. Folsom. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1952. 22 pp.

Strengthening Our Foreign Policy. A Report by a Study Group of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 28 pp. 25 cents.

The Threat to Our National Security. By James B. Conant. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1952. 12 pp.

Liquor Control

Sales of Alcoholic Beverages to Minors. An Official Study by the Joint Committee of the States to Study Alcoholic Beverage Laws. Cleveland 14 and New York 7, The Committee, 1952. 70 pp.

Municipal Government

Readings in Municipal Government and Administration. By Charles M. Kneier and Guy Fox. New York 16, Rinehart & Company, 1953. xix, 486 pp. $3.90.

Planning

1953 Long-term Capital Improvement Program. By Maryland State Planning Commission to the Department of Budget and Procurement in Cooperation with Department of Public Improvements. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1952. 129 pp. 50 cents.

For Tomorrow. 1951-52 Annual Report. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 38 pp.

Political Action

How to Keep Our Liberty. A program for Political Action. By Raymond Moley. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952. xxvii, 245 pp. $4.00.

Taxation and Finance

A Comparative Study of the Tax Systems of Iowa and the Surrounding States. By Robert H. Johnson and Lewis E. Wagner. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1952. xii, 372 pp. $3.

Facts and Figures on Government Finance 1952-1953. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, 1952. xxii, 217 pp. Tables, charts.

Two Decades of Government Expenditures. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* October 1952. 8 pp. 25 cents.

The Vote on 52's Fiscal Issues. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* November 1952. 6 pp.

State-local Fiscal Relations. Baltimore 1, Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization, August 1952. 41 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 146)

the rest of the chamber voted 339 to 25 in favor of the measure.

The bill inspired misgivings among some of Premier Alcide de Gasperi's governing coalition, according to a report in *Time* magazine of February 2, 1953, which stated that the framing of the bill required three months' work by a committee of two mathematicians and several political scientists. The principal effect of the resulting complex formula is to provide at least 64 per cent of the representation in the Chamber to any political party or association of parties which obtains at least 50 per cent of the popular vote. If no party or association of parties gets 50 per cent of the popular vote, the division of seats would remain proportional.

New Denmark Constitution Will Provide P. R.

As the result of agreement by the major political parties, a new constitution will be submitted to the voters of Denmark for approval on May 28, following a national election on April 21. The proposed constitution would provide a single-house legislature. The use of proportional representation for national elections would be continued and would apply to the new unicameral legislature. Approval by 40 per cent of the voters in the May referendum will be sufficient to warrant affixing of the royal signature on June 5, Denmark's constitution day, provided that the new parliament elected in April re-passes the proposed constitution.

Governor Dennis J. Roberts of Rhode Island, center, looks on as Richard S. Childs, right, presents an All-America Cities award to Mayor Kevin K. Coleman of Woonsocket. Governor Roberts was a leader in the home rule fight in Rhode Island.

(Continued from page 114)

Representative Richard W. Hoffman inserted the portion of the *Look* magazine story dealing with the city in the Congressional Record, as well as his own tribute. Wires were received from Vice President Richard M. Nixon, former Governor Adlai Stevenson, Senator Paul H. Douglas, and others.

Said Martin H. Kennelly, mayor of Chicago: "This significant citation demonstrates the results of voluntary citizen interest and active participation in government in a typically American manner."

Comment of the editor of the *Brookfield Magnet* was: "Nobody, not even society as a whole, can sit down and rest on its laurels, and face the challenge of the future. The home folks here should feel proud of the 1952 All-America award. They should now get out and go forward to new objectives; they lie beyond, but they are not beyond attainment."

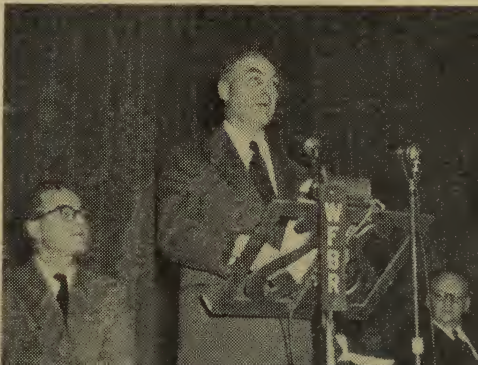
BEMIDJI, MINNESOTA: Lloyd Hale of Minneapolis, a regional vice president of the League, returned from presenting an All-America Cities award to this northern Minnesota city encouraged by the citizen response.

"I was impressed by seeing first hand how much this award can mean to the leaders of a city," he wrote. "It gave them a project which brought about cooperation of all civic groups and most of the leading citizens. This program should be a great stimulation for interest in civic improvement year after year."

With Mr. Hale was Mrs. Donald Baron, the former Jean James who, as a *Minneapolis Tribune* reporter covering the National Conference on Government in St. Paul five years ago, helped originate the idea of making these annual awards. Mrs. Baron represented *Look* magazine. A dinner at the Elks Club preceded ceremonies at the Bemidji High School auditorium. The Bemidji State Teachers College choral group presented "The Ballad of Paul Bunyan." A special eight-page supplement was printed by the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer*, containing 959 inches of merchants' ads congratulating the city and its citizens. Billboards announcing the award were set up at the city limits. Wires poured in, including messages from Governor C. Elmer Anderson of Minnesota, Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and Edward J. Thye of Minnesota, Mayor Eric G. Hoyer of Minneapolis and Mayor John E. Daubney of St. Paul.

(Continued on next page)

Congratulating the citizens of Baltimore is Dr. George H. Gallup, who presented the All-America Cities certificate on behalf of the League. Seated, left to right, are Vernon G. Myers, publisher of *Look* magazine, co-sponsor of the awards; G. H. Griffiths of the Ford Foundation; and Clark S. Hobbs of the Baltimore Association of Commerce.



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Bemidji Mayor Harry Pihl summed up local public sentiment by saying: "I think the biggest thing about the award is that it shows when you get the right kind of proposition in Bemidji everybody goes along. I think that now, after this award is made, everybody will understand the necessity of working just as hard to see that both the new charter and the school program are made to work."

ROANOKE, VIRGINIA: More than 600 residents of this alert city turned out to see Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and foreman of the All-America Cities jury, present an award on behalf of the League at a dinner in the Hotel Roanoke.

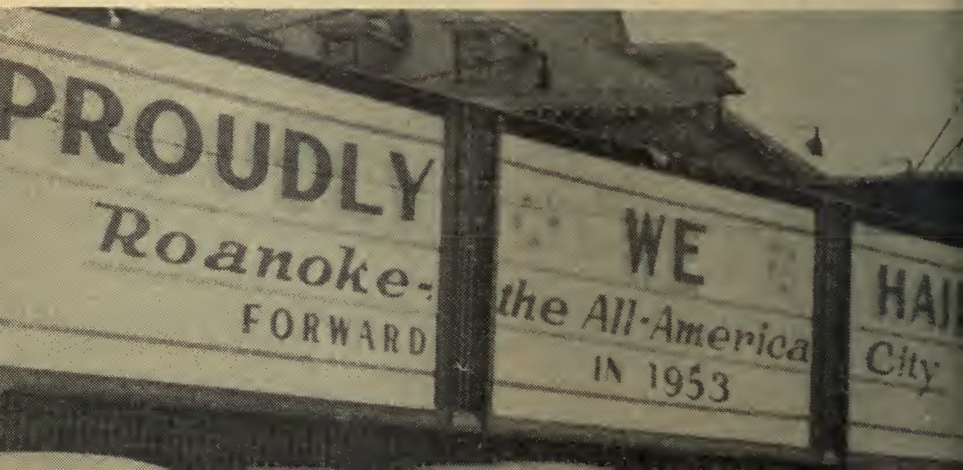
The same citizen participation and interest which helped Roanoke win the award was evident at the ceremonies. The Jefferson High School choir sang. Floral settings were at each table, the work of the Roanoke Council of Garden Clubs. Many folks were reading the 28-page special section, published by *The Roanoke Times,* containing many articles and pictures describing each of the municipal improvements which led to the award and calling attention to the city as a national market and a retail trading and industrial center. Included in the special section were 3,287 inches of good-will messages paid for by local merchants.

Officials from several of the city's neighboring municipalities were on hand to extend their good wishes, as were Lieutenant Governor A. E. S. Stephens and State Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. Senators Harry F. Byrd and A. Willis Robertson of Virginia wired congratulations.

Dr. Gallup said that Roanoke's already available leadership "went into high gear" in an "amazing wave of civic consciousness." He particularly praised the city's newspapers, the council-manager government, the merchants, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Civitan Club and the garden clubs.

Mayor Roy L. Webber, accepting the award, said: "Our city is blessed with a large number of men and women who devote their time and best thought to the interest of all. A good citizen is the greatest asset a city can have."

This half-block long billboard saluting Roanoke was donated by the General Outdoor Advertising Company. It was one of many citizen projects publicizing the city's All-America rating.



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ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
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JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
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Proportional Representation
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NEWS for League Members

$5,000 Given for Building Fund

The National Municipal League's building fund got off to a substantial start in February with a contribution of $5,000 from Mark S. Matthews of Greenwich, Connecticut.

Mark S. Matthews

A member of the League's Council, Mr. Matthews is one of three men appointed to the building committee by Henry Bruère, president of the League, at the February 18 meeting of the executive committee. The others are Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee, and William Collins, chairman of the finance committee.

Mr. Matthews' gift is the first to be contributed to the building fund since formation of a building committee was authorized at the annual meeting of the Council held during the National Conference on Government in San Antonio last November.

Purpose of the fund is to provide the means outside the League's budget to obtain, recondition, equip and possibly maintain a building as a national civic center. A permanent home for the League would enable it to handle better the increasing demands for services caused by continued widespread civic activity throughout the country. It would make the League's unique civic library more accessible and would provide better facilities for committee meetings, civic seminars and workshops.

Contributions to the building fund are tax-deductible.

Edison's Article Wins Citizenship Award

An article by Charles Edison, chairman of the League Council, has won a George Washington Honor Medal for 1952 (magazine article category) awarded by the Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

Charles Edison

Entitled, "Are You a Good Citizen?", the article appeared in the February 17, 1952, issue of *The American Weekly*. It was a condensation of speeches Mr. Edison had delivered at NML conferences.

Mayor Richard D. Rogers, left, of Manhattan, Kansas, accepts an All-America City award from John B. Gage, League regional vice president, for

John Nuveen, second from right, regional vice president of the League, presents an All-America City award to Mayor Eric G. Hoyer of Minneapolis. Looking on are Gideon Seymour, left, vice president of the Minneapolis Star Tribune Company, representing "Look" magazine, award co-sponsor, and Gerald L. Moore, president, Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce.

Citizens Praised for Vigorous Action

The vigorous, intelligent citizen action which led to the All-America Cities awards for 1952 was praised by representatives of the National Municipal League as most of the winning cities wound up activities connected with the presentation ceremonies and set about consolidating the gains they have achieved.

Following are reports on ceremonies not reported in the March REVIEW:

Owensboro, Kentucky: Before 200 citizens at the Hotel Owensboro, Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, presented the award on behalf of the League to Mayor LeRoy Woodward. Dr. Reed said that individuals, no matter how able, could accomplish little in the way of civic reform without community teamwork, and added that the National Municipal League regarded the Owensboro effort as an outstanding example of "community responsibility."

Minneapolis: John Nuveen, regional vice president of the League, was on hand at the Radisson Hotel to present the certificate. Mayor Eric G. Hoyer, who accepted the award, turned it over to the Minneapolis Citizens' Committee on Education and the Minneapolis PTA Council, whose members were credited with winning the award for the city. An editorial in the *Minneapolis Tribune* praising the citizens for their interest in education which led to the award was placed in the Congressional Record by Rep. Walter H. Judd of Minnesota.

Woonsocket, Rhode Island: An overflow crowd of more than 500 citizens at the Dreyfus Hotel heard Governor Dennis J. Roberts praise the "high character" of the people which made the award possible. Governor Roberts, guiding hand behind the home rule amendment which permitted charter re-

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Editorial Comment

New Beginning or Beginning of the End?

THE prospect of a 49th star in the flag for Hawaii is dramatic evidence of the power of growth planted in the constitution of the thirteen original "United States." The men who wrote that constitution could not in their wildest dreams have foreseen 48 states spread across the continent, let alone a 49th island commonwealth in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and a 50th state stretching far north into the Arctic Ocean and west along the coast of Siberia.

It is a tribute to their wisdom that their plan of government has proved so adaptable to the conditions and crises of the last 166 years. They naturally worried about the danger that the new ship of state might founder either on the shoals of anarchy or on the rock of overcentralization. The long-run tendency has been toward centralization. While it has not yet deprived the states of all independent power of decision and action, it has gone far enough to arouse wide concern over the future of the states and the desirability of an attempt to retard, if not to reverse, the flow of power toward Washington.

This flow cannot be affected by wishing, by brave speeches or by negative measures that look to the past rather than the future. The states themselves are partly responsible for their own weakness. In the face of scientific and economic developments that have favored, indeed required, extension of national power, the states have hobbled themselves by a tangle of self-imposed constitutional and financial limitations. The resulting disabilities have proved particularly frustrating to our ever-growing urban communities.

It is good news that the Eisenhower administration is planning to establish a commission something like the recent Hoover Commission to study federal-state relations. Present official thinking appears to concentrate on some reallocation of federal and state tax sources and a "return" of some activities to the states. If important permanent results are to be achieved, however, the commission will need a broader mandate. No attempt to reallocate functions and responsibilities back to the states can be more effective than the capacity of the states to handle them in a manner satisfactory to the people. That is why Charles Edison, at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio last November, called for "a major national inquiry into ways and means of *strengthening the states and municipalities* so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government."

Any successful program must be affirmative in nature and based upon an understanding of the working of our system as a whole and a realistic appreciation of the capacities and inter-relations of its several parts — national, state and local. The problem of maintaining an effective working relationship among them in a changing world is one of continuing adjustment. Quick partial expedients designed to satisfy an unimaginative concept of states' rights will not do.

It is essential that the cities have a voice in shaping the future pattern of intergovernmental relationships. Despite the fact that cities are largely creatures of the states, the states have not proved to be adequate spokesmen for urban interests.

States have failed to adjust to the urban trend. Cities have been shortchanged in terms of representation, financing and essential home rule powers. Again and again cities have found Congress more interested than their own state legislatures in such matters as urban redevelopment, highway planning to relieve city traffic and important phases of public health, welfare and education.

A major part of the task of redressing the balance of power between the United States and the states is to establish a better relationship between the states and their own municipalities. In the long run, city people and city governments will have more political influence in Washington than the state governments can hope to have. The reason is as simple as counting the city votes that play a major part in electing presidents and members of Congress.

If the interests of the cities are not adequately considered in any program to readjust intergovernmental relations, the cities sooner or later will find a way either to circumvent or to modify the program.

In the last analysis, this is a matter for the people to determine, not the government in Washington or the states or the cities. Consequently, the president's proposed commission should clearly represent the public. That is the way to avoid what might be the fatal suspicion of an inquiry slanted in favor of any vested governmental interests.

There is much to be said for the long standing proposal for a permanent commission on intergovernmental relations. The inquiry about to be instituted should, therefore, be set up with the understanding that it is entering on a long-range, indeed, a never-ending task. A less fundamental approach runs the risk of failure and disillusionment which could signalize the beginning of the end of the American system of a nation made up of partly self-governing states and communities.

A Challenge to the States

IT IS obvious that television has important, perhaps revolutionary, possibilities for education. It is equally obvious that nobody knows just what they are or how best to develop them. For these and other reasons the air waves are an important part of the public domain which should be carefully guarded in the public interest. The nature of the case requires that both the allocation and the regulation of TV channels be confided to the federal government.

A little less than a year ago the

Federal Communications Commission set a deadline for the states. Until June 2, 1953, 242 television channels are reserved for non-commercial educational TV. After that, channels for which firm bids have not been received from states, cities or non-profit educational organizations may be allocated for commercial purposes unless educational interests can persuade the FCC to reserve certain channels for a longer period.

So, in the discharge of its duties, a subordinate agency of the federal government delivers an ultimatum to the "sovereign" states. In the absence of specific congressional action this was the only way to bring the states into the act. That the states should be in the act is obvious, since it is a cardinal principle that education is the responsibility of state and local governments and that the federal government should have as little to do with it as possible. In view of the nature of state government and the administration of public education, however, the quick deadline set by the FCC is unrealistic.

Decisive action to take up all or a substantial portion of the channels in question entails a complicated process involving state and local school authorities, private educational institutions, interested citizen groups and the 48 governors and state legislatures. Educational policies and expenditures must be evaluated in each state in relation to other state and local requirements and the state's capacity or inclination to finance new projects.

A few states, cities and private educational groups have acted promptly enough to have bids for channels in or on the way. Most of the states, however, seem to be dragging their feet either from sheer inability to react so quickly or on the plea that it's too hard to get up the money, or that the whole proposition is too speculative to justify quick and potentially heavy commitments. As a result, another vast part of the public domain may slip through our fingers with highly regrettable consequences.

Are we faced here with a problem which our federal system is too cumbersome to handle properly?

Must we, because of that system, forfeit what might be the educational opportunity of the century? Who knows that educational TV may not be the best medium for getting education out of old ruts?

Who knows that the original cost of educational TV may not be small in comparison with the long run economies it might make possible?

Who knows, for example, that it makes sense to strive, as hard pressed communities now do, to provide a classroom for the exclusive use of a single class of 25 or 30 pupils?

Who knows that the school of the future might not put less emphasis on individual classrooms and more on a variety of general purpose assembly halls and special purpose workrooms in which TV could play an important role?

Why should schools in remote places or in relatively poor districts be deprived of the inspiration of the relatively rare, especially talented teacher who now can reach only a few favored pupils but might through television reach pupils everywhere?

These are just a few of the questions that are not answered when a state commission like that in New York brushes off proposals for a state experiment in educational TV with the assertion that private stations can be counted on to develop the educational values in this medium. Whatever anyone may say about the quality of the education so far dispensed by commercial television, there is no more reason that commercial interests should experiment with or provide especially tailored television service to the schools than that private industry should go into the business of training teachers. Somebody has got to pay for it and it certainly isn't going to be the advertisers of national brands. It is unreasonable to depend entirely on private subscriptions or foundations. Do the states want the federal government to pay for it?

The only hopeful answer would seem to be two-fold:

1. States and other non-commercial educational interests should unite in urging the Federal Communications Commission to reserve a reasonable number of channels until June 1955, after the next regular biennial session of most of the state legislatures. Since the Federal Communications Commission is under pressure from commercial interests that are sure they can use the channels profitably, the President and Congress might well be called upon to sanction a policy of prudent delay.

2. States and other potential purveyors of non-commercial educational TV should in the meantime prove their capacity to rise to the challenge of the new medium by carrying out enough well conceived experiments to provide a basis for sound decisions on remaining channels.

From a long-range point of view the whole episode indicates the necessity for a great deal more continuous and thoughtful attention in Washington, in state capitals and in city halls to the problem of what it takes to maintain a healthy balance and effective cooperation among the different levels of government. A permanent commission on intergovernmental relations, if adequately financed and manned, might develop into the kind of staff agency that is needed to facilitate the exchange of information and the joint consultation and weighing of alternatives that would result in more orderly handling of such problems in the future.

"The Great Unwatched"

IN *Reader's Digest* for January appeared an article by Lester Velie entitled "The Great Unwatched." This was the first of a series of five hard-hitting articles on state legislatures, the last of which will appear in May. In these articles Mr. Velie, who travelled widely and probed deeply for his facts, exposes relentlessly some basic reasons why the states have not been holding their own in competition with the federal government for responsibility, power and public esteem.

No republican government can long remain more responsible or more effective than its legislative branch.

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U. S. Aid at the Grass Roots

Local self-government strengthened and brought up to date as valuable by-product of program in Greece.

By H. F. ALDERFER*

LOCAL government can be an important factor in the achievement of American objectives in those nations receiving American aid. This is especially true for undeveloped countries where government is too centralized and where the administration is found wanting. The United States needs the support of the thousands of locally elected officials if its aims are to be realized; it needs their help to administer the programs for which aid is given.

Too much reliance on the officials of the national government has led to frustration, instability and waste. Those in control of national governments are sometimes inclined to use American aid to support their own tenure in office and their own party programs. American Mission administrators are helpless in such situations because the United States in granting aid is dealing with a sovereign power which it can advise but not control.

But even where the officials of the national government cooperate freely and sincerely with American officials, as many of them do, still their administrative machinery is usually not adequate to do a real job in the hinterland and at the grass roots. In most of these countries, the institutions of local government are either underdeveloped, overshadowed by the national government or bypassed in the administration of American aid programs. Naturally, in programs such as the strengthening of the military organization of the nation or in broad economic programs such as the stabilization of the currency or the establishment of price controls, the national government is more or less exclusively concerned. But in objectives such as the rehabilitation of small industry, the improvement of agricultural output and the restoration of destroyed communities and their utilities, the cooperation and help of local governments, both rural and urban, is indispensable.

The over-all objective of all American aid programs since the end of World War II must never be forgotten. It is that the free nations of the world be strengthened to resist Communist invasion from without and Communist infiltration within. To do this the military defenses must be strengthened, to be sure, and economic production, both agricultural and industrial, must be increased. But this is not enough. The people themselves must be given hope and a belief that all that is being done is in the interest of the nation as a whole not only for the benefit of particular groups. The government that administers American aid, therefore, must be democratic not particularist, decentralized not concentrated. For it is only in this way that political stability can be achieved. The Communist aim of starting revolutions within the nations receiving American aid can never be realized where there is truly strong and efficient local government.

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*Dr. Alderfer, executive secretary of the Institute of Local Government at Pennsylvania State College, was, from 1950 to 1952, local government specialist with the Mutual Security Administration in Greece.

The American Mission experience in Greece can be used as an example. This Mission was the only one within the Mutual Security Administration having a civil government division charged with advising the government on ways and means to improve its efficiency so that American aid could be administered with greater effectiveness and economy. Four years of German occupation and four more years of Communist-inspired revolution had lowered governmental vitality to a point of exhaustion; in fact, the immediate tasks to be done through American aid were so much greater than any Greek government had attempted at any time in its modern history.

It was agreed, therefore, both by Greek and American authorities, that improved governmental administration was basic, and that the institutions of local government—the 6,000 demes and communes of the nation—should be revitalized. For the specific purpose of rehabilitating the local units of the nation, two staff members, one a local revenue specialist and the other a local government specialist, spent the major part of their time between 1950 and 1952 on this job, working with Greek government national and local officials.

The condition of Greek local government in 1950 was almost hopeless. Everything that had happened in Greece for 40 years resulted in reducing its freedom, its revenues and its powers. There were wars, revolutions, dictatorships, coups d'etat, which led to general insecurity and exhaustion. Only the shell of an antiquated system remained. The local government code adopted in 1912 was a legal wilderness which no one could understand. Local units were given no specific or exclusive powers. Control over local officials and governmental action was excessive. Local revenue was almost non-existent. Since 1934, no local elections had been held.

Local Governments Improved

The program for improvement originally suggested by the American Mission called for more power, more revenue, more freedom and improved administrative practices for demes and communes. From the start there was enthusiastic cooperation on the part of the national government especially in the agency most concerned, the Ministry of Interior. Two important committees were set up by the Minister of Interior to revise the revenue law and to write a new general code for local government. Members of these committees came from the permanent services of both Interior and Finance, from the judiciary, from Athens University and from the city of Athens. The American Mission local "specialists" advised with both committees. Regular meetings were held for the entire two-year period between 1950 and 1952; subcommittees hacked out the details and set up the preliminary drafts.

The revenue law was the first order of business to be completed. The provisions for raising local revenue from local sources were cleared up, modernized and streamlined but no basic changes were made. Revenue would still be raised locally from direct taxes on agricultural production, forestry products, sales of cattle; from dues and excises such as on the use of sidewalks and squares for coffee places, for the use of municipal property, works and services such as garbage collection, water or electricity; from contributions determined by council levied upon heads of families and on business houses; and from personal work by able-bodied men in communes up to ten days a year. These sources had been in general use since time immemorial.

The most revolutionary change in the local revenue system was made in state-collected, locally-shared revenues. Previously demes had obtained returns from the national government from a number of minor state-collected taxes, amounting to about 150 billion drachmas a year. Communes received nothing. By terms of the new law, demes and communes received one-half of the receipts of the state-collected tax on tobacco consumption (mostly cigarettes), which for the fiscal year 1951-52 was estimated at 320 billion drachmas. In return the national government would keep the amounts that had been returned previously from other taxes.

By this, the demes and communes stood to gain roughly about 170 billion drachmas, more than eleven million dollars, a year. The demes were to get what they had received before from the national revenues, the remainder would be divided between all the demes and communes on the basis of population. The local units were to use this money only for public works and were to match it in terms of revenue raised from the regular local sources. Since the law was in operation, locally raised revenues increased five-fold throughout Greece and in some regions as high as 300 times, although in 1951-52 the actual amount of nationally-collected revenues returned to local units was held to 240 billion drachmas.

Rural Public Works

Another important development sponsored by the American Mission was the Community Volunteer Labor program for the construction of small public works in rural comunities. Here the free, personal work of the inhabitants was combined with small grants of American aid moneys for material and equipment. Personal work for public benefit is an old Greek communal tradition and, after ten years of war and revolution, the need was tremendous. American Mission efforts to decentralize the control of this program resulted in placing responsibility for its direction in the hands of the nomarchs and their engineering staffs, which made the plans for the projects and assigned technically proficient foremen in the villages to carry on the work.

The program was highly successful. As of April 30, 1951, almost seven hundred such projects, mostly roads, bridges and water supply installations, were built or scheduled, at an average cost per project of

$478. In 1952 sharply reduced American aid cut down the volume of the program but it continued to spark community initiative and activity.

An entirely new code for the local governments of Greece was drafted with the following principles in mind: (1) specific powers should be granted to demes and communes; (2) local units should be freed from excessive control on the part of the nomarchs and the central ministries; (3) the amalgamation of small and financially weak communes should be encouraged; (4) procedure, especially in finance and public works, should be simplified; (5) the structure and basic institutions should be preserved but strengthened; (6) all national relations with local units should be channeled through the Ministry of Interior; and (7) the morale of local government officials should be raised.

In the new code, these principles were faithfully followed. Powers of local units were specified, some given exclusively and free from control to the demes and communes and some to be exercised optionally but under regulations provided by the central government. The power of the nomarchs was restricted to seeing to it that decisions of local councils and actions of local officials were within the law; in only a few specified cases were they allowed substantive power over them. The code attempted to bring order out of the chaos of national-local relations by allowing control over local units only by specific grant of power, although the Ministry of Interior was given the power of general supervision of local units, which was meant to be leadership, guidance, research and the development of uniform procedures.

A new institution of local government was added to the Greek governmental system. This was the Local Government Commission set up in the Ministry of Interior with power to approve all laws, regulations, decrees and administrative acts relating to local government that were brought forward by any ministry or agency of the national government. Thus these official acts would be screened before adoption by an agency set up specifically to improve the operation of local government. This commission would have as members officials of the Ministries of Interior and Finance, the High Civil Service Board, a professor of administrative law in the University of Athens, and a representative both of demes and communes.

Local Law Revamped

Thus, for the first time in the history of the modern Greek state, national relations with local units have been channeled through one agency in which local units have representation. In the new code, the entire local government law was refurbished and brought up to date. Even if no innovations had been included, this itself was a service of great worth for it would be now possible to find out the law by reading the code—impossible before. This code will be submitted to the Parliament elected last year and all indications are that the new government headed by ex-Marshal Papa-

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The Two(?)-party System

Seems 'like a good thing' to keep it going even though there may be some question about whom it's good for.

By HOLMES WELCH*

RECENTLY, while getting a haircut, I learned a little about the way the two-party system works in Stowe, Vermont, where I have lived since 1949. The barbershop was empty when I went in, except for the barber, Albert Smith, and a peaceful gentleman who sits on the steps of the town hall in summer but moves for the winter to the warmth of Albert's stove.

The preliminary conversation was soon over; Albert and I disposed of the daily milk production of my Jersey cows, the barbering business and the prospects for snow flying before deer season. "Well," I said, coming to what, with Albert's approval, might be a good main subject for the day, "how much did Wayne Burt get in by?"

Wayne Burt, one of the town's leading citizens, had been renominated in the primaries of the week before as a candidate for state senator. People in other parts of the country might call him a reactionary, pointing to his record of opposition to social and labor legislation, but around Stowe they speak of him as "a good man to work for."

"Wayne got in by four hundred votes," said Albert Smith. "You know, people don't pay attention to primaries the way they ought to."

I agreed, and suggested that primaries were particularly important in a one-party state.

"Yes, but people don't understand how they work," Albert said. "I was handing out the ballots at the polls and quite a few objected to being asked if they wanted a Republican ballot or a Democratic one. Of course, it don't make any difference. They can vote any way they want in November. One lady came in, and when I asked her which ballot she wanted, she said, 'I don't figure that's any of your business.' I told her she couldn't have both, but she still wouldn't say. Finally, I gave her a Republican one. Don't know what she thought when she got in the booth and opened it."

"Wayne Burt ran on the Democratic ticket, didn't he?"

"He got nominated on both tickets and won on both," said Albert. "You might say he's sure to be elected."

The Burts, and several other prominent Stowe families, have always been registered Democrats. I had often wondered why, and now I asked Albert.

"Well, they're *declared* Democrats," he said. "Of course, they most always vote Republican. But their *fathers* were Democrats."

"Why do they bother to keep it up?" I asked. "Nobody likes the administration less than they do."

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*Mr. Welch, with a management and public relations counselling firm, was formerly with the Office of European Affairs of the State Department, later heading a community center project in Stowe, Vermont. His article is reprinted by permission, copyright 1952, The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

"I suppose it's because they believe in the two-party system." Albert paused meditatively. "You know, I'm a Democrat, too. I got to be one in kind of a queer way. It was about eight years ago. We were having the party caucuses—both parties on the same night. Anybody can come to them, of course, though not many do. I was a Republican then, and I think we had ten that night. Joe Bashaw, the postmaster, and Neil Robinson were in the next room, alone, having the Democratic caucus. In Vermont you have to have three to make a caucus. So Joe came in and asked me if I'd step over so they could make it legal. I said sure, and ever since I've been a Democrat. But it don't amount to much."

"Do you nominate a full slate of Democrats for town and state offices each election?" I asked Albert.

"No, we don't bother," he said. "We just elect a delegation to the state Democratic convention. This year, we almost forgot. But Neil Robinson went down to Montpelier and got the papers, and we posted a notice about the caucus and met right here in the shop. Neil and I were the only ones that got here, so we had to postpone it till we could get hold of somebody else. We finally got Wayne Burt. We held our meeting and we elected ourselves to go to the county convention and then to the state convention. We had a good time. Met a lot of people."

"Who's president of the caucus?" I asked.

"Wayne Burt."

"Who's treasurer?"

"I am, but there isn't any money," Albert said.

"And secretary?" I asked.

"I am."

"And Neil Robinson—what does he do?"

"He's the regular member," said Albert.

"It's different in the city, isn't it?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," he said. "Down in Burlington and Winooski they even have Democratic majorities. The party amounts to something there."

"And in Stowe there are no Democrats in office at all—at least not *as* Democrats?"

"Well now, that's not exactly true," Albert said. "Take the Board of Civil Authority. You know what the board does, don't you?" I answered that it counted the ballots at town meetings. "Yes, it does that," Albert said, "and if you don't like your taxes, you can appeal to the board. It has seven members. They're the seven justices of the peace."

"I didn't know there were so many justices in a town of the size of Stowe," I said in some surprise. The population is seventeen hundred.

"Oh, yes. I'm one myself," said Albert.

"Can you marry people?"

"Yes, and try cases and sign warrants," he said. "I tried a case here last year when Parker Perry sued Dr. Lichenthaeler for the weather vane."

"I remember," I said.

"Anyway," he continued, "the Board of Civil Authority is chosen by the caucus of each party. The

Republicans choose four and the Democrats choose three."

"Who are the Democrats on the Board?"

"Well, like I say, I am. Then there's Neil Robinson and Harry Downer. A lot of people don't know *he's* a Democrat."

I, for one, certainly didn't. Harry Downer, who has a small farm behind his house in the village, gives an impression of vigorous conservatism. He is a Dry, and I have heard that, back in the thirties, he was in a group that successfully opposed building a new school with W.P.A. money.

My haircut was finished. I paid the sixty-five cents, with dime tip, and received, as usual, a warm "Thank *you*" from Albert.

"It's been very interesting," I said.

"Well, like I say, it don't amount to much," said Albert. "It's just to keep the two-party system going. Seems like a good thing to do."

U. S. AID AT THE GRASS ROOTS

(Continued from page 171)

gos is most favorable to the general program of revitalization of local government.

A law was passed in 1952 setting up the Union of Demes and Communes of Greece, an organization of all local units of the nation, and a union of demes and communes in each of the 49 nomoi. The national organization has its headquarters in the municipal building of Athens, while the nomos organizations are in the capital city of each nomos. The purposes of these organizations are to promote local administration, develop research and in-service training, distribute information, and to represent the local units before the national government authorities.

In short, these institutions are comparable in purpose to the state leagues of municipalities in the United States. But there is a vital difference: in Greece all demes and communes are compulsory members and their dues are by law mandatory in their annual budgets. During the spring of 1952, these unions were organized and the first meetings were held in each nomos. Here they elected their officials for the coming year and representatives to the meeting of the Union of Demes and Communes for all Greece held in Athens during the fall. Through these organizations it is expected that a broad in-service training program will be carried on each year. The municipalities of Greece are now a real part of the government and the nation of Greece.

The *Report on Greek Government, 1952,* made by the American Mission, ended on the following note: "Local government in Greece is a necessity for the continued existence of the present state. It has been improved; it can be further improved; it must be continually fostered and nourished by the state. It must be a vigorous and free institution and then it will be loyal and strong. Greeks are a democratic and freedom-loving people; they must be given the local self-government that will implement their democracy and their freedom."

In Our Image and Likeness

Attempts to superimpose American democratic trappings on Japan's local government have brought country new problems.

By **GEORGE A. WARP***

THE principal problems of Japanese local government grow out of the American efforts at democratization. At the beginning of the Allied Occupation, the Japanese system of local government had to be labeled a highly centralized system. There was a term in the Japanese language for "local self-government," and it was sometimes applied by Japanese writers in describing the Japanese system. But there was no local self-government in the sense in which we use the term in the United States.

In the conduct of the occupation, we assumed that local self-government was not only a desirable but a necessary feature in a democratic government. We made that assumption even though some of our democratic allies had highly centralized systems and even though the tendency in the United States has been in the direction of greater centralization. Most of our efforts in the local government field in Japan were aimed at the strengthening of the position of local units of government.

We probably went further in the direction of establishing American forms of government in the local sphere than in any other aspect of Japanese life. We abolished the Home Ministry, which had general supervision of local government matters, because we have never had a Home Ministry in the United States. We wrote into the Japanese constitution a provision requiring that local executives be chosen by popular election. We ignored the fact that the tendency in the United States is definitely away from popular election of local executives and towards a method of choice which is not dissimilar to the old Japanese system. We imposed upon Japanese local government our system of administrative boards and commissions, which is under heavy attack in the United States.

We enlarged Japanese local legislative bodies and encouraged the development of standing committees to take an active part in administrative matters—much in the fashion of our own mayor-council municipalities. We reformed their local tax system on the American pattern, introducing our general property tax as the chief municipal tax and adding a few special features which tax experts have never been able to persuade governmental units outside of Japan to adopt. We imposed the American system of civil service commissions upon Japan and resisted all efforts to adapt it to Japan's conditions.

We fostered establishment of parent-teachers associations because we have such associations in the

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*Mr. Warp is associate professor of political science and associate director of the Public Administration Center, University of Minnesota. This article is based upon the author's remarks at the National Conference on Government, San Antonio, November 19, 1952. Other observations by the author were published in the October issue of the REVIEW.

United States. We abolished the essentially democratic neighborhood associations because they had been misused during the war.

Those are just some of the ways in which we "democratized" or "Americanized" Japanese local government.

What has been the effect of the reforms which we imposed? It probably is not surprising that the problems now faced by Japanese local government units are remarkably similar to those faced by local government units in the United States.

Reorganization Problems

One of the major problems facing Japanese local government people is that of "administrative reorganization." The basic principles of our reorganization movement appeal to the Japanese because, if applied to the Americanized local government forms, they tend to justify a return to the old Japanese forms. And there is no question but that there is real need for streamlining the haphazard structure which developed during the occupation.

Another major problem facing Japanese local government people involves legislative-executive relations. The system of elected executives which we imposed upon Japan has created conflict between the local executive and the local assembly, and everybody is disturbed about it. Also, standing committees of the local assemblies constantly interfere with routine matters of administration. And there is a general feeling that the local assemblies are too large.

Another major problem involves intergovernmental relations. This problem includes the tendency towards greater centralization. We directed the decentralization of Japanese government but that decentralization is more apparent than real. We abolished the Home Ministry, which had general supervision of local government matters. The personnel of the Home Ministry were highly qualified but badly oriented so far as democratic methods were concerned. When the Ministry was abolished, the personnel proceeded to disperse into the prefectural and municipal governments, and of course they carried their old ideas with them.

We soon found it expedient to replace the old Home Ministry with the Local Autonomy Agency. And the Local Autonomy Agency is now agitating vigorously for ministerial status. It is true that we did cut off some of the formal controls exercised by higher units of government over lower units of government. And, for the most part, those formal controls have not been reestablished. But in fact local units still look above them for direction and, what is more important, they still receive direction, even when the legal basis for that direction is somewhat obscure.

Another major problem is that of scarcity of local financial resources. Everywhere the writer traveled in Japan, he was told that this was the No. 1 problem of Japanese local government. Perhaps it is the No. 1 problem of any municipality anywhere in the world. Japanese local officials seem to feel that we aggravated their financial problem by reducing the grants from the central government and trying to develop local revenue sources, which simply are not adequate.

Another problem which is of great

concern to Japanese specialists in municipal government is that of "rationalization of local units." There is a feeling that there are too many governmental units and that the number should be reduced. There is a feeling that the number of cities has been increasing too rapidly and that the requirements for becoming a city should be made more difficult. And there is a feeling that the large cities should be separated from the prefectures in which they are located.

Fortunately, Americans had nothing to do with this problem. And there are factors in Japan which make the "rationalization of local units" about as difficult to achieve as it is in the United States.

Efficiency Measures

A final problem of Japanese local government is that of improving efficiency. Japanese local government people appear to be interested in the techniques of organization and methods work which have been developing in England and the United States in recent years. They are also interested in in-service training programs. In-service training institutions have been set up in two-thirds of the prefectures. In some of the prefectures, all of the governmental units—villages, towns, cities and prefecture—have joined together in establishing and supporting permanent in-service training institutes, which we might do well to copy.

The Allied Occupation of Japan, in a sense, was a gigantic technical assistance program. Advice on all phases of Japanese life was thrust upon Japan—sometimes imposed by directive, more often by express or implied threat. As a result of the advice, Japanese local government now superficially resembles the American pattern—and particularly the pattern of a generation ago—because that seems to have been the pattern with which occupation personnel were familiar. Government Section, which was responsible for most of the governmental reforms, avoided the advice of persons trained in public administration and political science. The effective advice came largely from lawyers, business men and professional army officers. Few of these persons had any prior experience in government—particularly local government. In fact, few of them had ever had any particular interest in local government until they were assigned to Government Section. They were not aware of—or else they were not in sympathy with—recent trends in American local government. And they had only the scantiest knowledge of Japanese institutions and psychology.

There were some exceptions to these generalizations, of course. The Civil Service Division of Government Section was manned by a group of American civil service specialists headed by Blaine Hoover, who had built up the Chicago Park Board's personnel system and who had served for a time as president of the Civil Service Assembly. Hoover's group was competent in its specialty. But it was ruthless and uncompromising in imposing American forms and techniques upon the Japanese.

Other staff sections of General Headquarters brought over groups of specialists, such as the Shoup Mission on Taxation. Professor Shoup of Columbia University and six other tax specialists visited Japan in the summer of 1949. They made a four-months survey; then they drew up a comprehensive reform plan. The Shoup mission's handiwork in Japan represents the virtual imposition of a modern progressive tax system which would be a credit to any western country. It is not irrelevant, however, to ask whether a "good" system of local taxation in the west is equally good when transplanted to the east.

Americans exhibit certain tendencies which must be amusing to foreigners, as well as irritating. First of all, we tend to regard American institutions as the best in the world and foreign institutions as inferior. Second, we assume that the institutions which are working out pretty well in the United States are readily transplantable anywhere in the world. Third, we have a tendency to generalize concerning our institutions on the basis of limited experience. If we come from the state of Indiana, for example, we assume that the institutions in Indiana are the typical American institutions and that variations from the Indiana form are exceptions, when the reverse may be true. And, finally, we sometimes think in terms of the American institutions of a generation ago rather than in terms of the American institutions of today.

Actually, local government in Japan today functions pretty much as it did before our advisers entered the picture. The forms have changed but the attitudes of the officials and of the people have not changed very much. And there seems to be resentment and criticism of the reforms which have been imposed upon them and an inclination to subject the reforms to critical examination.

In December 1952, the Japanese government established the 50-member Local Institutions Research Commission to survey the operation of local institutions (chiefly those which have been affected by American reforms) and make recommendations to the prime minister. The commission, which will probably continue in existence for about a year, is composed of seventeen members of the Diet (the national legislative body), twelve local government officials, five national government officials and sixteen "scholars and men of experience." Tamon Maeda, Japan representative to UNESCO, president of the Japan Local Self-government Institute and of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, and former minister of education, will serve as chairman of the commission.

Return to Old Forms?

Some Japanese observers predict that the commission will recommend a return to most of the institutions which prevailed in Japan before the Allied Occupation. They base this prediction upon the facts: (1) that many of the members of the commission have backgrounds of Home Ministry or other service indicating a national government orientation toward the current problems of local government, and (2) that there is no unanimity of opinion among local government interests. Indeed, on many current issues, there is bitter conflict between the local government units; for example, the city mayors persist in urging the abolition of

(Continued on page 188)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Drastic Reorganization Urged for Pennsylvania

"Little Hoover Committee" Renders Its Final Report

REDUCTION of 42 departments, boards, commissions and authorities to 12 and establishment of an "executive for administration" under the governor are high points in the report of Pennsylvania's State Government Survey Committee, which was transmitted to the state legislature by Governor John S. Fine February 24.

This group, popularly known as the state's "Little Hoover Committee," was appointed by Governor Fine in March 1952, and was headed by F. J. Chesterman, retired president of the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania. Six other members included two industrialists, two judges, a former speaker of the state's House of Representatives and a farm representative. A series of task force reports was issued late in 1952 and early this year.

The committee estimated potential savings over a six-year period of over $100,000,000 to the state government if its recommendations are adopted. A part of the amount, however, would come from transfer of certain functions to localities; thus, a transfer of ten medical and surgical hospitals would account for $10,000,000. Savings of $20,000,000 as to personnel, a similar amount as to procurement policies and methods, and $14,500,000 each by revamping educational policies and modernizing the state retirement systems were the largest portions of the $100,000,000 total.

The committee's three chief recommendations are as follows:

"The establishment of a new management administration headed by an executive for administration reporting to the governor and functioning as a deputy to the governor with respect to the administrative machinery and business operations of the government.

"The establishment of a new Department of Accounting to formulate and operate a system of sound, modern governmental bookkeeping and accounting practices covering every administrative and operational unit of the state government.

"The establishment of personnel administration by such steps as the adoption of a uniform classification system for all state employees, the revision of salary schedules in the light of current economic conditions and the provision of job security for more professional and technical employees."

Besides the reduction of state departments and other agencies from 42 to 12, many recommendations dealt with the elimination of unessential services or facilities, also "improvement of operating practice in respect to purchasing, automotive management, records administration and personnel; the improvement of collections at institutions and on public assistance restitution claims attributable to fraud; upward adjustment of license fees to cover the cost of issuance; legislative changes in the school subsidy law; and improvement in the control of institutions."

Governor Dewey Urges Manager Plan for New York City

In a special message to the New York legislature on March 14, Governor Thomas E. Dewey strongly urged that the city of New York give immediate consideration to the council-manager plan to improve the quality of its government, stop increasing city deficits and advance the welfare of its citizens.[1]

He proposed a state-sponsored commission to analyze the organization of the city's government and report on improvements that should be made. His message was the fourth and last of a series dealing with the fiscal crisis of the metropolis. He said in part:

"Our search for a better solution for the problems of the city of New York has been extensive and I make no claim to having found the perfect answer. Of all the possibilities it does seem to me that the one which offers the greatest hope is a basic change to a business management of the affairs of the city. I believe that a city manager form of government offers the brightest prospects to the people of our greatest city. Such a plan, obviously, cannot and should not be foisted by the state upon the people of the city. If it is to come, it must be as result of their own free choice.

"The state, however, can provide real help by examining the subject carefully and making recommendations which can be placed before the people for their own action. . . .

"One way by which it can be accomplished in the city of New York is by a petition of 50,000 citizens seeking amendment to the charter at a general election.

"Another way in which this reform could be achieved would be by legislation enacted pursuant to formal request by the government of the city of New York. There will be ample time between now and a special session of the legislature which I expect to call later in the spring for the city government to make its request if it so desires.

"The preparation of such an amendment to the city charter would require the most careful study. In order to provide such a study I recommend to your honorable bodies the creation of a commission to make a complete analysis of the organizational structure of the city government. The commission should include representatives of both houses of the legislature from the city of New York and other distinguished citizens of the city. It should ascertain the improvements that ought to be made in the organizational framework of the city and report at the earliest possible moment."

On a strictly party vote the legislature approved the bill carrying out the governor's recommendations.[2] The commission will consist of nine members, two appointed by the president of the Senate, two by the speaker of the Assembly, and five by the governor, who will select a chairman and vice chairman from the appointees.

Maine Committee Charts Reorganization

The 1951 session of the Maine legislature by joint resolution invited the governor to appoint a citizens' committee to study the government of Maine and make recommendations to the 1953 session. Governor Frederick Payne appointed a broadly representative group of twelve persons, including two legislators, and headed by Richard M. Millett, a public accountant. One of the legislators, Edward E. Chase, had been a member of Governor Gardiner's reorganization committee in 1930. Organized on April 28, 1952, the citizens' group held fourteen sessions before completing its work.

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[1] See also "Administrator Urged for New York City," the REVIEW, March 1953, page 134.

[2] For other recommendations of the governor, see page 191, this issue.

As a starting point the group studied the report prepared in 1930 by the Institute of Public Administration entitled *Administrative Consolidation in Maine,* noting particularly those recommendations which had not been carried out. Many of the 1930 suggestions concerning finance, health, welfare and institutions had been incorporated in the so-called "Code Act" of 1931 and a civil service law was passed in 1937. Many other suggestions remain unfulfilled. Various new agencies, both large and small, have grown up in the intervening years, including the Employment Security Commission, Liquor Commission, Retirement System, etc., until there are as many agencies as there were in 1930, with the same lack of coordination, twice as many employees and a budget tripled in size.

The committee recognized the need for a comprehensive study of state affairs but because of lack of time it confined itself to a series of specific topics. Subcommittees worked on conservation, motor vehicle administration and state police. Various department heads, the governor, governor-elect and ex-governors were invited to appear before the committee. The executive secretary prepared a series of fourteen reports recommending action or further study on topics ranging from a state business manager to annual sessions for the legislature. He also edited a manual of 123 pages entitled *Administrative Agencies—Structure and Functions,* which portrayed for the first time the organization and primary functions of Maine state agencies by means of charts and brief textual explanations.

The "Little Hoover" report was submitted to the legislature February 4 and nine bills and resolves were introduced to implement the first five of ten recommendations.

The ten were: (1) creation of a department of finance and administration by expanding the finance department to include bureaus of property and treasury (at present it contains budget, accounts and control, purchasing, taxation); the head of the department would be a virtual state business manager, (2) abolition of the three-man liquor commission, to be replaced by a bureau of liquor merchandising in finance and administration and a division of enforcement under the attorney general, (3) removal of attorney general from legislative selection for two-year term to appointment by governor for four-year term, (4) provision of four-year term for governor in place of two-year term, (5) line budget for personal services and control of new positions in hands of commissioner of finance and administration, (6) construction of a modern office building to relieve overcrowding in the state house, (7) centralization of licensing and inspection services, (8) a new state valuation on real estate and personal property and revision of subsidy formulas, (9) continuation of the administrative manual, (10) provision for further studies to take advantage of the work done by the Committee. Among the topics suggested for further study the most vital are state personnel problems and the organization and administration of major state agencies such as highways, health and welfare, institutions, and employment security.

Edward F. Dow
Executive Secretary, Citizens'
State Government Committee

Constitutional Changes Studied in Ohio

A new Committee on Public Affairs has been established in the Ohio House of Representatives, to give special attention to proposed constitutional amendments. It replaces the committees on organization of state government and on elections.

Proposed amendments have been introduced in the legislature calling for four-year terms for elective state officials; one such proposal includes state senators, others would limit the number of terms for the governor.

The Ohio League of Women Voters has placed at the top of its legislative program the four-year term for governor and other elective state officials, with the appointment of a commission to study constitutional revision a close second.

Primary Election Reform Proposed in N. Y. State

A faithful adaptation of the National Municipal League's Model Primary Election Law has been promoted by the Citizens Union of New York City, which published a descriptive report in 1951 and has now introduced it as a bill in the state Senate (No. 382, Halpern). Parties in New York State have internal structures and procedures of their own making although the state conducts their primary elections for party offices and nominees. The party rules by needless complexities calculated to baffle insurgency and buttress the party managements against dislodgement. Thus the government of the Democratic party in New York City is an elective "committee" of 38,086; in the borough of Manhattan the "committee" numbers over 20,000 and assembly district committees exceed 1000. The Republican city committee numbers 13,397. Behind these facades the district leaders are in fact self-renewing for generations, subject to occasional factional splits.

The proposed law sets up a short intra-party ballot of an election district (voting precinct) captain and co-captain and the assembly district leader and co-leader. One pair or the other, with voting power weighted according to the latest vote for their party's candidate for governor, constitutes the state committee, the city committee and the committees for all lesser constituencies, with power to designate candidates for their own succession in party offices and for party nominees to all the public offices. Their designations must be filed 8 weeks before the primary election and appear on the ballots as "Designated by party committee." During the next three weeks other nominations may be filed by petition and will be identified accordingly on the primary ballot.

Conventions, now surviving for state-wide and judicial nominees in New York, would be abolished; the committees of permanent party officers who replace such conventions are numerous enough to constitute satisfactory party conferences and will be left unable to hide behind here-today-gone-tomorrow convention delegates whom they have always been able to control.

R. S. C.

New Jersey Assembly Kills Redistricting Bill

On February 16 the New Jersey senate passed a bill to reapportion the assembly in accordance with the 1950 census. Governor Driscoll noted that if the measure was not passed before the legislative recess it would be impossible, for several technical reasons, to adopt reapportionment before 1955. He urged another session the same week to consider redistricting. The senate and assembly both adjourned for a month's recess and the senate bill died in the assembly.

Manhattan, Kansas, Simplifies Registration

The city of Manhattan, Kansas, has installed a simplified system of voter registration to offset the laborious biennial task of copying a new register of voters to bring the interim additions and corrections into order. A descriptive brochure, obtainable from the city manager, describes the new system, a flexible visible file which is always in order despite corrections and easily separable to provide lists of voters and their voting record.

One Personnel Chief for New York State

Administrative duties and powers in the civil service system of New York State, heretofore shared by the three members of the Civil Service Commission, are concentrated in the president of that body by a bill signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey on February 25. It takes effect July 1. The bipartisan commission continues in existence with rule-making and appellate functions and the supervision of municipal civil service.

The new arrangement represents a compromise with a proposal introduced a year ago, also as an administration measure, for a single personnel administrator without a commission. This ran into strong opposition. The new measure was practically unopposed. Governor Dewey called it "one of the most significant improvements in the structure of a state agency since the general reorganization of state government more than 25 years ago."

Medico-legal Reforms Proposed in Two States

A committee of the Medical Society of North Carolina headed by Dr. Wiley D. Forbus of Durham after several years of study has introduced in the legislature a bill to supplement or replace the medical functions now vested in elective county coroners.

The proposed measure, prepared with aid from Dr. Richard Ford, chairman of the National Municipal League's committee, follows the League's "Model Medico-legal Investigative System" as far as the state constitution permits.

It would create a new seven-member Commission on Postmortem Medico-legal Examinations and Investigations including *ex-officio* the attorney general and the heads of the Department of Pathology of the Medical School of North Carolina, the Department of Pathology of the Bowman Gray School of Wake Forest College and the School of Medicine of Duke University (or representatives selected by them), plus a non-professional appointee of the governor, an appointee of the State Bar and an appointee of the State Medical Society. Terms are four years, in rotation.

The commission is to appoint a chief medical examiner who shall be a licensed doctor of medicine and a skilled pathologist with experience and training in the field of legal medicine, in the performance of autopsies and in the interpretation of pathological anatomy to serve at the pleasure of the commission at a salary of $12,000. District pathologists with medical qualifications and county medical examiners are to be appointed by the chief medical examiner. Elective coroners would yield to the chief medical examiner exclusive control over the dead body and "paramount control" over any inquests and investigations.

Under the leadership of Dr. Daniel J. Condon of Phoenix, a bill (No. 68, Pyper) has been introduced in the Arizona legislature to provide a modern medico-legal service along the lines of the National Municipal League's model. Informal support has been enlisted from various groups including the police and sheriffs associations, the justices of the peace association, county attorneys, the director of the State Board of Health and various members of the Industrial Commission.

The bill proposes a medical examiner appointed by the governor with senatorial assent for a 7-year term at a salary of $12,500 or more and five assistants. All must be medical doctors with skill in pathology. The medical examiner is to appoint county deputy and associate medically-qualified examiners to perform all medical functions hitherto imposed on coroners and justices of the peace.

Maricopa County, comprising about 50 percent of Arizona's population, established an appointive medical examiner in 1952 with results which are attracting attention in other counties.

Pima County, the next most populous area, with over 20 percent of the state's population, is considering similar action. R.S.C.

Council Manager Plan Developments

Springfield, Missouri, (1950 population 66,731) adopted a council-manager charter, 5,971 to 4,405, on March 17. It will take effect May 5, 1953.

Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, (31,418) has adopted the council-manager plan by city ordinance.

Bountiful, Utah, (6,004) adopted the council-manager plan in February, by ordinance.

Buena Park, California, with an estimated population of 6,000, voted on January 20 to incorporate as a city, with the council-manager form of government. The vote on incorporation was 1,234 to 696; on the manager plan, 1,134 to 314. A council of five was elected and appointed a manager to take office March 2.

The city council of **Lake City, South Carolina,** (5,112) recently adopted the manager plan and has appointed as manager the former manager of Moultrie, Georgia.

In **Vinton, Iowa,** (4,307) the city council, upon the resignation of the city engineer, established the office of city manager and appointed the city clerk of Council Bluffs to the position, effective March 1.

The International City Managers' Association has placed **Manchester, Iowa,** (3,987) on its official list of council-manager municipalities. Manchester adopted a manager ordinance in 1915 but only recently have the manager's duties and powers been made broad enough for I.C.M.A. listing.

Eloy, Arizona, (3,580) has adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

South Burlington, Vermont, (3,279) has voted to adopt the town manager plan. The town of **Hartland, Vermont,** has also adopted the plan.

The I.C.M.A. in its 1952 list includes **Passadumkeag** (331), **Amity** (300), and **St. Albans,** (1.035), **Maine,** not previously noted here as adopting the plan.

The town of **Bennington, Vermont,** has voted 988 to 928 to abandon the manager plan. The town and the village of that name have each had managers. There appears to be a desire for a single manager for both.

Middlebury, Vermont, has voted three to one to retain the manager plan.

Farmington, New Hampshire, will vote on adopting the town manager plan at its town meeting on May 10.

Citizens of **Old Orchard Beach, Maine,** have voted to retain their council-manager form of government.

A bill in the **Massachusetts** legislature to amend Plan D so as to place severe restrictions on the city manager was defeated by the lower house on February 5. It was sponsored by a group of **Haverhill** residents and would have limited the manager to a term of two years and required him to attend all council meetings; penalties prescribed for city councilmen interfering with the manager in his duties would have been reduced; and city employees removed by the manager would have been enabled to appeal to the council (in addition to existing civil service protection).

Citizens of **Dedham, Massachusetts,** on March 2, voted against adoption of the town manager form of government, 3,393 to 2,657.

The **Brockton, Massachusetts,** Taxpayers Association at its annual meeting in February endorsed the council-manager form of government and instructed the board of directors to circulate petitions to place council-manager Plan D before the voters at the November election.

Concord, Massachusetts, voted 935 to 676 against a proposal to adopt the town manager plan at the annual town election on February 24. It is reported that another referendum will be held in 1954.

In **Geneva, New York,** a charter commission is revising the city's charter. Recommendation of the council-manager plan is a possibility. The League of Women Voters is conducting a series of discussions.

A committee in **Oneida, New York,** is considering the council-manager plan.

East Paterson, New Jersey, on March 10 rejected a council-manager proposal by a large majority.

Southern Pines, North Carolina, is to vote on a council-manager proposal April 15.

In **Jacksonville, North Carolina,** the Junior Chamber of Commerce has asked for legislation authorizing a referendum on the question of adopting the manager plan.

A charter commission in **South Miami, Florida,** is drafting a council-manager charter. The city has the mayor-council plan. The Junior Chamber of Commerce was instrumental in the decision to draft a new charter and has been supported by Mayor J. H. McConnell.

The city council of **New Port Richey, Florida,** has directed Mayor C. O. Friedly to appoint a committee of seven citizens to draft a new charter, providing for the manager plan, subject to popular vote.

In Alabama the Jefferson County legislative delegation is reported to be working toward legislation for a referendum in **Birmingham** on the question of adopting the council-manager plan upon filing of an adequate petition.

Steubenville, Ohio, will vote on a council-manager charter commission proposal on May 5.

The **Indiana** legislature has approved a constitutional amendment to enable cities to adopt the council-manager plan. It must be enacted also by the 1955 legislature, then submitted to the voters of the state for ratification.

Elmwood Park, Illinois, will vote April 21 on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

In **Sioux City, Iowa,** an active campaign for the manager plan is in progress and a committee has been circulating petitions. The Taxpayers Conference, the Real Estate Board and the Kiwanis Club have held meetings to discuss the plan and a mass meeting attended by some 600 people was held late in February.

Macon, Missouri, voted 1,211 to 541

against a council-manager proposal on February 17.

In **Maryville, Missouri,** the city council has set April 21 for a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan, following circulation of petitions by the Maryville Civic Improvement Coordinating Council. Maryville has a city commission of three members, including the mayor, who is also designated "manager," with additional salary.

In **Webster Groves, Missouri,** the Better Government Committee, headed by Jackson F. Adams, is working for the preparation of a home rule charter, with the manager plan to be given careful consideration.

Fargo, North Dakota, voted 4,377 to 3,757 on March 3 to abandon the manager plan.

Paris, Texas, which has the manager plan, voted 1,650 to 1,566 on February 17 for a commission to frame a new charter to be voted on at a future election. This move was interpreted locally as adverse to the manager plan.

City Councilman Wallace Benson of **Belmont, California,** advocates employment of a "city administrator."

In **Spokane, Washington,** Robert L. Meeks, candidate for commissioner of public utilities, advocates the council-manager plan in place of the existing commission plan.

In **Yakima, Washington,** W. R. Edwards, a candidate for mayor, announced that he favors formation of a committee to study the manager plan and that if the result is favorable he will endorse the plan.

Richland, Washington, which is owned by the federal government under the atomic energy program, is scheduled to be sold to its inhabitants, at which time the question of retaining the council-manager plan, now on an advisory basis, will be a matter for popular decision.

Easton Makes Progress with Regional Plans

Easton, Pennsylvania, a city of 35,000, is attacking its metropolitan problems, along with its six suburban neighbors, through a Regional Planning Commission, which faces the current year with a preliminary planning program and a body of technical data.

Until the era of postwar planning in Easton the only method suggested for dealing with the metropolitan problem was annexation, but by 1949 there was general recognition throughout the area that other means would have to be employed. The forerunner of the Planning Commission was a Regional Planning Committee composed of members of the local planning or zoning bodies. The main effort of the Committee was directed at the creation of a more permanent planning body for the region, and by the end of the year 1950 a constitution was drafted, submitted to the seven participating municipal governments and approved by all.

The constitution of the Easton Area Regional Planning Commission was drawn in compliance with the general county law of Pennsylvania and provided for appointment of members on a staggered term basis by their respective legislative bodies. The Commission's role includes the gathering of data, the conduct of surveys, the formulation of a "flexible regional plan," the development of educational programs, the coordination of the administration of zoning laws and the presentation of the regional point of view to the people of the area.

While the participating communities pledged some funds, Northampton County leaders indicated a willingness to consider an appropriation to the Commission if some type of work program could be formulated. This led to a specific project list of eight items, mainly in the category of utility planning, which included a regional sewerage plan, regional recreation, highway, water, building code and zoning plans and studies to determine the nature of the operational agency needed to supplement the planning function of the Commission.

Progress has continued to an advanced stage. The Commission's 1952 report stressed that the potential of the organization "should stir the imagination of men to whom the waning practice of local self-government is held to be a cherished privilege."

Paul A. Pfretzschner
Lafayette College,
Easton, Pennsylvania

Phoenix Explains "Rule of Three"

In Phoenix, Arizona, a council-manager city, department heads have been limited to the one person of highest grade in appointing from a civil service list. Moves toward a change of rules to permit consideration of the three highest on a list have been opposed by the city's employees. Under a plan approved by the Civil Service Board and the City Council a program of educating the employees in the "rule of three" is being carried out by the personnel director. A ten-page cartoon-illustrated leaflet, explaining the rule in conversational terms, has been sent to all 1,485 employees and a television program with city employees as actors has also been planned.

Ontario Municipal Board Urges Area Federation

An application of the city of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, for permission to amalgamate with 12 neighboring municipalities was rejected by the Ontario Municipal Board on January 20, 1953. While not required to do so, the board took the occasion to recommend a federation of the municipalities in the Toronto areas.

A Metropolitan Council would be created and would take over major metropolitan services, including wholesale water supply, trunk services, arterial highways, public transportation, administration of justice, certain aspects of educational finance and facilities and of public welfare, metropolitan parks and recreational areas, regional planning and zoning, sharing of authority as to public housing and redevelopment, and control over public debt.

Local services would remain under the control of the existing 13 municipalities.

U. S. and Canadian Mayors to Hold Joint Conference

The first Joint International Congress of the United States Conference of Mayors and the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities will be held in Montreal, September 21 to 24 of this year. Following the formal sessions a three-day visit to the Laurentian Mountains has been arranged.

Arizona City Managers in New Organization

The Arizona City Administrators' Association was organized at a meeting of Arizona city managers and other appointive municipal chief administrative officers in Phoenix on February 18. Ray W. Wilson, Phoenix city manager, who was host to the visiting administrators, was named chairman of the new group, and Donald P. Wolfer, city manager of Tucson, was elected secretary-treasurer. The association plans to hold annual or semi-annual meetings, possibly in conjunction with the conventions of the Arizona Municipal League. The meeting at which the new association was formed was called primarily for the purpose of giving the administrative officials an opportunity to discuss a number of their outstanding problems with Clarence E. Ridley, executive director, International City Managers' Association.

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

Wyoming Cities Form New Association

Representatives of 16 Wyoming cities, meeting in Casper late in 1952, formed the Wyoming Association of Municipalities, replacing as the official organization of cities the League of Wyoming Municipalities, which has not been functioning for two years. A permanent headquarters has been established at the University of Wyoming, in Laramie. The University will furnish library and research services. The Association has been working on a legislative program. Mayor J. B. Janney of Sheridan was elected president.

Cornell Course Will Train Future Managers

A two-year graduate course to train students for city manager careers will be introduced by Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., next September. It will lead to a master's degree in public administration.

Students will spend more than half the time in business and public administration courses but will also study such subjects as traffic engineering in the College of Engineering; housing, zoning and regional planning in the College of Architecture; and the law of local government in the Law School.

The program will be directed by Professor Albert M. Hillhouse of the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, which will grant the degree.

IN OUR IMAGE AND LIKENESS

(Continued from page 178)

prefectures and prefectural officials desire to tap some of the revenue sources now reserved for municipalities and to increase their controls over towns and villages.

Only time will reveal whether the commission will base its recommendations upon careful research or whether it will blindly urge a return to the old institutions merely because of the American labels attached to many of the present institutions. Undoubtedly, both courses of action will have support among commission members. The commission, however, is fortunate in having for its chairman so experienced and able and tactful a leader as Tamon Maeda, who has devoted most of his life to improvement of local government and who has a reputation for resolving conflicts.

It may be that, in Japan, we made a grave mistake in not accepting the old forms of local government. There was nothing inherently undemocratic about them. We probably should have tried to influence the development of a democratic spirit within the old forms. In this field, as in so many other fields of the occupation, we emphasized the trappings of our democratic system. We ignored the attitudes which are necessary to make it function properly. The lesson which we probably have not learned is that democracy is something which must grow from within; it may be encouraged but it cannot be imposed from without.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

County Consolidation Proposed in Oregon

Bills in Both Houses Would Cut 36 Down to 8

IDENTICAL bills to consolidate the state's 36 counties into eight in 1956 have been introduced in the Oregon Senate by State Senator Richard L. Neuberger and in the Oregon House of Representatives by Representative Maurine B. Neuberger, his wife.

One county, Multnomah, would have its boundaries unchanged, but a companion measure would permit consolidation of that county with the city of Portland. The total number of state senators and representatives would remain the same, according to the Neuberger bills.

If the bill is passed, it must be submitted to the voters for approval or rejection at the next regular state-wide general election following passage.

Senator Neuberger is a professional writer, specializing in articles on local, county and state government which have appeared in the REVIEW, *This Week*, *Harper's* and other periodicals.

Manager Plan Considered for Counties

Several county grand juries recently have considered the appointment of managers for improvement of their respective county governments. The grand jury of Hall County, Georgia, has made a specific recommendation to this effect, and a similar body in Sonoma County, California, is making a special study of the subject. It is expected to report shortly.

The supervisors of Kings County, California, have discussed the desirability of creating an office of executive secretary to the board in anticipation that it would evolve into a full-fledged position of county manager.

Philadelphia Consolidation Commission Retreats

As a result of a state supreme court decision, the Philadelphia Advisory Consolidation Commission has revised its original recommendation that the functions of the offices of clerk of quarter sessions and sheriff should be abolished, with transfer of their functions to the prothonotary.[1]

When the court ruled that the office of prothonotary was judicial in nature and hence outside the sphere of the home rule charter, the Commission dropped all reference to that office and recommended that the two former offices continue to be elective.

Civic agencies have objected strenuously to the change in recommendations and some have suggested that if the original plan cannot be carried out, the two officers should be appointed by the board of judges, which board now appoints the prothonotary.

San Diego Transfers Health Department to County

Although consolidation of governmental units in metropolitan areas commonly meets stout resistance, the transfer of functions from smaller units to larger ones proceeds with far less difficulty. A recent case is transfer by San Diego, California, of its health department to the county, which is estimated to reduce annual municipal expenditures by $304,000 or about 10 cents per $100 assessed valuation. The county, however, is required to raise its tax rate 5 cents per $100 to meet costs. City taxpayers, who also pay county taxes, will have a net saving of 5 cents per $100.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1953, page 90.

Various activities formerly conducted by the city health department have been transferred to other city departments. They include inspection, dog pound and rodent control service. To continue its program of giving physical examinations to prospective employees, the city will pay the county health department $4,000 a year.

R.S.C.

Texas County Officers Ask Four-Year Terms

In a recent state convention, the Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association urged that all county and precinct officers be selected for four-year terms.

A resolution adopted argued that "the economy of county government is presently being jeopardized because tax, personnel, fiscal and administrative programs cannot be projected beyond a two-year period" and that "a longer term of office would increase the efficiency of your county and precinct officials."

The legislature and governor were urged in the resolution to submit the proposal as a constitutional amendment.

Pima County, Arizona, Rejects Local Option Zoning Ordinance

Local option zoning for Pima County, Arizona, was rejected by almost 5,000 of the slightly more than 7,000 voters who participated in the special zoning election on February 10. At the same time, the majority of voters in effect endorsed the county-wide zoning ordinance adopted by the county board of supervisors on August 6, 1952. The zoning ordinance went into effect, nominally at least, with the official canvas of election results by the supervisors on February 16.

November 6, 1952, originally was the effective date of the county zoning ordinance, but the board of supervisors was forced to shelve the ordinance temporarily and submit the question of zoning to the voters because of referendum petitions submitted by a League for Zoning by Local Option Only. The voters were not asked to pass directly on county-wide zoning but to determine whether zoning be by local option by zoning areas. Participation was limited to persons who own real property within the county, provided they were otherwise qualified as voters.

The zoning ordinance was prepared by the Tucson-Pima County Planning Board and was adopted by the board of supervisors only after numerous public hearings. The movement to bring zoning to the rapidly developing urban areas outside the city of Tucson and of South Tucson, in which more than 100,000 persons now reside, started approximately fifteen years ago. Pima County is the second in Arizona to adopt a zoning ordinance under the zoning statute enacted by the legislature in 1949. Maricopa County was the first.

The ordinance will govern land use within the county, but outside of Tucson and South Tucson. Specifically excepted are lands used for railways, mining, grazing and agriculture. The law provides for a nine-man planning and zoning commission, which will have authority to conduct hearings on proposed changes in the ordinance or land classifications and make recommendations to the board of supervisors. The board is required to appoint also a zoning inspector and three boards of adjustment.

(Continued on page 194)

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

State Adopts Program for New York City

Dewey Four-point Proposal Gets Legislative Approval

THE four-point program of fiscal and administrative aid for New York City, proposed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey as a substitute for the plans suggested by Mayor Vincent Impellitteri,[1] was passed by the New York State legislature in its closing sessions. Two of the state's points involve matters suggested also by the city, but in radically different form; one had been mentioned by the mayor, but not requested; the fourth was for creation of a state commission to study the administrative organization of the city. All are permissive, with ratifying action required by the city before they can become effective.

Point one in the Dewey proposals is for creation of a transit authority to operate the city's subways. The mayor had asked for a transit authority but proposed a formula to finance it in part from property taxes, in part from a tax on business and in part from fares, which he estimated would not need to be raised. The Dewey plan calls for an authority which would be self-supporting from revenues except for debt service. Its governing body would comprise five members, two appointed by the governor, two by the mayor and the fifth by the other four. The state proposal includes disposition of the unprofitable bus lines by selling them to private operators, who would concurrently be allowed to raise fares.

Point two is for enactment of a constitutional amendment to raise the city's constitutional tax rate limit from 2 to 2½ per cent of assessed valuations, but with accompanying legislation to provide a statutory limit of 2¼ per cent. This would provide an estimated $50,000,000 of new money, half of what the city has requested from real estate to help meet an expected need of $126,500,000 additional cash for the 1953-54 budget, exclusive of transit deficit requirements. In the event the voters failed to approve the constitutional amendment in November, the governor expressed willingness to go along with a county real estate tax, but only at a rate of one-fourth of one per cent, not 2 per cent as allowed upstate counties.

The governor's third recommendation is for a payroll tax on salaries and wages, with employees paying one-fourth of one per cent and employers an equal amount. It is estimated to yield $60,000,000.

Point four is for administrative reforms to yield economy in operations and reduce the need for new revenues. The governor expressed preference for a city manager plan for the city, and the legislature created a state commission to study the city's organizational structure.[2]

The board of estimate of the city indicated its hostility to the plan as a violation of the principle of home rule and as financially inadequate. It began plans of its own to eliminate the subway deficit through operating economies, including service cuts.

Organizations to Study Defense Plant Tax Exemption

Troubled by reports that the federal government and its Department of Defense have recently extended policies as to defense contracts which are costing local governments hundreds of thousands of dollars, the American Municipal Association, in cooperation with the Municipal Finance Officers Association, Association of County Officials and other groups, has started an investigation of defense plant tax exemption practices.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1953, page 93.

[2] See also page 179, this issue.

Under present federal statutes, federally-owned property is exempt from local ad valorem property taxes. The theory behind the exemption is the same as that behind the exemption of state and local property from federal taxation—intergovernmental immunity. Even before the war, however, tax experts were increasingly troubled by the growing volume of intergovernmental exemptions, and during the war special statutes were enacted to provide for government ownership of defense plants and equipment, thereby extending exemption from strictly governmental property to property held and operated by manufacturing concerns for the profit of those concerns. The practice was curtailed after the end of the war but reportedly is now being revived on a large scale, to the detriment of hard pressed local governments in defense plant areas.

Under existing statutes, real estate is exempt from ad valorem property when federally owned, regardless of what it is used for. Under this provision, government-owned manufacturing plants leased to manufacturing concerns cannot be taxed to contribute their share of local costs for general government, schools, protective services, etc. Similarly, personal property is exempt when title is vested in the federal government. Under this provision manufactured goods, raw materials, tools and machinery may be so handled under defense contracts that title nominally vests in the government, and the manufacturer evades payment of the taxes which normally would be available to support a share of local government.

State-Local Tax Burden Compared

The relative impact of state and local taxes in the different states is often a matter of concern, especially in connection with assertions that taxes in a given jurisdiction are, or shortly will be, so high as to drive away business. Rarely, however, are available data on the subject assembled in such a manner as to make comparisons between the states feasible.

An interesting comparison of the relative impact of state and local taxes—in terms of income payments to individuals in each state—has been made by Roger A. Freeman, special assistant to the governor of the state of Washington.[1] It covers all 48 states, shows for each the dollar amounts of state tax collections, local property tax collections, local non-property tax collections and combined state-local taxes, as well as income payments and the percentage ratio of state, local and combined state-local taxes to income payments and the rank of each state with respect to the three key items.

For all 48 states combined, state taxes averaged 4.11 per cent of income payments, local taxes 3.94 per cent, and combined state-local taxes 8.05 per cent. In 30 of the states local taxes were a larger percentage of income than were state taxes while in eighteen (mainly southern states) the reverse was true. Nine states had state-local taxes exceeding 10 per cent of income payments—Colorado, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota and Utah. Louisiana was highest, with 12.04 per cent. Eight states had ratios less than 7 per cent—Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas. Lowest was Delaware, with 6.17 per cent. State taxes alone ranged from a high of 9.25 per cent (Louisiana) to a low of 2.15 per cent (New Jersey), while local taxes ranged from 6.43 per cent (South Dakota) down to 1.36 per cent (Delaware).

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[1] *The State and Local Tax Burden in 48 States,* University of Washington, (Seattle 5), *Pacific Northwest Industry,* January 1953, page 91.

The technique of relating tax payments to income payments on a state basis was commented on here recently in the case of the report on Washington's state finances, *Your Dollar's Worth of State Government,* of which Mr. Freeman was the anonymous author.[2]

Houston Saves With Central Buying

Establishment of centralized purchasing and adherence to the practice of obtaining competitive bids promise to save the city of Houston, Texas, thousands of dollars on individual commodities, according to a report of the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County. A new purchasing agent, installed as a result of a recommendation made in the closing months of 1952 by the Association, had in the first months of the year indicated that astounding savings were possible compared with prices previously paid.

At the time the Association made its recommendations, which included one that the purchasing department obtain at least three bids in each transaction, the neighboring city of Dallas had been found to be paying 30 per cent less than Houston for kerosene, 15 per cent less for penetration asphalt, 20 per cent less for concrete pipe, 15 per cent less for pipe fittings.

In the first month after adoption of the competitive bid system, Houston purchased 6.00 x 16 tires for $11.66 compared with $13.95 in late 1952, saved 28 per cent on tubes for the same size tires, got galvanized iron pipe fittings for 40 per cent less than it had previously, and saved 15 per cent on diesel fuel.

Water meter connections in the three-quarter inch size, of which the city uses about 4,000 each month, had cost 56 cents. Competitive bids fetched a price of 46 cents each, a savings of $400 a month on a single item.

Even more startling was the purchasing agent's experience with gaskets for the meter connections. They had been offered the city at prices ranging from 99 cents to $2.00 per hundred. In the words of the Association, "The purchasing agent made an interesting discovery. He found that the 99-cent and the $2 gaskets were identical. In fact, they were made by the same manufacturer." The city had been taking the high priced article on the theory that since it cost more it must be better. Now it is saving $1.01 per hundred gaskets.

The city's experience with pig lead—used to caulk pipe and purchased in quantities when water main extensions are built—was even more startling. In October 1951, the water department asked for bids on 148,000 pounds of virgin pig lead, but received no bids. (This despite the fact that Dallas had reported no difficulty in getting lead after 1949.) Open market purchases were authorized by the city council, and by November offers were in hand ranging from $21.30 to $25 per hundred pounds, all accepted. In October 1952, the water department again needed pig lead, invited bids and got six, the lowest at $13.80 per hundred pounds, the highest $14.70. Yet during the same period, and during the final two months of the year, the city purchasing department continued its open market operations and purchased lead at $18.30 and $18.50 per hundred pounds.

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[2] See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 575.

The new setup is expected to eliminate this kind of operation for good. In addition to obtaining competitive bids, the new procedure calls for the grouping of city purchases and buying in large quantities whenever possible.

Local Pay Increases Continue

Continued high cost of living is reflected in the fact that numerous cities are still authorizing pay increases for their employees. According to the International City Managers' Association, Cincinnati granted all employees a 5 per cent increase on January 1 this year. Previously, a survey had revealed that industrial pay rates in the area were up 5 per cent during 1952, despite a very modest increase in the cost of living. A percentage increase instead of a straight dollar increase was used in order to maintain supervisory pay differentials.

In Toledo, the city increased the pay of employees $80 a year under an annual cost-of-living adjustment program.

A plan for giving city employees merit salary increases has been instituted in White Plains, New York. The merit program requires an annual review of the work of each employee to determine whether he ought to receive a merit increase for work over the normal call to duty. Under this program, a merit salary increase can amount to $200 a year more than the salary fixed by automatic increases.

Lebanon, Missouri, at the end of 1952, gave each city employee $120 if the employee had been with the city for the full year. Employees with less than a year's employment were given $10 a month for each month worked.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 190)

Shortly before the recent election, proponents of county-wide zoning petitioned the Superior Court in Pima County to enjoin the board of supervisors from holding the election, on the ground that the referendum petitions demanding the special election contained numerous invalid signatures. The court denied the injunction but has not yet ruled on whether the state zoning law is constitutional.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Maine Legislative Committee Reports on County Government

On order of the Maine state legislature, its legislative research committee has conducted an extensive study of county government and made its report to the parent organization. Research for the committee was conducted by Professor Edward F. Dow of the University of Maine. His report,[1] published by the committee, makes the following recommendations:

"1. Judges of probate should be appointed. They are presently the only elected judges in Maine.

"2. Registers of probate and clerks of courts should be appointed by the courts.

"3. County attorneys should be replaced by appointed district attorneys.

"4. Municipal and trial justice courts should be replaced by district courts.

"5. Registers of deeds should be appointed.

"6. Sheriffs, county commissioners and county treasurers should be abolished.

"7. Jails should be integrated with the state penal system and supplemented by a jail farm."

The committee agreed with most of Professor Dow's recommendations, but took strong exception to his proposal to abolish the office of sheriff. Also, it favored continuing the election of registers of deeds, registers of probate and clerks of court.

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[1] *County Government in Maine,* Augusta, October 1952, 103 pages.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Compromise P. R. Bill Adopted in Massachusetts

Act Limits Referenda on Repeal to City Elections

A BILL to provide that a referendum to repeal P. R. in Massachusetts cities where it is now in use may be held only in city election years, and only once in four years, was signed by Governor Christian A. Herter on March 5. City elections are held in odd-numbered years.

In spite of the considerable interest shown by proponents at the February legislative hearing on P. R. bills, and the small amount of opposition there expressed, the proposed legislation to restore P. R. to its former position in that state as a system of election available for adoption by municipalities received a cool reception by the legislature.[1]

A bare two hours after the hearing the House of Representatives Committee on Cities unanimously reported adversely on all P. R. bills before it. These included not only measures to restore P. R. but also measures to abolish it completely.

This action was followed by remonstrances on the floor of the House by Representative Ernest Johnson, whose Worcester constituents were heavily represented, along with a large Cambridge delegation, at the hearing. Johnson urged that the legislature was showing itself as much opposed to civic reform and municipal home rule as its predecessor, which had been controlled by the opposite party.

Subsequently, evidently after some negotiations with the political leadership, the measure referred to above was framed, filed by Johnson and passed both houses.

This measure fails to make P. R. available to cities not already governed by it and it likewise fails to raise the number of signatures necessary for a repeal referendum from 5 per cent to the 10 per cent that has been necessary for other referenda.

Worcester's interest in its method of election was stimulated by a debate at a meeting of the American Veterans Committee on February 3 between Mrs. Martha Lindegren, executive secretary of the Citizens Plan E Association, and Thomas R. Early, chairman of the City Democratic Committee. In answer to Early's charges that P. R. puts Communists in office, is too difficult to understand and too expensive, Mrs. Lindegren answered that P. R. had never put a Communist in Worcester's city government, that Worcester has set a record low for invalid ballots under P. R. (2 per cent as against 3 or 4 per cent in plurality elections) and that Worcester's last P. R. election was $1,000 cheaper than its last plurality election because a separate primary election is unnecessary under P. R.

The recent recount to fill a vacancy on the Worcester school committee furnishes further evidence of the economy of P. R., the city clerk having stated that the cost of the recount would not even equal the cost of precinct workers alone and was much lower than the total cost of a special election. In addition to refuting the charges against P. R. Mrs. Lindegren stressed that under P. R. Worcester has enjoyed the best government it has ever had.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 146.

Austrian Elections Bring Little Change

The Austrian national elections were held on February 22 under a party list form of P. R., with a nationwide distribution of seats in accordance with "remainder" votes of the voting districts. Although the Socialists received 36,000 more votes than the People's party, the Socialists obtained only 73 seats while the People's party obtained 74. The results, however, approached proportionality to popular votes, as the accompanying tabulation shows.

A renewed coalition between the leading parties is again indicated, probably again under Chancellor Leopold Figl, who has enjoyed the confidence of the Socialists as well as of his own (People's) party.

Under the Austrian election system there are 25 voting districts. Each party ticket is awarded one seat in the National Assembly for every 24,000 votes cast for it in any election district. Those of the 165 seats not awarded on this basis are distributed to the contending parties according to the size of the nation-wide aggregate of "remainder" votes cast for each party, that is, total vote less the votes on the basis of which seats were awarded in the count by districts. No party may participate in the distribution of remainder votes, however, unless it obtains at least one seat on a district basis.

In comparison with the 1949 election, which was conducted by the same system, the Socialist party was the only one that gained in strength, both in votes cast and seats obtained. It gained six seats while the People's party lost three, the League of Independents lost two and the pro-Communist "People's Opposition" lost one. Because of the small size of the latter two parties, however, their losses are the more significant and reflect a marked decline in extremist and authoritarian influence.

The election was precipitated, some months before the end of the term of the Assembly, by a proposal of the People's party to stabilize the economy which was denounced by the Socialists as threatening to reduce employment and to curb inflation.

About 4,600,000 or two-thirds of the population were registered as eligible to vote, an increase of 200,000. Of those eligible, 94 per cent voted. In addition to the four parties mentioned, seven other groups presented tickets but obtained only the merest scattering of votes and no seats. The results, as reported by the *New York Times,* are given in the accompanying table.

AUSTRIAN NATIONAL ELECTION, FEBRUARY 22, 1953

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats
Socialist	1,818,811	42.1	73	44.2
People's	1,781,969	41.2	74	44.8
League of Independents	473,022	10.9	14	8.5
People's Opposition	228,228	5.3	4	2.4
Others	17,244	0.4	—	—

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Do Schools Prepare Us for Today's World?

Emphasis Seems to Be on Past Rather than Present

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is a digest of the remarks made by WILLIAM J. SHORROCK, editor of *The Civic Leader* of the Civic Education Service, Washington, D. C., at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, November 19, 1952.

IN many ways and in too many places in American education, we are turning our backs on the contemporary world. In one of our largest states, for example, the new American history syllabus calls for less than twenty lessons on current history out of a total of 160 lessons in the course. On the other hand, the syllabus recommends that more time be devoted to the study of the colonial period in American history. In some schools teachers have abandoned their efforts to discuss activities of the United Nations because they have been attacked for doing so.

What about citizenship education, the chief objective of which is to prepare us to live in today's world? In citizenship education we are studying recipe books too much of the time and failing to apply what we study in any significant or intelligent degree. The typical course of study in the United States today indicates that American history is covered about three times—once in the grades, again in the junior high school and a third time in senior high school. Through these courses we perceive the gradual growth of democracy in America. We study the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. We follow the gradual growth of democracy as a way of life and we find that it is good.

This is the recipe book. It is a good one and it is essential that we study it carefully.

If you were to ask our young people in high school about democracy, about American history, about the major institutions of our local, state and national governments, about their rights and responsibilities under our form of government, most of them would be able to give a reasonably good answer. That is, we are likely to discover that they are reasonably familiar with the correct definitions and the conventional institutions of democracy.

But if you were to ask them what the score is—what this all means in terms of life today—they would probably fail almost as badly as too many American adults are failing today. You would discover an almost complete unawareness of what is going on in today's world or, at best, only a superficial awareness. You would discover an almost complete unawareness of the fact that western civilization with its democratic tradition is at stake in a struggle for its very survival against world-wide forces of barbarism.

The recipe for democratic citizenship will become meaningful to our young people only through its application to the real-life situations of today's world. Where are we going to practice this citizenship we talk so much about? Certainly not in a world of 30 years ago or a hundred years ago or in our colonial period! We are going to practice it in the mid-twentieth century—in a period of scientific, technological and social change, the speed and consequences of which the world has never before experienced.

What do we need in citizenship education that is different from what we are now doing? We need desperately to spend more time studying today's world, and we need practice in applying the principles of democracy to today's situations. And that needs to be done in school, especially in our high schools.

Why can't we make the great touchstones of the American faith—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and many others—function for us in today's situations while we give increased emphasis to some of the important aspects of the world around us? For example, a well organized discussion of the western world versus the communist world can develop the basic tenets of our Declaration of Independence and Constitution with real meaning. What about the constantly recurring questions of labor-employer relations in our domestic economy? What does our history have to tell us about the rights of labor, the rights of management, protection of property and the public welfare?

Let's bring our history to bear on real situations. In another area, what about our electoral procedure for selecting a president? Is it in the spirit of our developing democratic tradition? What about Korea, China, Indo-China, India, the problems of the middle east and North Africa? Does our history provide any guideposts for the determination of our foreign policy in these areas? And just what do we know about these lands themselves? What about mutual security and Point Four? Are these policies of our national government within the framework of our democratic tradition?

These—and a host of other problems—are all vital matters upon which the American people are being called daily to render decisions. These important decisions should be made by enlightened citizens who have firm convictions on issues that are of life-and-death significance to the western world.

By all means, let's study the recipe book of democratic citizenship in our schools, but then let's try it out by giving added attention to applying the rules to situations in today's world—the world in which we must live. While it is well to know the basic documents of American democracy and to understand the traditions of our forebears, we shall never be able to uphold our heritage unless we also know and understand the major problems and challenges of today's world. That is the crucial job of education for citizenship in our schools.

How Solve Problems of New York City?

One of the organizations working for the salvation of its city is the Citizens Union of New York City. Recent publications include *Some Answers for New York City Problems—A Summary of Preliminary Reports Submitted to the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey*. Twenty pages in length, it gives a quick glance at recommendations, made by individuals and firms conducting studies, on civil service reclassification and the Civil Service Commission, schools, finance, transit, hospitals, police and fire departments, and water supply.

Another contribution of the union is *New York Needs an Administrator*, Report of the Citizens Union Executive Committee Based on the Work of a Special Committee to Study the City Manager Plan.

But not all of the union's activities are devoted to criticism and suggestion for change. It renders praise where praise is due—witness this comment from its news sheet, *Across from City Hall*:

Subway Manners

With all the grumbling and growling (much of it justified) that goes on about the transit situation, it is a pleasure to be able to report what seems to us to be a real improvement. We refer to the new loudspeaker system in the Grand Central Station of the IRT subway. This loudspeaker sends forth gentle but firm comments whenever a train is in the station and whoever makes the comments seems to see all and know all.

It keeps pedestrian traffic moving quickly and quietly and expedites the movement of trains because of its quiet reminders to "stop holding that door" and "let them off first." It ought eventually to improve the manners of the subway riding public, too. The other night we heard it say, "Now, that wasn't at all nice, Mister." We don't know what the "mister" was doing nor which one was being admonished, but at least ten "misters" looked around furtively and stopped pushing!

Membership Dynamo Retires

Municipal News, organ of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, pays tribute to Albert Hull, its membership chairman, on his 1953 retirement. When Mr. Hull joined the league in 1939, reports the *News*, the membership stood at 281. Now it is 5,200. "During that period Hull was largely responsible for the enrolling of about 8,000 new members from which must be subtracted the loss from deaths, moving from the city, failing to renew and a few folks 'who got mad at the league.'" The *News* feels "pretty sure that his Paul Bunyan record hasn't been greatly excelled, if even equalled, by any other single membership secretary in any other civic organization in the country."

W. J. "Bill" Morrow has been chosen by a committee of board members to succeed Mr. Hull. He was formerly executive secretary of the East Side Commercial Club of Portland.

Study Local Problems

This is Your Community, News Bulletin of The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, describes the reports recently made by two of the organization's committees. The first report of the Health, Hospitals and Welfare Committee is devoted to conditions at Minneapolis General Hospital. The league will release through the press a series of reports on various aspects of the study. "Conclusions will be drawn and recommendations made only where the progress of the study warrants them. Otherwise, only facts will be presented to form a background and understanding against which citizens, as well as the public officials responsible, may better understand our final conclusions."

The second report comes from the Legislation Committee and deals with veterans preference. The *News Bulletin* presents a chart showing present veterans preference provisions in local, state and federal civil service, together with proposals for veterans preference as recommended by the Civil Service Assembly, a national organization in Chicago, and those of the league committee.

Citizens' Action, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has published *In a Nutshell: The Story of Water Supply* (four pages). The article discusses "Where Can We Get Additional Water? Best Water? Least Cost?", "Higher Out-of-City Water Rates to Protect City Users," etc.

"The New Street Railway Franchise" is discussed by the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League in its January *Good Government*.

Golden Anniversaries

Two citizen organizations announce the celebration of their 50th birthdays in 1953. The Commonwealth Club of California, with over 7,000 members, was "born" February 3, 1903. Headed by Senior Past President Max Thelen, distinguished attorney and former president of the Railroad Commission, the club's 50th anniversary celebration committee is planning numerous special events.

The Chicago City Club announces 1953 as "Our Golden Year." A story in its *Bulletin* reports that of the original 177 charter members only four survive. The 50th anniversary committee is planning an ambitious program designed "to revitalize the club and enable it to serve Chicago more effectively in these crucial times." Highlight of the year will be a 50th anniversary banquet attended by distinguished representatives of national, state and local governments. Chairman of the anniversary committee is Vice President M. Edward Abram.

First Birthday

The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis celebrated its first birthday by reporting a membership of 1,700, 500 of whom are active on committees. Among its activities have been the completion of a detailed study of the General Hospital,[1] writing of a general licensing ordinance,[2] and launching of studies on city finance, county assessment, transit regulation, city insurance and other city and county operations.

Citizen Boards Studied

"An interesting political development of recent years is the rise of so-called citizens boards, or authorities, or bureaus," reports the League of Women Voters of Atlanta. Results of the first steps of the league's study of these boards and the part they play in local government are set forth in its bulletin, *Facts*, for January 1953. The article compiles the list of boards, "with data as to how the members are appointed, who they are, what they are paid and what their duties and powers are." Thirty-two such boards, with 209 members, are to be found in the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County.

Voting Procedure Investigated

The executive board of the Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan, has voted to have a committee appointed by the league's president to "obtain information and actively follow up on the matter of improving voting procedure in Port Huron."

Citizens Support Candidates

Citizens for Good Government of Rock Island, Illinois, the group which successfully sponsored the council-manager plan for that city, will support councilmanic candidates at the spring election. Councilmen elected at that time will inaugurate the new government.

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee is asking its members and friends for recommendations as to candidates for the city council. Specifications for good candidates include: (1) integrity, intelligence, ability and desire to help Cincinnati progress; (2) support of the basic Charter principles of honest, efficient, nonpartisan government, civil service, non-interference with the administrative authority and proportional representation.

Want Election Reform

New York City civic and party organizations are mapping joint action to secure urgently needed election law reforms from the 1953 state legislature. Among those represented at a recent meeting were the Citizens

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[1] See page 199, this issue.
[2] See page 203, this issue.

Union of New York City, League of Women Voters, Women's City Club, New York Chamber of Commerce, New York City Club, Liberal party, New York Young Republican Club and Affiliated Young Democrats.

Plan Neighborhood Groups

"Recognizing the need for greater participation by the membership in affairs of the Citizens League [of Pawtucket, Rhode Island]," reports its publication *Know Your City Government,* "the board of directors has approved the organization of neighborhood groups—these groups will function as subcommittees of the executive committee. It is planned that each group have a presiding officer (or moderator), a financial secretary, a recording secretary and chairmen of a men's and women's division. We expect these groups to be instrumental in furthering the league's program for better city government." Listed are the groups with their neighborhood and temporary moderators.

Twenty Questions

"How grown up are YOU?" asks the League of Women Voters of Hoboken. The league lists twenty questions which it asks citizens to answer—among them:

Would you like a boss to take care of everything? Do you prefer standing on your own feet and shouldering your responsibilities as a citizen in a democracy? Do you resent that you must constantly be concerned with city hall?

Do you think city jobs should be plums given to political hacks? Do you think city jobs should be filled by qualified people without regard to political affiliations?

Do you think fire works, parades, flowery oratory prove anything? Do you know that serious consideration and discussion of problems is what counts?

Do you shrink and shrivel when local problems are spoken of? Do you discuss them soberly with neighbors and acquaintances?

Do you wish for good government? Do you actively work for it?

An Eye on Council

Spotlight on the City Council is a new one-sheet publication of the Citizens' Association of Chicago, reporting current activities of council committees. The association is continuing to issue its *Zoning News Sheet,* reporting on proposed changes in the Chicago zoning ordinance.

Manager Plan News

The Burlington (Massachusetts) Citizens Committee, supporting the town manager form of government, has issued a four-page pamphlet titled *The Town Manager—He Saves Your Tax Dollars,* which it is distributing to town citizens.

The board of governors of the Chicago City Club has approved a recommendation of the council-manager plan for Chicago, to be submitted to members of the legislature. The statement concludes: "The City Club therefore recommends that the state legislature extend the council-manager law, now applicable only to cities of 500,000 or less, so that the people of Chicago may have the right to adopt the council-manager form of government by referendum."

Strictly Personal

The board of directors of the Hamilton County Good Government League has appointed Worth Yoder executive secretary, to succeed George Palmer, now associated with a Cincinnati law firm. Mr. Yoder, a member of the Ohio and Indiana Bars, was previously with the city manager of Dayton and the Standard Oil Company.

Service to States, Localities Studied

Researchers Discuss Role of Universities

UNDER the chairmanship of Roscoe C. Martin of Syracuse University, the panel on "Technical Assistance for State and Local Governments: the University's Role," held at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio in November, touched upon numerous ways in which the academician can aid the practitioner. It was emphasized, however, that there is mutual benefit to be derived from contacts between the two: the teacher, for example, may be withdrawn from his cloister, may discover new subjects for research or may uncover gaps in the university curriculum.

Edward W. Weidner, Michigan State College, spoke of the need for analysis and evaluation of current government programs, pointing out that this can be done by university personnel. He described several types of in-service training courses: regular and special night school courses, student employment in summer or part-time work, university-conducted training schools in city halls or court houses, and campus training conferences for incumbent officials.

Victor C. Hobday, University of Tennessee, in commenting on research methods, reported his conviction that questionnaires are "unsatisfactory tools," except for use in the simplest of surveys. He stated further that, in his opinion, any extended research should be referred by the research bureau to other parts of the university, perhaps aiding them with funds, personnel or by other means. His remark that the acceptance of research findings depends largely upon mutual confidence between campus and government agency was seconded by David W. Knepper of the University of Houston, E. E. McAdams of the League of Texas Municipalities and others, who agreed that the success of any of this joint work hinges upon understanding and good will.

William F. Larsen, University of Florida, and Wilfred D. Webb, University of Texas, proposed for the academicians several questions which have received too little attention: how are university bureau resources effectively allocated and directed into the most valuable channels? Should the work of separate bureaus be more systematically linked together? How can it be related to the efforts of the National Municipal League? What parts of American experience should be "exported" in technical assistance programs?

William J. Ronan, New York University, and York Willbern, University of Alabama, cautioned against answering certain of these questions too quickly or glibly, especially in view of the incompleteness of knowledge in the field and the overwhelming number of requests for aid that the universities receive yearly. Much remains to be done.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Legislatures Review Budgets

It is somewhat surprising to note that in at least nineteen states there are continuing agencies or staffs to assist the legislatures in reviewing annual budgets. According to a recent report of the Illinois Legislative Council, *Legislative Budget Staffing* (October 1952), there are certain conditions in which the legislature is likely to emphasize its role as critic of the executive by forming its own fiscal research staff. Where there is a party split between executive and legislature, where a "weak" executive may be unable to present or execute effectively an authoritative budget, or in other situations, the legislature may feel called upon to play a more prominent role in budget preparation and review and in overseeing budget performance. This study contains a compilation of facts about the organization and operations of these legislative staffs in the nineteen states.

Licensing Investigated

Four useful publications on the subjects of licensing procedures and practices for states and municipalities have recently appeared. Data on Iowa and Pennsylvania local license fees have been studied and the results published in *License and Permit Fees in Iowa Cities,* by the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Iowa, in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities (Iowa City, 1952), and *Municipal Licensing Practices in Pennsylvania,* by Thelma J. Showalter, published by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs.

The Wisconsin Taxpayer for February, issued by the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, discusses the 350 licenses for various occupations issued by that state's twenty special licensing boards.

Finally, the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis has issued a first draft of a comprehensive licensing ordinance, prepared by that League's licensing procedures committee. This committee proposes a complete reorganization of the Minneapolis licensing system and its 100 different licenses. They criticize the present system which is based upon a hodge-podge of ordinances going back some 50 years, and they attempt in their proposed ordinance to establish a plan whereby the granting or denying of a license should be an "automatic, administrative function."

Municipal Problems Highlighted

In "The Need for Municipal Research," an article appearing in its *Listening Post* for January, the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities recognizes that "The need for factual investigation of the problems of municipal government is urgent and pressing. Innovations in municipal policy and practice have been so rapid and extensive that municipal officials have not had time to make the studies necessary to obtain a fresh view of the perplexing questions that continually face them." The federation announces the initiation of several research projects. It has launched a survey of federal-provincial-municipal fiscal trends with particular emphasis on the adequacy of municipal revenues. In cooperation with the Industrial Relations Center of McGill University, the federation is exploring the relationship of a municipal council as an employer to trade unions and is studying present wage negotiation practices and policies of Canadian municipalities. The third revision of the federation's municipal employees' wage and salary survey is nearly completed.

Municipal Administration for January 1953, published by the Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, contains two worthwhile articles: "Administrative Objectives of Building Regulation and Inspection" and "Quality Purchasing for a Small Municipality," by Robert H. McGregor.

Law Surveys

A "Survey of the Law of New Jersey 1951-1952," appears in *Rutgers Law Review,* Fall 1952 (Rutgers University Press). Surveys of a year's law problems are issued in few states, and it is perhaps particularly significant that this one, for the fourth successive year, comes from a state which has been said to have "the most comprehensive and the most efficient integrated court system now functioning in the United States." Among the 21 articles are: "The Work of the Judicial System: 1951-1952," by David Stoffer; "Review of the 1952 Legislative Year," by Alfred C. Clapp; and "Municipal Corporations," by Samuel Allcorn, Jr.

Local Costs Fall in Maine

The "real costs" of local government have fallen in some Maine communities since 1939, according to the February 1953 *Maine Managers' Newsletter.* Adjusted by the "price deflator," reported by the U. S. Department of Commerce in *Survey of Current Business,* July 1952, expenditures in Bangor fell from $1,392,980 to $1,244,484 in 1951. A similar decrease is noted in two other cities. These interesting figures are not adjusted for population changes, increase or decrease in services, and other such factors.

Training City Managers

The Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas has issued its *Fifth Annual City Managers' Training School—A Report* (May 21, 1952, 46 pages). The stories of the sessions on each of four days are told in some detail. Topics discussed include municipal insurance, how to delegate authority, a new approach to budgeting and the city manager as a political leader.

GRA Regional Meeting

The Governmental Research Association has announced that its regional meeting for members in New England and the North Atlantic states will be held at the Hotel Martinique, New York City, May 2, 1953. Major topics will be "Are We Getting Enough from the Property Tax" and "What Happens When a Governmental Researcher Becomes a Public Administrator."

Bureau Reports

Association Highlights of 1952. Brockton (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* February 11, 1953. 1 p.

GRA and Its Job in '53. By Carlton W. Tillinghast. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* January-February 1953. 2 pp.

21st Annual Report. New York 17, Citizens' Budget Commission, December 31, 1952. 52 pp.

Your Tax Dollars. Here's the Way to Do Something About Them. Syracuse, New York, Governmental Research Bureau, 1953. 8 pp.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Alcoholism

Report of the Interim Commission on Alcoholism of Minnesota. St. Paul, the Commission, 1952. 65 pp.

Assessing

State Equalization of Local Assessments. By Eugene C. Lee. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. 48 pp. $1.25.

Civil Service

An Analysis of Unrecognized Costs of Municipal "Fringe Benefits." By William F. Danielson. (Discussion of city and village retirement plans, paid vacations, sick leaves, holidays, etc.) Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review,* January 1953. 6 pp.

Voluntary Civil Service System for the Courts. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research. *Citizens' Business,* February 2, 1953. 4 pp.

Constitutions

Constitution Amendments. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc., *CPEC Special Bulletin,* February 1953. 4 pp.

Debt

Management of Municipal Debt. By John F. Tarrant. (Reprinted from the Proceedings at the 1951 Conference of the National Tax Association.) Sacramento 8, California, 1952. 8 pp. (Apply author, Connecticut State Tax Department, 470 Capitol Avenue, Hartford 18.)

Education

Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditures Council, January 1953. 33 pp.

School Board Back Again for More Money. Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* February 1953. 5 pp.

A Single Proposition for Controlling the School Service Desirable. (Relationships between schools and city government.) Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, Bulletin, January 1953. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

The Mississippi Electorate. By William Buchanan. State College, Mississippi, Social Science Research Center, January 1953. 70 pp.

Juvenile Delinquency

Administration of Juvenile Delinquency Control in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, February 1953. 31 pp.

Labor Unions

How to Negotiate with Labor Unions. By Rollin B. Posey. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *Public Personnel Review,* January 1953. 7 pp.

Legislative Bodies

Legislative Manual and Fiscal Facts for the Sixty-Eighth General Assembly. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, February 1953. 52 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Annual Legislative Sessions. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, October 1952. 40 pp.

Legislative Councils

Third Biennial Report 1951-1952. Oklahoma City 5, State Legislative Council, 1952. 165 pp.

Local Government

Local Government Review—1952-1953. Martinez (California), Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, February 1953. 8 pp.

Municipal Insurance

Municipal Insurance—Basic Considerations. By William R. Snodgrass. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, *Tennessee Town and City,* January 1953. 5 pp.

Municipal Officials

The Corporation Inspector. New York 38, Citizens Union, February 2, 1953. 7 pp.

Personnel

A Month's Vacation for Policemen? Brockton (Massachusetts), Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* February 6, 1953. 1 page.

Political Behavior

Research in Political Behavior. Inter-university Summer Seminar on Political Behavior, Social Science Research Council. Menasha, Wisconsin, American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* December 1952. 42 pp.

Public Welfare

Changes in Social Welfare Financing in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* February 15, 1953. 3 pp.

Refuse Disposal

Municipal Incineration—A Study of the Factors Involved in Municipal Refuse Disposal by Incineration. A Field Study of Performance of Three Municipal Incinerators. Berkeley, University of California, Sanitary Engineering Research Project, 1951. 100 and 65 pp. respectively.

Research

Inventory of Public Affairs and Social Science Research in the Western States, 1951 and 1952. Compiled by Pamela Ford and Stanley Scott. Berkeley, University of California, Western Governmental Research Association in Cooperation with the Bureau of Public Administration, January 1953. vii, 113 pp. $2.00.

Salaries

Salary Levels of Utah State Officials. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Brief,* February 7, 1953, 3 pp.

State Administration

The Administrative Organization of the State of Oklahoma. A chart (in five colors) prepared by E. Foster Dowell. Oklahoma City, Governor's Joint Committee on the Reorganization of State Government, November 1952.

State Administrative Agencies. Constitutionally Prescribed Powers and Duties. Oklahoma City 5, State Legislative Council, 1953. 86 pp.

Surveys

Narrative Functional Description of the City of Houston (Supplement). Houston (Texas), Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Inc., February 1953. 14 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Canadian Tax Take (Dominion, Provincial, Municipal). Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* December 29, 1952. 5 pp.

Income and Expenditures of Government in California 1910 to 1952. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* November 1952. 39 pp.

Pending Changes in Constitutional Tax Limitations. Syracuse 2, (New York) Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., *For the Record . . . ,* January 1953. 8 pp.

Reaching for Another Star. An analysis of Washington state government finances 1939-41 through 1951-53 biennial periods. With current economic and fiscal data. Seattle 1, Washington State Taxpayers Association, *Research Report,* December 1952. 20 pp.

Should Taxing Powers Be Determined at Home? Duluth 2 (Minnesota), Governmental Research Bureau, *Citizen's Business,* January 20, 1953. 3 pp.

Study of the Relationship between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa with Special Emphasis on Local Home Rule. Part III: **State-Local Fiscal and Administrative Relations in Iowa.** Des Moines, League of Women Voters of Iowa, 1952. 13 pp. 5 cents.

Taxation of Oil and Gas Production. By R. F. Patterson. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Business Review,* February 1953. 3 pp.

Tax Rates of California Cities. 1951-52 and 1952-53. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* January 1953. 4 pp.

$388,324,415. This Is Estimated Cost of 6-Year Capital Program. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 26, 1953. 4 pp.

A Two-year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Inc., *Bulletin,* February 1953. 4 pp.

Books in Review

The Trend of Government Activity in the United States Since 1900. By Solomon Fabricant, assisted by Robert E. Lipsey. New York City, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1952. xix, 267 pp. $4.00.

Out of the welter of commentary—good, bad and indifferent—published on the subject of "Big Government" during the past decade, has emerged this useful volume by Solomon Fabricant. His purpose is to tell how government—local, state and national—has grown and why. The book will be useful to the social science teacher who seeks to explain why today's problems of governing are different from those of yesterday. It will be useful to reformers and reorganizers who propose the substitution of newer forms and methods for horse-and-buggy institutions. The researcher will find it helpful, for example, in the statistical data it presents and in the comments on their gaps and general adequacy.

For the period 1900 to 1950, the author examines the resources (manpower, capital assets, expenditures and so on) absorbed in government activity and the shares of the different levels of government, in what the author calls the resource input. "The biggest part of the half-century rise in total input came not from the spectacular appearance of 'new' functions but, putting aside the effects of the cold war on national defense, from the more moderate but nevertheless substantial increase of functions already well established in 1900."

Measured by input, the patterns of emphasis in 1900 and 1950 "bear a distinct family resemblance to each other. Measured by input, though not necessarily also by impact on the economy's efficiency, there has been change, but no revolution, in the functional pattern of government activity."

Turning to the question of productivity and output, Mr. Fabricant points out carefully where his data are inadequate, but he concludes that "the long term trend in government's productivity has probably been upward." He hesitates to say how much of this expansion has occurred in the realm formerly considered "private," but he feels that, from several standpoints, "encroachment on the private sphere has not been the major factor in swelling government operations, though it has surely played a substantial part."

Most of the factors leading to bigger government appear to be different aspects of one central cause or group of causes: economic growth. Among these factors are changed population composition, increased density, technological advance, industrialization, urbanization, increase in the size of enterprise and the cycle of prosperity and depression. Add to these the international situation, itself in part a consequence of economic growth, plus some element of chance, and one has a convincing explanation of what has happened to American government.

In closing, the author repeats Wesley C. Mitchell's 1936 prediction: "The indications seem to me fairly clear that in the long run men will try increasingly to use the power and resources of their governments to solve their economic problems even in those nations that escape social revolutions." Says Fabricant, "What unforeseen effects increasing recourse to government as 'an agency of national progress and social betterment' may have, therefore, on the efficiency with which resources are allocated to alternative uses, on the rate of economic progress and, most important, on the character of the people and the limits of their personal freedom, is the very real question which is being put to us."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Public Personnel Management. By William G. Torpey. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1953. xii, 431 pp. $5.00.

The scope of this new textbook is confined largely to organizational and procedural aspects of personnel administration. The author is personnel officer of the Washington, D. C., Naval Research Laboratory and is a part-time faculty member at George Washington University.

The Cultivation of Community Leaders. Up from the Grass Roots. By William W. Biddle. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953. xiv, 203 pp. $3.00.

Mr. Biddle, drawing on his experiences with community programs in midwestern towns and cities and in the program of community dynamics at Earlham College (Richmond, Indiana), discusses in a readable manner questions of cooperation and of leadership training. The scope of the volume is confined largely to smaller communities. The final chapter, "A Practitioner's Handbook," points toward a particular kind of community promoter. This is the one who, "Searches for the kind of organization that matures and frees men. Encourages growth of leadership ability. Promotes the experience of the community. . . . His motto might well be, 'Suggest, Wait and Act When the Group Is Ready!' "

Final Report of the American Bar Association Commission on Organized Crime. Washington, D. C., American Bar Association, 1952. 186 pp.

Like the National Municipal League, the American Bar Association converts some of its findings into proposed models and this remarkable report includes a model anti-gambling act, a model department of justice act (proposing an attorney general or similar officer appointed by the governor with jurisdiction over local prosecuting attorneys), a model police council act (for securing interchange and joint action of police in a complex of contiguous territories, such as suburban areas), and a model witness immunity act.

This commission has been at work since September 1950, inspired by the Kefauver revelations. The pamphlet includes a nation-wide review of the reported temporary decline in organized crime in the summer of 1952, and a listing of local scandals and of outstanding failures of prosecuting agencies and grand juries to move effectively in centers of public gambling. Alternatives to suppression of organized gambling are considered and dismissed on the basis of their record in this country where conditions are different from those in England. Full texts of the models are included.

R.S.C.

How to Conduct a Citizen School Survey. By Merle R. Sumption. New York City, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1952. xv, 209 pp. $3.95.

Here is a handbook for use by private citizens in organizing and conducting a survey of their community's schools and in producing a long-range plan to meet the educational needs of the time and the place. That such school studies have been increasing in recent years is significant not only because localities are becoming more aware of the impact of national and international problems on elementary and secondary education, but also because certain vested interests have been pushing their selfish points of view more vigorously in local circles.

One may hope there will be no repetition of the "Pasadena Story" elsewhere. Guides such as Sumption's are effective additions to the arsenal against that eventuality.

G. S. B.

Transportation by Helicopter 1955-1975. New York City, Port of New York Authority, 1952. ix, 157 pp. charts.

This impressive example of foresight explains that the helicopter "will expand air travel in the short-haul field. . . . The Korean War has advanced the day of the helicopter as a common carrier by five to ten years. Within the next few years, a ten-place helicopter will be used in common carrier service. By 1958, 30-place helicopters will be available." Then follow conjectures on routes and suitable sites for "airstops," "heliport" design, traffic estimates and fares!

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

Accounting for the Fluoridation of Water. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 2 pp. 10 cents.

Airport Financing

Airports as a Field for Revenue Financing. By James C. Buckley. (Address before The Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, Municipal Forum, 1953. 10 pp. (Apply E. Joseph Scherer, c/o B. J. Van Ingen & Company, 57 William Street, New York 5.)

Crime

Annual Report for the Year 1952. New York City, Anti-Crime Committee, 1953. 25 pp.

Federal Government

Report to the President. By President's Advisory Committee on Management. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 20 pp. 15 cents.

Governors

Budget Message of Alfred E. Driscoll, Governor of New Jersey, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954. Trenton, New Jersey, 1953. 568 pp.

Labor

Strikes. A Study in Industrial Conflict. With Special Reference to British Experience Between 1911 and 1947. By K. G. J. C. Knowles. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. xiv, 330 pp. $8.75.

Libraries

A Survey of the Adult Department and Services. By Stillman K. Taylor. Racine, Wisconsin, Racine Public Library, 1953. 27 pp. $2.00.

Parking

Parking Meters in Pennsylvania. By Thelma J. Showalter. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1953. 12 pp.

Planning

A City Plan for Glendive, Montana. Summary and Conclusions, 1952. Denver, Colorado, S. R. DeBoer and Company, 1953. 104 pp.

Race Relations

A Guide to Understanding Race and Human Relations. Prepared by Milwaukee Police Department for Police Instructional Purposes. Milwaukee 2, Mayor's Commission on Human Rights, 1952. 31 pp.

Special Assessments

The Special Assessment Today with Emphasis on The Michigan Experience. By William O. Winter. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1952. xi, 183 pp. $2.00.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1951. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 126 pp. 50 cents.

Finance Manual for the City of Manhattan, Kansas. By W. Barton Avery. Manhattan, Kansas, Office of City Manager, 1953. 81 pp.

Public Credit in Financing Private Industry. Panel Discussion Sponsored by Committee on State Legislation, American Bankers Association, September 28, 1952. New York, The Association, 1952. 51 pp. (Apply Thomas B. Paton, Secretary, Committee on State Legislation, 12 East 36th Street, New York 16.)

Traffic

60 Million Drivers Want Uniform Traffic Laws. Washington, D. C., National Committee on Uniform Traffic Laws and Ordinances, 1953. 16 pp.

Training for Public Administration

Educational Preparation for Public Administration. A Catalog of Graduate Programs, 1952-53. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 65 pp. $1.50.

Zoning

Zoning for Industry. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* December 1952. 4 pp.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 167)

There are many things wrong with state legislatures, including their cumbersome size, their outmoded two-house system with its invitation to buck-passing and manipulation by conniving lobbyists, inadequate pay for legislators, too little time in which to deliberate, insufficient staff services to prepare the factual background needed for wise decision and their increasingly unrepresentative character as urban population grows and reapportionment is delayed from decade to decade.

The United States government was designed by its creators for action to meet vital problems of a new and growing nation. Despite the separation of powers and checks and balances, it has proved capable of action and of growth to meet new and unforeseen problems. By contrast the states have been designed for delay and inaction. Distrusting their legislatures, the people have built into their constitutions all the inhibitions against active government to be found in the federal constitution, plus many others.

No wonder frustrated citizens have turned more and more to Washington as new needs for government have appeared. The temptation to turn to Washington has been especially strong among city people because of the unsympathetic attitude of rural-minded legislators toward city interests. The United States Senate, despite equal representation of the states, is a better representative of the predominantly urban interest in the country than are most state legislatures. This is so because a majority of the people in at least 30 of the 48 states are urban dwellers.

A drastic operation on state legislatures would be the surest way to preserve and strengthen the states as important, self-starting, self-regulating elements in our system. It may well prove to be the ultimate price of local self-government in America.

Hillhouse to Aid Fiscal Law Study

A. M. Hillhouse, professor of public administration, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, has been retained as consultant to the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program. The committee plans to publish in 1953 a *Model Bond Law, Model Revenue Bond Law, Model Real Property Tax Collection Law* and a *Model State Funds Investment Law.*

A. M. Hillhouse

Dr. Hillhouse is director of the two-year graduate training program for prospective city managers at Cornell. He formerly taught public administration at the University of Cincinnati and was director of research of the Municipal Finance Officers Association. He served as chief, Public Finance Branch, U. S. Military Government, Germany, later part of the office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, from 1948 to 1951. He is author of *Municipal Bonds — A Century of Experience* and *Where Cities Get Their Money.*

Anne Mumford Retires

Miss Anne M. Mumford, an honorary vice president of the League since 1937, has retired as executive secretary of the Haynes Foundation in Los Angeles. She had served in that post since 1926.

Miss Mumford has been identified with numerous national and local civic organizations. The American Association of University Women, of which she had been a national officer, named one of its foreign scholarships after her.

All-America Cities Featured on Television

"Mrs. U.S.A.", a daily NBC network television show seen outside the Metropolitan New York area, devoted its entire half-hour program on February 9 to the League's All-America Cities awards.

"The Baltimore Story", an Encyclopedia Brittanica documentary film describing the slum clearance program which helped the citizens of that city win an award, was shown. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee, in a ten-minute interview, summarized the purposes and history of the awards and described other activities of the League.

Dr. Cottrell, Former Council Member, Dies

Dr. Edwin Angell Cottrell, former mayor of Palo Alto, California, and retired dean of the School of Social Sciences at Stanford University, died recently in Palo Alto at the age of 71. He was a former member of the Council of the National Municipal League and assisted in the preparation of the *Guide for Charter Commissions.*

Dr. Cottrell was a municipal consultant and author of several city charters. He was graduated from Swarthmore College in 1907 and received his master's degree from Harvard in 1913. He taught at Penn State, Harvard, Wellesley, Brown, Ohio State and California before going to Stanford.

In Palo Alto, he served six years on the City Council before being elected mayor. He was a member of the California Loyalty Review Board and a trustee of and consultant to the Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles.

Reforms Possible, Chicagoans Assured

Chicagoans can achieve good government with a "huge perceptive participation by voters and correspondingly diminished influence by politicians," Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee, told the Citizens of Greater Chicago at their first annual meeting February 26. But he warned them that it can't be done without a drastic simplification of the voter's tasks.

Richard S. Childs

"You have had civic victories here—victories that were followed by defeats," said Mr. Childs. "But the combination of frontal attacks with new techniques of clearing away the battleground has been winning not mere battles elsewhere, it has been winning wars." He pointed to political reforms that have been achieved in Kansas City, Cincinnati, Dayton, Richmond, Philadelphia and other cities—reforms made possible by an alert, vigorous citizenry.

The Citizens of Greater Chicago is a recently formed organization of civic groups in the metropolitan area having a total membership of approximately 1,500,000.

Citizens Praised

(Continued from page 162)

vision in Rhode Island, said: "The action of Woonsocket citizens in establishing a new order in their political life should encourage not only the people of this city but of the entire state." The award was presented to Mayor Kevin K. Coleman by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee.

Manhattan, Kansas: John B. Gage, regional vice president of the League, in presenting the award to Mayor Richard D. Rogers, expressed his amazement at the rapidity with which the citizens of this city so completely restored their community following the devastating flood. He was joined in these sentiments by L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, as 300 people jammed the Banquet Room at the Wareham Hotel to participate in the ceremonies.

Miami-Dade County, Florida: Dr. George H. Gallup, foreman of the award jury, congratulated the citizens of Miami for making "determined efforts" to clean up their city, as he presented the All-America certificate to Mayor Chelsie J. Senerchia in a televised program over Station WTVJ. Dr. Gallup praised the work of the Citizens Action Committee, which presented the city's case before the jury, and other local groups.

Baltimore: Dr. Gallup also made the presentation in this city. He told a large gathering at the Lord Baltimore Hotel that he was impressed by the "multi-platoon system" which made the success of the city's slum-clearing Baltimore Plan possible. The fact that the plan was the work of city government departments and agencies, many private organizations and many individual citizens indicates how profoundly the interest of Baltimoreans has been rejuvenated and focused on this vital community problem, he declared. An Encyclopedia Brittanica film dramatizing the rehabilitation of a Baltimore slum area was premiered at the ceremony.

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ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD
Proportional Representation

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NEWS for League Members

Richmond to Host '53 Conference

The League's 1953 annual National Conference on Government will be held in Richmond, Virginia, the NML Executive Committee has decided. The Conference will take place November 8, 9, 10 and 11 at the Jefferson Hotel.

Mayor E. E. Haddock

The Executive Committee accepted the invitation tendered on behalf of the citizens of his city by Dr. Edward E. Haddock, mayor of Richmond, during the San Antonio Conference last November at which delegates hung a huge banner in the ballroom with the words "Richmond Next Year!" emblazoned on it.

This will be the first time the Con-

(Continued on page 263)

Lots of Sights in Store for Conference-Goers

Those attending this year's National Conference on Government will have an opportunity to see many famous American shrines, including the state capitol designed by Thomas Jefferson. Within easy driving distance of Richmond are Williamsburg with its colonial capitol and Charlottesville with its Monticello, home of Jefferson, and the University of Virginia campus.

The Jefferson Hotel, scene of the Conference, is a picturesque building with the charm and tradition of the Old South. Its block-long lobby is one of the world's largest, containing numerous historical documents and art treasures. The hotel has excellent facilities for conventions and its rooms are comfortable and attractive.

Briefing 75 Richmond civic leaders (most of whom are not shown) on plans for the 1953 Conference is Allen H. Seed, Jr., the League's director of field services. Seated at right are Mayor Edward E. Haddock, foreground, and L. E. Marlowe, former president of the Richmond Citizens Association.

Study of NML Operations Approved

Examination of the League's operations and future opportunities for service to civic action has been begun by direction of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Joseph E. McLean

Dr. Joseph E. McLean, associate professor of politics at Princeton University, author and consultant to civic groups and to federal, state and local agencies, has been retained to make the study.

The executive committee approved a plan, suggested by a group of authorities meeting informally March 6 in Washington during the convention of the American Society for Public Administration, under which a tentative report by Dr. McLean will be discussed at a two- or three-day meeting of a small group of civic leaders, political scientists, authorities on public administration and one or more persons professionally engaged in civic and research work.

A revision of the report is then to be circulated to officers and members of the Council for final discussion and action at the annual meeting of the Council November 9 in connection with the National Conference on Government at Richmond.

Dr. McLean is the author of several books, booklets and articles on government. Among them is a pamphlet entitled *Politics Is What You Make It*, which was awarded a first-place tie by the American Heritage Foundation for the most educational booklet produced during the 1952 national nonpartisan register and vote campaign.

States' Rights Article Widely Distributed

Wide distribution of reprints of Richard L. Neuberger's article, "Toward Winning States' Rights," which appeared in the February REVIEW, has been made by friends of the League during the past two months. The article points up the need for strengthening the states in order to check the flow of power toward Washington.

The article has been distributed to legislators in many states and in Hawaii and Puerto Rico, to delegates to the state constitutional convention in Tennessee, to all members of the Citizens Constitution Committee in Florida, to the Governor's Joint Committee on Reorganization of the State Government in Oklahoma, to newspaper editors and to statewide civic organizations.

One of the earliest reactions to the article was an editorial in *The Des Moines Register*. It said, in part: "If the trend toward centralization of power in Washington is ever to be reversed, the 'states' righters,' north and south, will have to take the lead in helping the states assume their responsibilities."

One of the most impressive sights in historic Richmond, scene of the 1953 National Conference on Government, is the State Capitol, designed by Thomas Jefferson.

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Editorial Comment

Do Our Schools Fear Freedom?

WE AMERICANS have never been a particularly shy people. We have always been proud of our heritage of liberty and our great material progress, and we haven't been a bit slow about telling ourselves and others how democratic we are. Today our words about the rights of man are starting to sound a little hollow and, while we are trying to sell other parts of the world on the value of democracy, it might be well for us to take a more critical look at ourselves. Do we really believe in human freedom and dignity as much as we say we do? If you think so, then you might be surprised by some of the findings disclosed by the Purdue University Opinion Panel. This organization recently conducted a poll to discover what the high-school-age group thinks of freedom.

Fifty-eight per cent of those polled agreed that police may be justified in giving a man the "third degree" to make him talk. Thirty-three per cent said that persons who refuse to testify against themselves either should be made to talk or severely punished—while another 20 per cent were uncertain. Twenty-five per cent of the teen-agers would prohibit the right of people to assemble peaceably, saying that some groups should not be allowed to hold public meetings. Twenty-six per cent believed the police should be allowed in some cases to search a person or his home without a warrant. Fifteen per cent would deny to a criminal the right to have a lawyer and only 45 per cent believe that newspapers should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets.

All the rights outlined above are guaranteed Americans by their Bill of Rights. While few teen-agers would favor abolition of the Bill, their answers indicate that they aren't so willing to put it into practice.

The foregoing comprises a small part of the results discovered by the Purdue panel. These results are by no means conclusive for the entire United States, but they indicate that were many of our rights put on a ballot, an alarming number of teen-agers would vote to throw them away.

What's the explanation for this trend in totalitarian thinking among American high school students?

Educational institutions must shoulder part of the blame. In a deeper sense, so should parents and other private citizens. We have permitted political opportunists and hysterical anti-Communists to single out our schools and colleges and question their right to teach freely and without direction from the state. In one small town all books on communism were removed from the local library. One of our great midwestern universities was threatened with investigation because its curriculum included, among many others, courses in Marxian economics.

Another university insisted that its faculty members take loyalty oaths or suffer loss of tenure. When the university lost some of its best men because they resented this implied lack of faith in their patriotism, the loyalty oath requirement was abolished by the courts, but not before it had done its damage.

The inevitable outcome of these invasions of educational freedom has been to make many teachers afraid of teaching conflicting theories of government and freedom to their students. An example of the fear of "freedom subjects" that now pervades schools was shown by the Purdue Opinion Panel group. After looking at the questions the university panel wanted to put to their students, several school administrators frankly implied that they were afraid to ask questions dealing with communism and the power of government.

High school students of today are not going to be able to weigh the merits of "isms" if parents and teachers alike fail to explain the values of democratic rights. Respect for human dignity and justice does not come naturally to anyone. It results from repeated teaching and a fundamental belief in the right of educational institutions to teach without direction or pressure from any outside groups. Former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes once warned, "Our institutions were not devised to bring about uniformity of opinion; if they had been, we might well abandon hope. It is important to remember . . . that 'the essential characteristic of true liberty is that under its shelter many different types of life and character and opinion and belief can develop unmolested'."

The American Bill of Rights was not included in our Constitution as a meaningless gesture. It was written in the belief that a free people who have the right to inquire into any subject will exercise enough judgment to preserve their precious freedoms. Any limitation of this right is an admission that the people cannot be trusted to govern themselves.

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The Forces that Move Men

Government public relations counsellor must know how to tap the latent talents and energies available in the community.

By **HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM***

WHEN public relations counselling earns recognition as a learned profession meriting academic degrees, I wonder if its highest rank may not be dubbed "Doctor of Public Persuasion."

Academic or not, the public relations practitioner has a thoroughly practical job. He is employed—or, if you prefer, his services are retained—not to spend his time delving into the pure science of persuasion but to do some actual persuading in behalf of employer or client.

But, like the doctor of medicine or the lawyer or the architect, the practitioner in the field of public relations may do his clients more harm than good if he lacks adequate preparation for the task he is tackling. He must be a student of the forces that move men and of practical methods of applying those forces for the benefit both of his client and of the public at large. If his personal and professional ethics are high, he will not prostitute his skill to the service of a client contrary to the public welfare. The purveyor of public relations is not a "common carrier" required by law to accept practically all business offered to him.

In the municipal field, the able and ethical public relations officer will not only sell the city government to the citizens but will also actually sell better government to the officials by stressing the need for the maximum of worthwhile services to offer to the citizens. Such efforts will be greatly aided by establishing cooperative contacts with citizens' organizations and with the various departments of government.

I have never been rash enough to aspire to become a public relations counsel. But in my salad days, when I was green in judgment, I was rash enough on one occasion to compile from various sources a list of some of the factors that influence human behavior. This statement I presented in 1920 at an Institute on Community Leadership. Little did I then dream that about a third of a century later I would be talking on a similar theme before a group concerned especially with government public relations. But in thinking about what I would say now, I reread this community leadership talk and decided that parts of it still have enough vitality and timeliness to be worth quoting in briefer form.

In preparing the original paper on "Forces That Move Men," I depended largely, as I explained at the time, on two books by the late Edward Alsworth Ross, the University

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*Mr. Buttenheim has been editor of *The American City,* one of the leading national magazines in the field of urban government, city planning and municipal improvements, for the past 41 years. He is an honorary vice president of the National Municipal League, chairman of the municipal planning board of his home town of Madison, New Jersey, and past president of the American Society of Planning Officials. This article is Mr. Buttenheim's address before the National Conference on Government in San Antonio, November 17, 1952.

of Wisconsin's eminent professor of sociology. Dr. Ross gave me permission to steal from these books with the utmost freedom; indeed, he intimated that this was a form of theft of which he heartily approved. So, if any of you have read Ross's monumental *Principles of Sociology* or his earlier work, *Social Control,* and an occasional phrase has a familiar sound, don't try to impeach me for unauthorized plagiarism.

Forces to Enlist

The greatest force, perhaps, that the community leader can enlist is the ambition inherent in every normal human being to be of some use in the world. This sense of duty, or desire to serve his fellowmen, can be made a wonderful power for civic progress. Individuals who seem to lack this service motive will usually be found to be lacking in imagination. Community leadership becomes a high form of art when the leader can lift into view that which to many of his townspeople has been below the horizon. Dr. Ross maintained that the most stupendous enterprise of all time is the campaign against the unsocial self. If he were alive today, I feel sure he would urge local cooperation with such an organization as the American Association for the United Nations in the annual celebration, for example, of United Nations Week as one means of lifting local sights above a restricted horizon.

But underneath the structure of service to one's city, we may very properly set a foundation built of enlightened self-interest. The merchant who serves on a good roads committee of his local chamber of commerce is doing no less a service to the farmers of the county because their coming to town over the improved highway may increase the merchant's sales. Nor is the lawyer lacking either in civic spirit or in enlightened self-interest when he helps carry a bond issue for a new high school building in which his children and those of his neighbors may be prepared for intelligent and useful citizenship.

One of the most powerful of the motives which the community leader should study and use is the desire of mankind for fame or for an immortality of influence. Ingratitude for public service has frequently caused the loss to a city of future gifts of time or money; while the stimulus that a municipality or a civic organization can supply, through public recognition of extraordinary benefits, is incalculable. By bestowing public attention and marks of distinction for notable gifts or services, a city can secure benefits that if paid for in public funds would entail prodigious burdens of taxes. Much can be accomplished for civic progress not only by recognition of deeds done but by inducing the community to admire and aspire to the social type.

Someone said to Napoleon that the ribbons and crosses of his Legion of Honor were mere toys. Napoleon's reply was: "You call these toys? Well, you manage man with toys."

Is it beyond our power to devise means for making the services of peace as stimulating to the imagination and as satisfying to the craving for recognition as are the exploits of war?

The love of mankind for ceremony is too seldom used as a stimulus to civic progress. In my 1920 paper I quoted a suggestion by Dr. Henry E. Jackson, formerly of the U. S. Bureau of Education, that good citizenship could be stimulated in every community throughout the United States if there were held annually on the Fourth of July or some other public holiday an imposing ceremony of welcoming to citizenship every person in the community who had attained voting age during the preceding twelve months. Such a ceremony might well include also all citizens of foreign birth who had become naturalized during the same period. In "Citizenship Days" and in other ways this idea has spread considerably during the last three decades.

Competition Motive

Another motive that the thoughtful civic leader will not overlook is that of competition. This motive may find its outlet in the clever use of rivalry among groups within the city in working for the city's welfare, and in stimulating the kind of competition among cities which concerns itself not merely with population growth but with those things that make a city really great. Such rivalry uses for civic purposes the tremendous power of ambition and the universal delight in a contest; and it is the very best kind of competition, for it benefits all who take part in it.

The forces that move men include not only such motives as we have enumerated but a host of community standards as well. Public opinion, for example, acts both as a deterrent to unsocial acts and as a stimulus to private morality and public service. Organized citizenship can do much for its city in constantly raising community standards. Indeed, Dr. Ross goes so far as to say that standards are, perhaps, the most important things in society. A growing number of communities have attained standards of housing, of education, of public health or of good government which prevent or reduce greatly the encroachment of undesirable conditions that in other communities are taken as a matter of course. To enlighten a community as to better standards established elsewhere, and to help in abolishing local standards that have become antiquated, are important tasks of community leadership. Good standards which have evolved through local custom may often be maintained and strengthened by legal safeguards.

Closely related to public standards is public morality and the desire for fair play. In a campaign for adequate pay for school teachers, perhaps the strongest appeal that can be made is that of justice to the teacher and a square deal for the children. Such an appeal, if properly made, will overcome unthinking demands for budget-slashing based on too niggardly a standard of public expenditures. It must be recognized, however, that public morality is generally higher within any given group than between groups. There are codes of honor which disappear at the edge of the group. But if we can persuade men to enlarge their group boundaries, we can raise standards appreciably.

Imitation of the actions or inactions of others is another force that moves men—and that sometimes moves them to stand still. The power

(Continued on page 223)

Inevitable Urge to Be Bright

Press philosopher muses on the ways in which political democracy is getting sadly mixed up with pious anarchy.

By WILLIAM A. CALDWELL*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—For the benefit of those who may not be aware that Governor Thomas E. Dewey recently recommended the city manager plan as a way to save the city of New York from its follies, it should be pointed out that ambitious politicians there are in a great dither. Mr. Halley is a candidate for mayor.

TO Rudolph Halley for solace is recommended what the theater-trunk tomcat told mehitabel. As archie, the cockroach, reported it to Don Marquis:

mehitabel he says
both our professions
are being ruined
by amateurs

So there on the radio was Mr. Halley talking as an expert—as a connoisseur of political corruption and as president of the New York City Council—about New York's astounding acquiescence in government by slobs. One of his interviewers, affecting the childlike simplicity which is supposed to unmask so many fine pretensions, asked him what he proposed should be done to correct this. Halley said institute city manager government. The interviewers really went after him.

Now, no one is any longer under any delusions about city management's being the automatic foolproof cure for what's wrong with American politics. In the last twenty years we have been compelled to settle for these truths: that no form of government is so rotten that good men can't govern well within its framework, that no system can produce good government if it's manned by crooks or schmoes. But it has been demonstrated in scores of cities—now actually a majority of the nation's big cities—that, other factors being equal, the city manager form yields the highest return on the tax dollar. This is not a matter of speculation or opinion. It's a fact. The proofs are available—by the ton.

But here Halley was compelled to sit being plied with parlor-Socrates questions:

"Hm-m-m; yes, the manager himself may be good. . . . But who appoints the manager?"

The municipal government, of course.

"And so he'd be no better than the people elected to run the government?"

You can see the direction this was taking. Pretty soon Halley would be backed into a corner admitting city management can rise no higher than its source; therefore the city manager form is no better than the most abject ape on the municipal council; therefore there's no point in adopting management; therefore we're really better off the way things are.

One of the apparently ineradicable curses of our century was represented in that half-hour interview. To re-

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*Mr. Caldwell, assistant editor of the *Bergen Evening Record* of Hackensack, New Jersey, is author of its daily column, "Simeon Stylites." The article above is taken from his column of February 16, 1953.

duce it to the essentials that must thread through your life too, there was a man who knows what he's talking about being subjected to criticism and correction or indeed defeat by a gaggle of well meaning ignoramuses who don't know, as far as city management is concerned, which way a clock goes.

Perhaps this is one of the prices we must consent to pay for democracy. Perhaps it represents a healthy resistance to the authoritarian. We do not think so.

It seems to this reporter that many of us are getting political and economic democracy—the right to take a hand in our government, the right to equality of opportunity in making a living—mixed up with matters in which democracy is not possible. What we're getting is a pious anarchy.

The City Manager

To stick to city management for just a moment longer, it is not a fact that the city manager is just another piece of blubber like a mayor or one of the illiterate jays we keep electing to municipal councils. There's a profession of city management. It has its organization, its standards, its ethics. In a way roughly analogous to the F. B. I., it makes a man prove he's quite a man before it'll even let him ask in. Most managers start life as engineers or statisticians or accountants. They don't get exposed to professional politics until long after their techniques and habits are matured. Normally they are brought into a town strangers, through some competitive elimination process. No matter what politician selects a manager, it goes without saying he's a better man than the politician. That's that.

He knows how to manage things professional politicians barely suspect exist—bonds, refinancing, machinery, short-term paper, pinochle-playing bums in the outlying municipal offices and plants, traffic, welfare, the works. City management always does it better. So we let people ask shrewd questions calculated to make it sound silly.

If you take your car to the garage or your liver to the doctor's office you go prepared to accept a judgment. The garage man says there's a perforation in the fuel-pump diaphragm, and you yield. The doctor says he's going to half-sole your liver. Ah, well, you say. You do not observe that this is authoritarianism. You don't ask him who the hell he thinks he is, because you know.

In certain fields we understand that wholly irrelevant is the fact that—as guaranteed in the constitution and the bill of rights—we're as good a man as he is.

But in certain other fields, these being the most important of all fields, we have yet to yield to this perfectly overwhelming truth.

Where politics and government are concerned we consider ourselves as ripely qualified to entertain an opinion as Winston Churchill or Bernard Baruch or indeed Pat Reilly. Where schools are concerned, you can find in any ginmill or billiard parlor a dozen boobs who haven't had an idea in 25 years but who are equal to and cancel out John Dewey. In the graphic arts, the social sciences, music, child rearing, the theater—in the places where our decision must be right or we perish—the jackass stands the peer of the saint, the sage, even the merely competent.

This is the revolt against authoritarianism, but it turns out (as do so many revolutions) not to terminate an evil but to supplant it with a worse. It is bad enough to be dominated by an elite, any elite, presiding over anything in human existence. It is infinitely worse to be tyrannized by ignorance, immaturity, archness, the smug peevishness—the girl who can't read a note but knows what she likes and that makes her same as Johann Sebastian Bach. The tomcat was right. We're being ruined by amateurs, mehitabel.

THE FORCES THAT MOVE MEN

(Continued from page 220)

of local customs may conserve standards both good and bad. The community leader must recognize this imitative faculty in mankind and manipulate it for good ends. He must not stir up needless opposition by urging his community to jump ahead too fast, but he must not let local progress be balked at every turn by local ignorance of what is going on in the world. The best ammunition that a local leader can have in urging progress in any direction is definite knowledge of what other communities have done successfully along the same line. The power of precedent can thus be invoked to overcome local prejudices. As Dr. Ross once pointed out, "If we can ultimately do *everywhere* what is now being done with success *somewhere,* the world will be remade."

The 'We' Feeling

Finally, many a useful organization has been injured and many a municipal department has been handicapped by an institutionalism that has robbed it too much of the human factor and has substituted system for personality. System must be the servant rather than the master of the community leader. The "we" feeling must not be crushed out of any group that is to preserve its morale and enlarge its usefulness. Where a genial feeling of comradeship in a good cause is skillfully built up and maintained, there can come to the membership of an organization or to the officials and employees of a municipality the inspiration for so developing their city that the activities of today may have an influence for good on the life of the community for all time to come.

As I see it, therefore, the job of government public relations involves much more than the fixing of responsibility for preparing newspaper releases, radio programs and annual reports; if genuinely interested in serving and bettering his city, state or nation the public relations counsel or officer will always have in mind the basic forces that move men.

Just as there is no limit, seemingly, to civic improvement needs, so there is no limit to latent talents and energies waiting to be tapped for civic improvement undertakings. It is a major job of government public relations—and a challenge it is—to help evolve and work out key approaches to unlocking this store of talent and energy for public purposes.

To that end, may we all become Doctors of Public Persuasion.

Attracting Industry to Cities

Adequate municipal services constitute greatest inducement which local governments can extend as factor for location.

By LAWRENCE DURISCH*

THE industrial employed and those in trades and services are, in the main, residents of cities and towns or of adjacent suburban areas. It is in the towns that most new industrial plants are being built. It is in the urban areas that existing industrial facilities are being expanded.

In our private enterprise system new locations are chosen primarily on the basis of long-run profit considerations. However, no precise or complete formula for determining such considerations exists. Certain basic locational conditions must be satisfied. They may include, for example, the availability of markets, raw materials, labor supply or any one or combination of the needs of a particular industry. But often these basic requirements can be met in several or even many locations. In such instances the final location decision may be made on the basis of secondary factors. It is the existence of these secondary considerations which poses the question: Can local government services influence the location of industry?

Under certain circumstances governmental service can and will determine the choice between or among several locations, all of which meet basic or fundamental requirements of the industry. Some few industries are relatively "foot loose" and can, if they choose, respond to the locational pull of clean, attractive cities. Such industries may actually be community oriented. They, of course, are few in number but desirable additions to the economic life of towns which secure them.

The role of local government in industrial location too often is thought of only in terms of one of the more spectacular and controversial phases of the subject. The desire on the part of local leaders to do something "tangible" has served to center attention on municipal financing of industrial undertakings and to related special considerations or subsidy. This aspect of the locational problem is not at all new—with no difficulty the origin of the practice can be traced to colonial times. During the period of railroad building many communities issued general obligation bonds to render assistance to the companies and to influence the location of rights of way.

Community financing of new industry has received impetus and relatively recent legislative status in such states as Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee. This year, on the other hand, the voters of Arkansas rejected an enabling law to permit first and second class cities to levy a property tax to promote new

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*Dr. Durisch, with the Tennessee Valley Authority since 1934, has been chief of TVA's Government Research, Division of Regional Studies, for the past ten years. He has taught political science at the Universities of Nebraska and Tennessee. This article is reprinted from the Municipal Technical Advisory Service section of the February 1953 *Tennessee Town & City,* published by the Tennessee Municipal League.

industries. The controversy centering around industrial subsidies in their modern form burns brightly. The practice is currently condemned by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, the Investment Bankers Association of America and many others. The charge of socialism and communism is levied against it, with all the vigor of campaign oratory. The practice is defended by important segments of industry and by many local leaders. The defense is often based on the pragmatic statement "it works."

The point I would emphasize is that such bond issues constitute but one phase or one part of the role of local government in industrial development. They tend to obscure the less glamorous but more basic services local administration provides to industry.

The real role of local government is to help create a total environment in which people can live and work. This may not be as exciting as granting of subsidies, and it presents an infinitely more difficult administrative problem. Between providing a building and a good police department or an adequate city plan, the first is much the easier. But lasting progress lies in the direction of basic services. The most important role that local government can play, the most important contribution it can make to industrial development, is to perform well its regular functions of government. Like many things which we take for granted, it is in danger of being overlooked. We should never lose sight of the very real relationships of sound institutions of local government to business and industry and to society generally.

Recently a group of political scientists, including representatives of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee, issued a pamphlet on local government services and industrial development in the southeast. The brief study sought to identify various services of local government which industry considers important. The result was a listing of almost all significant municipal functions: property protection including both fire and police, public schools and facilities for employee training, public health and hospital facilities, housing, local transportation, water and electric utilities, both publicly managed and those which are privately operated and publicly regulated, recreation, and planning and zoning as they affect the availability of industrial sites and the convenience of industrial areas. To these may be added the special inducements and assistance in financing previously mentioned.

Services Affect Locations

It is not difficult to find examples of industrial locations which have been influenced by local governmental services. One town was told rather bluntly by an industry which located elsewhere: "There is nothing wrong with your town as an industrial location that a good city government would not cure." One industry was engaged in a locational survey of a Tennessee city during a session of the state legislature. Representatives of the industry were amazed and dismayed at the flood of local bills, applicable to the city but about which its citizens had no voice, introduced into the legislature. The industry concluded that the affairs of the city lacked stability, that location there involved risks that a prudent industry should not take. Accordingly, the new plant was established elsewhere, thereby providing another compelling argument for municipal home rule.

Another city injured its chances in a locational competition by the assessment it proposed to levy on the plant if constructed. Surprisingly, the industry considered the assessment too low. This is perhaps not as altruistic on the part of the industry as it may appear. The industry knew the proposed assessment was unreasonably low and thereby gained a poor impression of the method of doing business adopted by the city officials. The industry representatives were wise enough to realize that assessments can be changed, and in their case revision could and surely would be upward—perhaps in a brief time.

No phase of industrial management has received more attention in recent years than the welfare of employees. Plants dependent upon attracting and retaining high type personnel are compelled to consider community factors in making locational decisions. When a new plant is established it is often essential that old employees of the company, those in supervisory or other key positions, move to the new location and settle there. One company was recently dismayed to find that four out of five of its transferred employees resigned in a matter of months after coming to the new location—the reason, they didn't like the schools and other community facilities in the town. The result was a difficult operational period for the company.

Few cities or towns realize completely the value of being known as a good town in which to live and work. The case for community services as a factor which must be taken into account by established businesses and by those who seek new locations is well summarized by Louis B. Lundborg, vice president of the Bank of America:

> There is not a business—not a profession—in any community in America that does not share directly in dollars-and-cents profit or loss from the improvement or the deterioration in (1) the physical condition of the city's physical plant, (2) the quality of service rendered by the city and other governmental agencies, (3) the quality of service rendered by civic and social agencies, and (4) the availability of community resources and facilities to improve the physical, mental and moral health of the populace.

Aids to Industrial Development

It is often asserted that what local government does to aid industrial development is done in the interest of the entire community. The reverse of this reasoning is equally true, whatever local government does for the entire community aids industrial development. The reciprocal benefits of sound economic development and improved community life are well established. Where municipal financing of industrial undertakings is undertaken or other special inducements offered, the standards by which such practices must be judged are the same as for all other services which have a special clientele group—the responsibility of local government runs always to the entire com-

(Continued on page 262)

The Party in Local Affairs

Great Britain's tradition of nonpartisan politics in communities now supplanted by national party control.

By **LASHLEY G. HARVEY***

THE British achievement in obtaining responsible parliamentary government through political parties which campaign on programs rather than personalities is the envy of students of government the world over. Many Americans cast longing eyes at British practices and urge reorganization of Congress and political parties, hoping to achieve greater political responsibility.

A battle of pens rages between those who advocate greater central control of political parties in the British manner and those who support traditional decentralization. Although this quarrel is an old one, it flared into open dispute in 1950 when a report of a committee of the American Political Science Association, *Toward a More Responsible Two-party System,*[1] advocated greater control of our political parties at the national level.

There is no attempt in the discussion which follows to enter this controversy, since the disputants are usually concerned with party organization and its responsibility and not with the impact of political parties upon local government and its survival as a democratic institution. It has long been the feeling in the United States that local self-government should be and is to a large degree independent of national party politics. This is a part of our British heritage, but as a tradition it is rooted in the past and claims no relation to present British attitudes toward the role of national parties in local government.

In the present dispute over central versus decentralized control of political parties the proponents of central control have been criticized for drawing upon British experience as a desirable model. They are also challenged on the assumption that Congress will become more responsible as has the British Parliament. The question remains, could a political party with centralized control, faced with present social and economic pressures, refrain from trying to influence local government policy so essential for the implementation of national programs? If one turns for an answer to the British experience since 1945, it would have to be in the negative, for British national parties since that date have striven to control county and borough councils as well as parliament. Nonpartisan local government is giving way to centralized party control perhaps as an accompaniment of administrative centralization.

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*Dr. Harvey is director of the Bureau of Public Administration of Boston University and chairman of its Department of Government. He recently was on leave for a year, which he spent at the London School of Economics and Political Science, lecturing and conducting research under a Fulbright award.

[1] Supplement to the *American Political Science Review,* September 1950. For a criticism on this point of view see Murray S. Stedman and Herbert Sonthoff, "Party Responsibility — A Critical Inquiry," *Western Political Quarterly,* September 1951.

In the spring of 1952 the Labor party captured twelve counties, eleven county boroughs, sixteen noncounty boroughs, twenty-nine urban districts and four rural districts. In many cases the Labor victories meant only the defeat of independent candidates who were reluctant to fight under national party banners. It was a marked swing away from Conservative control in those councils in which national party labels are recognized.

Actually, Labor won control of only twelve of 62 counties in England and Wales and of 641 seats on municipal councils out of a total of 3,300. These victories have been interpreted as much as a protest vote against Conservative party control of Parliament as local victories for the Labor party. The significant point is the decline of nonpartisan politics and the growing importance of national parties in local elections.

Local Councils

The nineteenth century reform measures which established councils for all local areas, including counties, made them entirely dependent upon voluntary councillor services with compensation for out-of-pocket expenses only. Under such an arrangement laborers had to look to middle-class persons, who were willing to donate their time to council work, as their representatives. The real revolution came with the extension of the franchise by the acts of 1945 and 1948 which gave the masses the vote in local elections for the first time. Age and residence were made the prime qualification.

Lacking sufficient leadership outside the Labor party, the laborer-voter turned to his national party organization for guidance. As a participant in parliamentary elections he received direction from Transport House in London and its local agent in his precinct. It was natural that this association would continue after he was permitted not only to vote for local councillors but also to become a council member.

Until recently all local councils in England and Wales and many in Scotland had these things in common: (1) They were responsible to the local electorate, (2) membership was strictly an avocation and a community service, (3) councils were compendious authorities performing a wide range of functions, separate local authorities for single services being the exception, (4) collectively the council was responsible for both formation of policy and for its execution, and (5) they were authorized to vote the necessary revenues for local services.

The mayor was usually chosen annually from among members of the council. If chosen from outside their number, the only requirement was that of meeting the qualifications of a councillor. His responsibilities were largely ceremonial, except that he presided at meetings of the council.

Since the council's emergence in the nineteenth century, its real work has always been done in committee. Membership on committees was not confined to those elected to the council but included others chosen by a system of "cooption." This has brought to local government many with special qualifications, such as engineers for the public works committee, school teachers for the education committee and doctors for the public health committee. Through cooption many who had been defeated at the polls achieved places on the council's committees.

As long as the councils remained in the hands of the more aristocratic elements in the community, local party labels, important at election time, lost their significance around the committee conference table. Committee recommendations for final approval of the whole council represented a synthesis or compromise of personal points of view. The committee system not only developed administrative policy but also provided supervision of departments. This meant, in effect, that every administrative department was headed by a body not unlike a board. Directly beneath the committee was its head administrative officer, appointed by the committee with council approval and subject to removal.[2] With the postwar development of local government civil service, the department head is now more likely to be selected by examination, although he is still supervised by the committee.

Under this system of committees little coordination is achieved except by the finance committee and the so-called party group. Coordination of administration, such as it is, is largely through the efforts of the clerk who, possessing no legal coercive power, must depend upon persuasion. As clerk of all committees he is the only administrator with a comprehensive knowledge of the will of the entire council.

Pattern Modified

Party government has greatly modified the operation of the pattern. The Labor party has set the model and the Conservatives tend to follow it. From its London offices the Labor party issues model standing orders for party government of local councils. Although they are not rigidly observed in detail they are followed in principle. All party members on the council form a "party group," and the "group meeting" of the party in power is the committee on strategy. It is at this point that the national party's local organization influences most emphatically the party in control of the council. The Labor party model standing orders provide for attendance at council group meetings of three party members outside the council. This permits complete integration of the council's party group policy with the national party's objectives.

The party in power chooses the mayor, usually not on a party basis. It also chooses a number of aldermen from the council membership, who have their term extended from three to six years without constituting themselves into a second chamber. Party considerations are uppermost in their selection.

The "group" leader has no official status but acts as the party floor leader at meetings of the council. He may preside at group meetings but is more likely to take part in the discussion. In the final presentation of party measures he has authority over tactics consistent with the group consensus. In large councils he may be assisted by a policy committee, but in any council his work is arduous since group meetings are called before every council meeting and he dare not be absent.

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[2] This feature is considered a virtue in Britain, but has proved unworkable in the United States. See W. A. Robson "Labor and Local Government," *London Political Quarterly,* January 1953, page 54.

Service on local councils in Britain is time-consuming; it is not uncommon for committees and councils to be in session all night. Numerous meetings, both day and night, play havoc with Labor members who often find it necessary to withdraw. Wherever the Labor party has gained control the time devoted to meetings is greatly reduced.

Central Party Direction

Labor members are much more likely to seek and receive direction from central party headquarters but local Conservatives are not without central direction. Both parties also publish elaborate campaign manuals for local elections which supply direction for local policy. They both have research staffs which continually produce studies and briefs to guide local councillors although local parties do not rely solely on "handouts" from the London offices.

Local headquarters usually issue their own manifestoes or platforms and supply campaign guides to party workers. For example, the manual, *The Labor Party Speaker's Notes: Local Elections 1952,* is filled with parliamentary accomplishments in matters traditionally local, such as education, health, welfare and sanitation and emphasizes accomplishments in housing, living costs and general economic improvement. Following the national victory in 1945 Labor leaders stressed the importance of winning local councils in order to carry out the national program. This, of course, is not to say that there are no local issues in local elections and no purely local leaders who do not act as national party agents. Local issues are important, but urban and county councils make fewer strictly local decisions.

In 1936 main highways were removed from county council control to that of the central government. The mileage transferred by the act of 1946 doubled road mileage under national control and included city streets in most of the large cities including London. The National Health Service Act transferred all local hospitals to the Minister of Health. The Transport Act of 1947 authorized the Transport Commission to transfer to regional schemes all municipal tramways and motorbus operations. With the nationalization of power in 1947 and gas in 1948 the larger cities and towns lost control of these utilities. The National Assistance Act of 1948 greatly altered local concern with welfare.

But local government's greatest loss to the central government came with the transference by the Local Government Act of 1948 to the Minister of Inland Revenue the authority for assessment and valuation of property for purposes of taxation. This, coupled with the increasing dependence of local government upon grants-in-aid, has deprived local councils of their basic reason for existence.

Although local government has lost to the central government, it gained new services over which it exercises a great deal if not absolute control. For example, in 1947 local governments were permitted to provide civic restaurants, town and country planning powers were increased in 1949, and their powers over underprivileged children were increased in 1948. However, these slight gains hardly compensate for the loss of local control over the wide variety of subjects formerly under their authority. Coordination of local with national policy is an important consideration.

National vs. Local Issues

The most obvious objection to party control over local government in Britain is that local elections can be won or lost over national instead of local issues. The defeat of the Conservative party in many of the counties in 1952 was attributed to a rise in transportation fares throughout Britain and to the announcement by the Conservative Government of further economies in the family budget. This was a far cry from the pressing local questions of housing, schools and town development plans discussed by some candidates in the local elections. As party leaders were given radio time by the British Broadcasting Company for campaigning in both county and municipal elections, there was a tendency to overstress national issues and even national programs which had no direct bearing on local government.

Those who favor freedom of decisions by locally elected councils resent direction from central party offices. Public officials in Britain, however, strongly support party control. Party battles fought in the open identify leaders, policies are announced and some coordination is attainable by the political party group in the council. Since British local government has not been streamlined as has its American counterpart by the election of small strictly deliberative councils and strong mayors, or by appointive managers, party organization may be needed for better coordination. In the United States our cities, because of their more simple and direct government, have not felt the need for national party responsibility. It would seem that with Britain's extensive social and nationalization programs central party control is inevitable. Emphasis upon equalization of standard of services throughout Britain could be forced only by strong central authority.

Local government in Britain today is not local self-government in the sense it was before World War II. Were we in the United States to follow the advice of the proponents of central control of political parties, with power to discipline state and local leaders, could we assume that this discipline would be applied only when national policies were involved? Would we not discover that the national political party would want to gain control over city councils and county commissioners and that pressure for national uniformity might place local government in a straitjacket, reducing local decisions to a minimum, as has been the case in Britain since the war?

Advocates of centralized control over political parties in the United States, in their sincere battle for responsible government, make no provision for preservation of local self-government. This omission stands in the way of acceptance by the great mass of American citizens who wish to preserve the right to experiment locally and provide the type of local services demanded by the community.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

N. Y. City Survey Committee Reports

A City Administrator Plan Is Recommended

CULMINATING three years of work by a large number of experts, at a cost of nearly $2,200,000, the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, in New York City, rendered its final report on March 29 in summary form, followed by more detailed sections issued day by day until April 10.

Without proposing a change in the general governmental setup of mayor, board of estimate, city council and five boroughs, the report urges employment of a general administrator to correlate all administrative activities. Other major recommendations include a new budget system, a semi-autonomous transit authority, a revamped personnel system with payroll economies, and new formulas of state and federal aid.

The 28-member committee was appointed by former Mayor William O'Dwyer and began its task in January 1950. Its chairman has been Lazarus Joseph, the city's comptroller. The technical studies have been directed by Dr. Luther Gulick. The full recommendations are contained in two volumes totaling 1,200 pages, wherein are summarized 62 reports of consultants on various departments and problems.

General Manager Proposed

The mayor would be relieved of detailed administrative duties by his appointment of a director of administration and the creation of a management cabinet consisting of the mayor, deputy mayor, director of administration, director of the budget, corporation counsel and representatives of the city planning and civil service commissions.

The director of administration is likened to a general manager who would coordinate the various departments and maintain "a two-way channel facilitating the flow of information, problems and decisions between the departments and the mayor."

This is the third proposal for some type of manager coming from authoritative sources in the last three months. The first was from the Citizens Union of the City of New York;[1] the second was from Governor Dewey of New York State.[2] The proposals of the Citizens Union and of the survey committee do not conform to the council-manager plan as defined and advocated by the National Municipal League and the International City Managers' Association, inasmuch as the manager would not be appointed by an elected city council, and the mayor, besides appointing the manager, would retain much executive responsibility, along with other members of the board of estimate. Governor Dewey urged establishment by the state legislature of a commission (which has been done) to study the city's governmental structure and draft a manager proposal, which might be a further modification of the standard form.

The management cabinet would hold weekly meetings; the director of administration would prepare the agenda for these and would execute cabinet policy. The deputy mayor would represent the mayor on the board of estimate and would take over a large part of the mayor's ceremonial duties.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 134.
[2] See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 179.

Separation of operational from managerial functions is sought, with a considerable degree of autonomy recommended for the various operating departments. There would be one such for each function, although the committee recognizes that this would require 40 to 50 individual departments. It asserts that such a structure can be "managed and coordinated effectively provided the top management acts as a governmental directorate and keeps out of detailed operations." Each department would have a number of new, well paid management positions, including a combined budget officer and comptroller, a personnel officer, a business manager or deputy where necessary, a program aid and a public relations officer.

The committee urged the general adoption of a program budget instead of the prevailing line budget; some progress in this direction is now being made.

In the taxation field several sources of revenue are discussed, without definite recommendation.

A transit authority of three citizens, appointed by the mayor and serving part time, with a manager in charge of operations, is recommended. Fares would be expected to cover operating expenses but not debt service; however, the authority would have discretion to consider "a satisfactory balance between maximum use of the transit facilities and the revenue needed." This recommendation is academic now, inasmuch as the board of estimate has accepted a transit authority prescribed by Governor Dewey[3] in connection with the city's financial needs; this body, which takes office July 1, 1953, includes two members appointed by the mayor and two by the governor, with a fifth to be chosen by the others, or otherwise to be the present chairman of the New York Port Authority.

The position of personnel administrator, appointed by the civil service commission with the approval of the mayor, would be created to relieve the commission of administrative duties other than over-all responsibility. The survey committee also recommends reclassification of city positions, revising of salary schedules and establishment of uniform pension arrangements as against the sixteen existing retirement systems.

Payroll savings of $12,000,000 to $25,000,000 are estimated as possible within a year, and further savings are envisaged, up to 10 per cent of the city's present payroll of $737,000,000. These claims are vigorously disputed in a minority report signed by the present budget director, four other past and present city officials and two other members.

Increase in state and federal aid, to the extent of $64,000,000 per annum, is proposed, especially as regards highways and the education of a flood of recent immigrants from Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

Another proposal is that the city colleges be taken into the state's university system. A suggestion that the city's welfare work be taken over by the state was considered but rejected, unless city-state relationships cannot be adjusted along lines urged by the committee.

Rhode Island Court Curbs Home Rule

An advisory opinion of the Rhode Island Supreme Court threw four cities with new home rule charters into confusion by declaring the provisions for nonpartisan election of their city councils invalid. Basis for the opinion, requested by the legislature, is a provision of the Rhode Island constitution that the legislature "should have full power to describe the manner of conducting the elections." The court held that this applies to all elections including municipal elections in charter cities despite the broad language of the home rule amendment which expresses the "intention . . . to grant and confirm to the people of every city and town in this state the right of self-government in all local matters."

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[3] See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 191.

Commissions in Newport, Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls all wrote charters providing for nonpartisan election of city councils which were overwhelmingly approved by the people. Thus the court reversed decisive official and popular interpretation of the intent of the home rule amendment which had been approved by an unprecedented popular vote of six to one throughout the state.

The Supreme Court pointed out that the legislature could validate the action of the local citizens and Governor Roberts immediately announced his support for any moves in that direction. Initial legislative reaction to such proposals was cool, as it was also to the proposal for an early call for a constitutional convention to write a new and more specific home rule amendment. Home rule proponents pointed out that while enabling legislation would take care of the immediate emergency, it would still leave the cities and towns at the mercy of a partisan legislature which could force them to go back to the old type of city council.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Elmwood Park (1950 population 18,801) and **Northbrook** (3,358), **Illinois,** adopted the council-manager plan on April 21. The vote in Elmwood Park was 3,426 to 2,800; in Northbrook, 444 to 58. **Homewood** (5,887) adopted the plan on March 28, 1,708 to 785.

Maryville, Missouri, (6,834) adopted the council-manager plan on April 21 by a vote of 852 to 693.

Southern Pines, North Carolina, (4,272) adopted the state's optional council-manager law on April 15 by a vote of 489 to 228. The plan goes into effect May 6.

Provincetown, Massachusetts, (3,745) voted on March 30 to adopt the town manager plan under a state optional law, 541 to 469. Five selectmen to be elected next February will appoint a manager.

The council-manager plan was adopted in **Marceline, Missouri,** (3,172) on April 6, by a vote of 658 to 202. The question had been defeated twice previously, in 1946 and in 1950.

The International City Managers' Association announces the following additions to the list of council-manager municipalities since January 1, not previously mentioned in the REVIEW: Three California cities—**Concord** (6,953), **Los Gatos** (4,907) and **Fairfield** (3,118); **Holidaysburg, Pennsylvania,** (6,483); **Bellevue, Washington,** (6,000); **Oak Hill** and **Spring City** (1,725), **Tennessee;** and **West Vancouver, British Columbia,** (13,990).

Ashland, New Hampshire, has voted to retain the manager plan.

Plymouth, New Hampshire, by the narrow vote of 295 to 284 on March 10, decided against adoption of the manager plan.

Derry, New Hampshire, voted 1,045 to 811 on March 10 to abandon the manager plan.

The town and the village of **Springfield, Vermont,** which have shared a manager, have voted to consolidate.

The village of **Bennington, Vermont,** voted March 17 to retain the manager plan. The town of **Bennington,** which shared a manager with the village, had voted to the contrary.

At the town meeting in **Lexington, Massachusetts,** in March it was voted to have the moderator appoint a committee of five to study the manager plan.

In **Shrewsbury, Massachusetts,** a committee has drafted a town manager charter for presentation to the legislature.

In **Lunenburg, Massachusetts,** the town manager study committee appointed by the board of selectmen has reported against immediate adoption of the manager plan but suggests the appointment of a committee to study the operation of the plan in several Massachusetts towns which recently adopted it.

Swampscott, Massachusetts, defeated a town manager proposal on March 17 by a vote of 2,622 to 1,222.

Amesbury, Massachusetts, at an election in March rejected the town manager plan for the fourth time.

A campaign was started in **Quincy, Massachusetts,** in March to replace Plan E (council-manager) by Plan A (mayor-council).

The town meeting in **Randolph, Massachusetts,** in March, voted to petition the state legislature to authorize Randolph to employ a town manager.

The chairman of the **Stonington, Connecticut,** Democratic Club has proposed the formation of a nonpartisan group to study the town manager plan.

The **Glens Falls, New York,** Chamber of Commerce is investigating the pros and cons of the manager plan.

The council-manager referendum bill for **Savannah** in the **Georgia** legislature failed to be acted upon before adjournment because of opposition of one member of the legislative delegation from Savannah's county. Action at an adjourned session in November appeared to be a possibility.

The city council of **Orlando, Florida,** has approved a committee proposal to ask the legislature to establish a charter commission.

The city council of **Lake Wales, Florida,** has been considering a council-manager charter.

Princeton, West Virginia, will vote June 2 on a council-manager proposal.

A citizens' committee in **Abbeville, Louisiana,** is working for a new charter and is interested in the manager plan. A charter commission has been appointed by the city council of **Alexandria,** in the same state.

Iron Mountain, Michigan, defeated a council-manager proposal on April 6 by a vote of 1,925 to 605. A separate vote on general charter revision was negative by 1,793 to 666.

Hartford, Wisconsin, defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 871 to 620 on April 7.

Meridian, Mississippi, voted 3,581 to 1,416 on March 17 to retain the manager plan which it has had for four years. Active campaigns were conducted for and against the plan.

The **Sikeston, Missouri,** Chamber of Commerce has authorized appointment of a committee to study the manager plan.

In **Williston, North Dakota,** the Central Labor Union is working for establishment of the council-manager plan.

Valentine, Nebraska, will vote on the question of adopting the manager plan, under the state's optional law, on May 12.

Ottawa, Kansas, on March 17 voted against the manager plan 1,700 to 1,015.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** under the council-manager plan since 1951, the entire ticket of the "San Antonians," which made the discharge of City Manager C. A. Harrell its chief campaign issue, was elected to the city council. The group defeated candidates of the Citizens Committee for Council-manager Government. The election was followed within 48 hours by the resignation of Mr. Harrell and a number of department heads.

The manager plan is under consideration in **Grand Prairie, Texas.**

A campaign for the manager plan has been in progress in **El Centro, California.**

In **Calgary, Alberta, Canada,** Alderman E. B. Lyle is urging the manager plan upon the city council.

Toronto Becomes Huge Federated Municipality

The provincial government of Ontario, Canada, has established the Municipality of Greater Toronto, with a population of nearly 1,200,000 and an area of over 240 square miles. It consists of a federation[1] of the city of Toronto (population 678,000) with twelve suburban communities with an aggregate of 513,000 people.

The metropolis is governed by a council of 24 members, made up of the mayor of Toronto, two controllers and nine aldermen of that city, and the mayors or reeves of the twelve suburbs. A chairman is appointed by the provincial government but after 1955 will be elected by the council.

The latter will have control of planning and zoning, housing, parks and recreation, major arterial routes, water supply, sewage, jails, public hospitals, homes for the aged and area-wide assessments. The local councils will look after police and fire protection and will have local taxing powers and other functions not specifically delegated to the metropolis.

A separate Metropolitan Board of Education is set up and local transportation is under a Toronto Transit Commission.

Annexations in Arizona Despite Legislative Setback

Arizona cities which desire an easier annexation procedure were disappointed when the Senate planning and development committee failed to report an alternative annexation bill for consideration by the upper house. Sponsored by members of the Arizona Municipal League, the bill as passed by the House of Representatives provided that a municipal council might call an election on the question of annexation within a given area when presented with a petition signed by at least 20 per cent of the area's real property owners. At the present time the city council can pass an annexation ordinance only after it has been presented with a petition signed by more than 50 per cent of the real property owners of the area to be added to the city.

The bill bottled up in committee was opposed by numerous cattlemen and farmers and by the private water utilities and garbage collection companies serving fringe areas which have a vested interest in the status quo.

The city of Tucson, however, expanded its boundaries for the third time in the course of the current fiscal year when it annexed a 206-acre area with an estimated population of 1,000 persons on March 2. The annexation ordinance, which went into effect in 30 days, increases the total area of the city to slightly more than ten square miles. Its population is now estimated to be over 50,000. The recent annexation was the result of a drive by municipal officials to bring more of the densely populated fringe areas, which have a population estimated at from 125,000 to 160,000, into the city of Tucson.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Montana Reorganization Measures Adopted

The program for state reorganization in Montana[1] has attained a large degree of adoption. As reported by the State Taxpayers Association in the *Montana Taxpayer*:

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[1] See also the REVIEW, April 1953, page 187.

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1953, page 34.

"As a result of the enactment of more than 40 bills proposed by the 'Little Hoover Commission,' state government in Montana is due to be reorganized and improved on a wider scale than ever before. Topping the list are bills to improve state personnel methods, consolidate state investment functions in one agency, control the use of state-owned cars, streamline accounting and budgeting procedures and bring public welfare expenditures under control. In addition, a number of unneeded agencies have been abolished, provision has been made to reduce the cost of architectural services on public jobs, and citizens directly benefiting from services performed by the state will be compelled to pay fees more nearly commensurate with the cost.

"The fact that the legislature created a permanent 'better government council' is further evidence of the success of the reorganization commission's effort.

"Publication of the commission's 90-page report was followed by the introduction of 51 bills early in the session to effectuate the recommendations. Forty-five of the bills were approved by the assembly and all but one secured the governor's endorsement. One bill was vetoed because of a conflict with existing laws."

State Reorganization Fails in Washington

Although made the subject of a special session in March, key measures of the reorganization program for the state of Washington lost by a hair's breadth. Out of eleven bills in the program nine had died in Senate committees in the regular session; two passed the Senate but did not emerge from the rules committee of the House. At the close of the regular session Governor Arthur B. Langlie immediately called a special session to consider the two bills. One was for establishment of a department of administration under the governor, to centralize financial and various other functions, including budgeting, accounting, pre-audit, purchasing, etc.[1] The other would have set up a unified merit system for state employees.

In the special session the bills passed in the Senate but lost in the House. The merit system bill received a vote of 49 to 46 in the House but passage there required 50 votes.

Election Law Improvements Adopted in New York State

The state of New York inched toward the National Municipal League's recommendations on a *Model Direct Primary Election System* when Governor Thomas E. Dewey signed several bills in April. One moved the date of primary elections from midsummer to September 15. To encourage greater participation another somewhat simplified the absurd committee system within the parties in New York City, reducing the 35,861 Democratic county committeemen to a maximum of 16,164. The Republican county committeemen numbering 12,855 are already below that minimum.

Registration practices were moved nearer to the League's *Model Registration System* by provision for automatic clearance from registration rolls in unincorporated villages and communities under 5,000 population of the name of each voter who had not voted for four years unless he responded to a postal notification and renewed his registration. It was made more convenient for voters to register centrally in New York City by permitting such registration beginning May 1 instead of June 1 each year until mid-September, a convenience intended for those who find it difficult to register during the annual registration week in October.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1953, page 34.

Numerous other attempts to improve party organization, primary practices and registration along the League's lines failed of passage, including the Halpern bill which was a local adaptation of the League's *Model Direct Primary Election System.*

R. S. C.

Revision of State Judiciary Urged by Illinois Bar

A complete new judicial article for the constitution of Illinois has been proposed by a joint committee of the Illinois State Bar Association and the Chicago Bar Association. The existing judicial article has not been changed since adoption of the 1870 constitution except in 1904, when Chicago got rid of its obsolete justices of the peace and established its municipal court.

A legislative commission was appointed in 1951 to report to the current session on needed changes in the judicial article and to this legislative commission the joint report of the bar associations has recently been submitted in two pamphlets: (1) the proposed new text with a summary in sixteen pages and (2) a larger pamphlet, called *Explanatory Statement,* of 116 pages.

The proposal follows the program of the American Judicature Society in general and is similar to the judiciary section of the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution.* It is also lined up with the recent brilliantly successful court reorganization in New Jersey. The proposal provides a single trial court in each circuit into which all present trial courts are combined, averting all arguments as to jurisdiction. This in Chicago disposes of an immense array of special courts. Above this will be an Appellate Division and the Supreme Court.

Administrative jurisdiction over all the courts under direction of the Supreme Court is provided, with rule making and management powers. Judges are to be appointed by the governor for a short term followed by submission to the voters on the question of whether the appointee should be retained for a full term (Missouri Plan). At the expiration of a judge's term, he may report readiness to serve another term subject to another vote as to his continuance. Existing terms are somewhat lengthened. Detail is taken out of the constitution to permit further changes by legislation.

R. S. C.

Commission to Study N. Y. State Court System

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York on April 11 signed a bill creating a temporary state commission of eleven members, to report to the legislature by next February its recommendations to revise and simplify the state's judiciary and to speed the administration of justice.

A prominent objective will be improvement in the method of selecting judges—a matter of such political delicacy that its inclusion in the bill almost caused its defeat by the legislature. Other problems to be studied include the easing of calendar congestion, simplification of court procedure, reduction in cost of litigation and appeals and uniform jury selection laws.

The commission will consist of two members appointed by the Senate majority leader, two by the speaker of the House and eleven by the governor, who will also name the chairman.

Iowa Legislature Rejects Move Toward Fair Representation

The Iowa House of Representatives, dominated by rural members, has defeated a bill to increase the membership of that body from 108 to 116, giving one additional representative to each of eight large counties. The bill would have been only a step in the direction of the equality of representation which was the objective of another unsuccessful bill, to divide the state into a hundred legislative districts of equal population.

Arizona, Colorado Establish Legislative Councils

The Colorado legislature has voted to set up a legislative council, with a small appropriation, to conduct research for the legislature's benefit. This move has been endorsed by the Colorado Municipal League for several years.

Governor Harold Pyle of Arizona has signed a bill passed by the legislature establishing a twelve-member legislative council, effective July 1. The new council supersedes the special legislative committee on state operations.

Preprimary Convention Law Repealed in Nebraska

After a trial in four primary elections, the pre-primary convention has been abolished in Nebraska. The election law had provided for the endorsement of candidates with the words "Endorsed by the (party) convention" after the candidate's name on the primary election ballot. Nothing prevented other aspirants from filing, but they had the disadvantage of position on the ballot below that of any endorsed candidate, and no evidence of party organization (convention) support.

The law, adopted in 1943, was first effective in the primary elections of 1946. It was intended to "guide" the voters as to party convention preferences, increase party responsibility and cohesion, and perhaps reduce a Nebraska tendency to favor "name" candidates, especially some of the more familiar Scandinavian ones. It was applicable to statewide offices and party positions and congressional district party nominations. As amended in 1949 the law specified that any endorsed candidate must have received at least 35 per cent of the votes of the convention.

In practice the endorsed candidates won with few exceptions. But the first choice of the convention, with top position on the ballot, did not always win.

The experiment had too short a life for any decisive appraisal of the effectiveness of the announced purposes by its supporters. The candidates who were endorsed were usually either incumbents or familiar to most of the voters. Some "name" candidates won nomination without any endorsement. There is evidence that the preprimary convention did not improve party responsibility in Nebraska as was hoped, nor did it measure up to the high expectations of some enthusiasts. Neither is the evidence conclusive that it was altogether a failure.

A. C. BRECKENRIDGE
University of Nebraska

N. Y. Committee to Study Permanent Registration

The great effort of the League of Women Voters and the Citizens Union of New York to secure permanent personal registration along the lines of the National Municipal League's Model Registration System failed in the New York legislature, but did result in enlisting the partial support of Governor Dewey, who publicly admitted the superior convenience to the voters of

New York City and certain other areas if annual registration could be abandoned.

He secured creation of a committee to study the election law and to prepare a bill, with adequate safeguards, permitting any community desiring to do so to adopt a system of permanent personal registration.

R.S.C.

Committee to Draft Medico-legal Legislation

At the instance of the Section on Criminal Law of the American Bar Association, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws has appointed a committee headed by Dean Robert A. Leflar, of the University of Arkansas Law School, to undertake the drafting of a Model Medico-legal Examiners Act.

Arizona Coroner Bill Fails, Two Others Pass

The bill in the Arizona legislature for improvement of coroner services, as proposed by Dr. Condon of Phoenix,[1] died in committee because it required an appropriation and other innovations.

As a consequence of this rejection, two other bills introduced at the request of the State Medical Association were passed, but with amendments which impaired their effectiveness and accomplished minor dubious changes in highly ineffective and inadequate practices.

R.S.C.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 183.

Council of State Governments Reports Progress

In reviewing the work of the Council of State Governments in recent years, Frank Bane, its executive director, reports in *State Government*[1] that "1952 has witnessed a fuller realization on the part of the states of their duties and responsibilities in our federal system."

Mr. Bane stresses the increase in state activities, and resultant governmental costs, which has resulted from the rapid expansion and complication of governmental problems during the past decade. State expenditures for health and hospitals rose more rapidly than those for any other function, while the next fastest increase was in the field of education. In third place came expenditures for highways, which have almost tripled since 1940, and there have been other important changes.

The increase in government activity since 1940 has been paralleled by a growth in the council's work—its budget has quadrupled in those years. More than ever today there is a need for the services of the council, "dedicated to promoting strong, self-reliant, competent state government."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

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[1] Chicago, January 1953.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Court Edict Weakens Philadelphia Merger

Legislature Also Tries Its Hand at Charter-wrecking

A PENNSYLVANIA Supreme Court decision (*Lennox v. Clark*, 372 Pa. 355, 1953) provides a unique spectacle: a provision of a state constitution thrown out of the constitution because it might conflict with a law not yet enacted.

The Pennsylvania constitution lists prothonotaries, registers of wills and court clerks as county officers. The so-called consolidation amendment of 1951 says that county officers in Philadelphia are to become city officers and perform their duties as previously until the legislature otherwise provides.

The Supreme Court went down the line, holding that county officers were under the city's merit system, until it came to the prothonotary and the register of wills, who serves as Orphans' Court clerk. A provision of the original constitution gave the prothonotary and the register of wills, as Orphans' Court clerk, the right to appoint certain assistants. The Supreme Court felt that some later legislation, based on the consolidation amendment, might conflict with this appointive power, but instead of ruling that if such conflict ever arose the law would be invalid, the court held that the consolidation amendment did not apply to the prothonotary and register of wills.

The "assistants" in question have always been supposed to be a small group of top-flight aides, numbering perhaps twenty. The court's decision means that not only these twenty, but all employees of the prothonotary, Orphans' Court and register of wills down to janitors, are constitutionally exempt from merit system control. Otherwise the courts might be "emasculated" by civil service! The same reasoning seems to support exemption from any other kind of legislative control.

Philadelphians struggled for a generation to get their county government out of the constitution so that the legislature could deal with it. They finally got a constitutional amendment which expressed this intent as clearly as words can express it, only to have the Supreme Court bury a substantial part of the county government more deeply in constitutional granite than ever.

Plans to make the register of wills an appointive officer have had to be dropped because the consolidation amendment is held not to apply to him. Plans to merge the offices of sheriff and clerk of quarter sessions into the office of prothonotary have had to be dropped because as "assistants" of the prothonotary all the employees would be constitutionally exempt from civil service and other controls.

The decision has been interpreted as a jealous guarding of judicial prerogative against legislative encroachment, but that explanation is hard to accept when the court willingly, even enthusiastically, held that the sheriff and clerk of quarter sessions were subject to civil service—unless of course they should be merged with the prothonotary.

Satisfying explanations for such a decision elude the writer. Surely there were less drastic ways to avoid a conflict between the constitution and a civil service law which had not yet been passed and probably never would be.

Clarence G. Shenton
The Philadelphia Bulletin

Pennsylvania House Approves Philadelphia Amendments

The Philadelphia "charter-wrecking" bloc scored its first legislative victory when it approved, 189 to 19, without a word of debate, a measure which would arbitrarily force the city council to place on the May 19 primary ballot proposed changes in the city's new charter. The proposal would exempt six former county offices from the provisions of the city-county home rule charter adopted in 1951 and allow their employees to become politically active.

Intergovernmental Cooperation Spreads

Four townships adjoining Alma, Michigan, have created a joint rural-urban fire board with the city and employed a full-time director. The board has purchased fire-fighting apparatus which it will operate and maintain. The city contributed $2,000 and each township $3,000 for the purchase of the equipment. All units will share in operation and maintenance costs.

A system of intercity contracts and sanitation districts has been recommended as a means of solving sanitation problems in San Diego County, California. According to the recommended plan, the city of San Diego would construct and maintain the basic treatment and disposal facilities needed in the metropolitan area, and nearby smaller cities and sanitation districts would contract with San Diego for use of the disposal facilities. In outlying portions of the county, sanitation districts would join together to construct treatment facilities.

In Contra Costa County, California, a citizens' committee on sewage disposal and water pollution appointed by the county board has recommended that a comprehensive survey be made of the 30 existing county sewage disposal agencies with a view to developing a long-range plan for the three watershed areas.

Colorado Municipalities, published by the Colorado Municipal League, reports that a cooperative planning program involving Boulder County, the city of Boulder and Boulder School District No. 3 is now in its third successful year. The agencies involved are the city planning board, county planning board and the school board.

Guilford County and High Point, North Carolina, are considering the erection of a joint city-county building to house county and city law enforcement agencies, a city-county jail and an enlarged courtroom.

In Forsyth and Surry Counties, North Carolina, there has been recent discussion regarding the feasibility of consolidating city and county law enforcement agencies.

Colorado Weighs County Improvements

For the third consecutive session, the Colorado legislature is considering a proposed constitutional amendment to remove some of the rigidities in county government. The proposal would open the way to consolidation of offices, adoption of the manager form of government, four-year terms of office, classification of counties on the basis of population and assessed valuation, and appointment, rather than election, of county school superintendents. Any changes in the form of county government would be effected only through county referenda.

Ohio Considers County Manager Bill

A bill has been introduced in the Ohio state legislature to permit the larger counties to create the position of chief administrative officer. The bill is applicable only to counties with populations in excess of 125,000 persons, of which there are ten at present. Adoption of the plan would be optional with the counties. The chief administrative officer would assist the county commissioners in their administrative functions, perform other duties assigned to him and establish additional positions when authorized by the commissioners.

The board of trustees of the Cleveland Citizens League has gone on record in favor of the bill and its application to Cuyahoga County. Over a year ago that county's board of commissioners appointed a person to carry out some of the functions of such an administrator[1] and, according to *Greater Cleveland*, published by the Citizens League, the general feeling in the county is that the "position has been a success and that the commissioners have been greatly assisted in the performance of their more and more extended functions."

Four-Year County Terms Urged in Texas

The Tax Assessors-Collectors Association of Texas recently went on record in favor of four-year terms of office for all county and precinct officers.

Manager Plan Urged for Pima County, Arizona

In a recent editorial the Tucson, Arizona, *Citizen* urged the manager form of government for Pima County. The proposed manager would have functions somewhat similar to those performed by the Tucson city manager.

City-county Merger Proposed for Miami Area

The Dade County delegation in the Florida legislature has announced its intention of introducing a bill consolidating the county with the city of Miami and four small municipalities in the county. The proposal would place the operation of city offices in the hands of the five county commissioners. In its present form it contains no provision for a referendum. The proposition is opposed by the city commissioners of Miami, the Young Democrats Club of Dade County and the Dade County League of Municipalities.

Also under discussion is a proposal to transfer Miami's municipal port and docks to the county. A law enacted in 1951 authorized the county to provide water supply, sewerage, streets, sidewalks, street lights, fire and police protection, parks, playgrounds or any other service to residents of any unincorporated areas that petitioned for such services and indicated a willingness to pay for them. Assumption of new functions, among other reasons, has caused the tax rate to climb from $6 to $13 per $1,000 assessed valuation in the past five years.

In the light of these developments, the Dade County Research Foundation has emphasized that "the county is saddled with an antiquated, inefficient organization structure which was designed many years ago for a small, rural community." As remedies it urges county home rule, modernized accounting methods and an effective budgetary system.

Will County Secede From Union?

According to an AP dispatch, Socorro County, New Mexico, is considering action to secede from the United States. The movement for a Socorro (translation from Spanish: "help!") Free State originated from a drunken driving case in which the judge commented that the ordinance, without signature or seal, "looks like it has been blowing around the streets."

(Continued on page 262)

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1952, page 205.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Program for Marketing Municipal Bonds

Cities Need Adequate Standards of Finance

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is taken from a talk given by JOHN S. LINEN, vice president of the Chase National Bank of New York, at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, San Antonio, November 19, 1952.

MOST municipalities finance the cost of their major improvements by selling bonds. The prudent buyer should inform himself on many phases of the financial condition of the state or political subdivision which is offering its bonds for sale.

The past 30 years have been a period in which violent changes from boom to depression, to war and to inflation have challenged the ability of municipalities to maintain their financial integrity. The purposes for which municipalities find it necessary to sell bonds have become more numerous, more complex and more expensive; the types of securities that are used have become more varied and complicated; and the ability of municipalities to sell bonds at the most favorable interest rates has come to depend more and more on the quality of local fiscal policies and management and on the wisdom of the laws under which the local government secures its revenues and conducts its fiscal operations.

The most important of the few financial advantages that municipalities have in these days of inflationary prices is the potentially low cost of borrowed money. Low interest rates due in part to the tax-exempt status of these bonds and the high federal income taxes currently prevailing, offer considerable compensation for the high cost of construction. If a municipality finds it necessary to borrow, some feel it is missing an opportunity to economize on future budgets if it fails to take full advantage of the present favorable market.

That some municipalities are doing this more successfully than others is quite obvious to anyone who watches the day-to-day and week-to-week results of municipal bond sales. One sees some municipalities paying ¼ of 1 per cent, ½ of 1 per cent, even 1 per cent or 2 per cent more than others on bonds that, superficially at least, appear to have the same characteristics. Some of this discrepancy is unavoidable, particularly when it arises from wide differences in the economic resources and stability of the various communities; but much of it may be the result of the state's failure to provide local governments with adequate powers and safeguards or of the local community's failure to provide itself with really competent management.

What are the legal and managerial standards that contribute most effectively to high municipal credit—to a municipality's ability to market its bonds to the best advantage? The suggestions that I have to offer are based on personal observation. Over the years, in my professional capacity, I have participated in the underwriting and distribution of several billion dollars worth of state and municipal bonds. It is from this experience that I have tried to define the standards which have proved the most successful and durable. You may say that this is a hard-boiled banker's point of view, but my belief in good local government as a bulwark of our democratic system is very genuine and I am confident that these standards for securing high credit are also broadly applicable to the maintenance of good government.

In the first place, a municipality must have the legal power to draw adequately on the economic and financial resources of the community for the support of its budgets and the payment of principal and interest on its debt. It must have a revenue system that is adequate, flexible and equitable. When a municipality incurs general obligation debt, it should have the power to levy property taxes for its payment without legal limitation as to rate or amount. The legal limitation should be on the amount of the debt, not on the taxes nor the ability to pay it. The latter, because it is a qualified promise and obligation to pay, increases needlessly the cost of borrowing.

Variety of Revenues

Although property taxes are an invaluable local asset, dependence on them can be overdone. A municipality should have the power to develop a variety of miscellaneous revenues, and should be entitled to share in some of the state revenues that are derived from its own local resources.

Since property taxes are the basis for payment of debt service, and are also the mainstay of the operating budget, they need to be efficiently and effectively administered. That means that the waste and duplication of overlapping local assessing agencies should be avoided, that assessing should be done professionally and equitably, that the tax collection calendar should synchronize well with the fiscal year, and that the procedure for the enforcement of delinquent tax liens should be simple, inexpensive and consistently effective.

In the second place, the municipalities whose credit has stood up best over the years have been mainly those that have had good financial housekeeping—a comprehensive, workable system of budget making and control; a standard system of accounts; careful audits; a competent finance officer in charge; and prompt, informative annual financial reports that disclose, and engender confidence in, the municipality's fiscal policies, procedures and accomplishments. This public reporting is particularly important from the point of view of credit, because the finest record may remain unknown outside the local community unless the evidence is readily available.

It might be assumed, in the third place, that when a municipality is growing rapidly in population and economic resources, it is ideally situated to command the highest credit. Too often, unfortunately, it does not work out this way. Sometimes it outgrows its small-town government without replacing it; sometimes speculative promoters take over the management; and sometimes the boom enthusiasm leads to unbalanced and excessive construction and financing of improvements. That is why hard-headed bankers and investors are interested in whether a booming city has good, well enforced zoning and building ordinances, effective subdivision control, a competent planning commission with a reasonable amount of authority, a long-range capital program that takes into consideration both priority of need and the limits of fiscal capacity and a well planned debt structure.

In the fourth place, the financial stability of a municipality and the security for its bonds can depend to a considerable extent on the quality of the state's regulatory laws and supervisory activities.

One basic essential is a local bond law of general application under which all local governments can issue general obligation bonds. It should, of course, be clear, simple and incorporate the most highly approved procedures for the authorization, sale, securing and administering of debt. When there is a multiplicity of local bond laws, some of them containing procedures of substandard character—a condition that still prevails in some states—the resulting legal uncertainties and obscurity tend to detract from the marketability of the bonds. Similar comments might be made regarding the value of an up-to-date local revenue bond law of general application, which permits the municipality to pledge the best possible security for such obligations.

The requirements of standard budget systems and standard systems of accounts for local governments have worked out well in a few states, and illustrations can be cited of where such requirements have materially improved financial stability and credit; but a warning is in order that such systems tend over the years to become perfunctory or obsolete and detrimental to local progress unless they are developed and revised in cooperation with local finance officers and are subject to supervision by an adequately staffed and qualified state agency.

Salesmanship Called For

Finally, all the essentials mentioned may be present—a good local bond law, unlimited taxing power for debt service, efficient tax administration, sound fiscal policies, competent fiscal management, foresighted capital and financial planning, and an enlightened concern by the state for the welfare of its municipalities—but the municipality may still fall short of marketing its bonds as favorably as it should if it fails to recognize that it has a selling job to do that calls for expert salesmanship.

It is not sufficient that the product is good. It needs to be introduced to the widest possible market and to be adequately and attractively presented, in order to develop competition among a number of bidders. This is not usually accomplished by private sales, perfunctory public sales backed by a "firm bid," or poorly advertised sales on short notice. The notice of sale, particularly where smaller municipal units are involved, should be sufficiently in advance of the sale date to allow time for investigation and inquiry, the public reporting referred to will provide educational background, a prospectus describing the resources of the community and including up-to-date financial statistics should go promptly to a well selected mailing list, and personal contacts should be sought with influential people and organizations. Promotional work like this takes time and ability, but you will find it worth the effort.

Recommend Uniform Tax Law for Truckers

A special committee of the Council of State Governments has recommended enactment by the states of a uniform law to assure more equitable payment of highway-user taxes by operators of heavy commercial vehicles in both interstate and intrastate commerce. Titled the *Suggested Interstate Highway Use Tax Law,* it would apply to heavy vehicles with a gross weight of 18,000 pounds (nine tons) or more.

Under the law, each operator of interstate vehicles who wishes would secure an interstate highway use tax permit from each state with a similar law where he intends to operate his vehicles.

The user would be required to secure only one permit in each of these states regardless of how many interstate vehicles he operates. He would pay a nominal fee for the permit which would be valid indefinitely.

Each interstate vehicle would be registered only once and in only one state. A fee for permanent registration would cover the cost to the registering state of rating the vehicle, providing plates and supplying other states in which the vehicle will operate with basic registration data about it. Registration would be valid indefinitely, without annual renewals.

Special interstate vehicle license plates would be issued by the registering state. It is suggested that states with similar laws may agree on a distinctive design for these plates. No other plates would be required for a vehicle and the plates would be valid indefinitely.

In addition, an identification card, called a vehicle tax card, would be issued for each vehicle. The card would list the states in which the vehicle is authorized to operate. This card would be permanent but could be revised from time to time if the user wished to change the list of states in which the vehicle was to operate.

The user would report periodically to each state in which his vehicles traveled and would pay the tax due less any credit for motor fuel taxes already paid.

Under the suggested act states may exempt traffic that is limited to certain border zones, such as metropolitan areas which overlap state boundaries. Reciprocal agreements of this sort could be authorized in the suggested law.

Another provision of the suggested law would allow a state to issue special permits for occasional trips into another state beyond the border zones.

The mileage tax rate to be established under the suggested law for each special category of interstate vehicles would be computed according to miles of operation. The rate in any given state would be so computed that the tax burden per mile of operation of an interstate vehicle would be substantially the same as the tax burden per mile if the vehicle's entire operation were within that state.

The tax rate would be in lieu of all other highway-user taxes including registration fees, motor fuels taxes, ton-mile or weight-mile taxes.

New York City Budget Tops One and a Half Billion

Continuing the tumultuous activity respecting New York City's finances which has been almost continuous since the state legislature convened in January, the 1953-54 city budget was presented for hearings in mid-April. It contained appropriations totaling $1,528,812,795, an increase of $55,193,183 over 1952-53.

In compliance with an amendment to the state's fiscal program, added late in the legislative session, requiring that the transit operating budget be set up entirely separate under a self-supporting transit authority, the mayor's budget contained no provision for transit (subway and bus system) operations. The mayor stated that, if the present transit arrangement were to be preserved and the ten-cent fare maintained, the general budget woud have to be cut $97,000,000 to absorb transit operating costs. The only new revenue authorized by the state which the mayor utilized in balancing the budget as submitted was an estimated $55,000,000 from an increase in the tax rate limit—which must be approved as a constitutional amendment in November or alternatively authorized as a county levy under legislation which has been attacked by some real estate groups as of doubtful constitutionality.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Discussed in Books and Articles

New German Electoral System Is Evaluated

THE December 1952 issue of *The American Political Science Review* contains an article, "The Electoral System of the Federal Republic of Germany — A Study in Representative Government," by Professor James K. Pollock of the University of Michigan. It describes the origin of the present German system and its working by reference to a close analysis of the 1949 election results.

The German system provides for the election of 40 per cent of *Bundestag* representatives by single-member districts and the remainder by a party list system of P. R. The distribution of seats under P. R. takes account of the district election results so that, unless a party obtains more than its proportional share of representation on district elections alone, the district elections do not affect the general proportionality of the total results. The chief effect is to give district electorates, rather than central party committees, the important role in selecting the individuals who will represent the party. The author points out that most of the leading party figures in the *Bundestag* were elected from the single-member districts.

Professor Pollock compares the present German system with both the party list system of P. R. and plurality elections, and finds it well suited to the German party system, which he regards as reflecting basic grouping of attitudes in the electorate and by no means a mere consequence of the electoral system. He finds that fair treatment of small parties has not jeopardized governmental stability.

Although he explains well the improvement achieved by the present arrangement over the party list system of P. R. used in Germany before Hitler, under which proportionality was calculated for the whole nation and the voters had to choose in large districts between party tickets without opportunity to discriminate between individuals on any ticket, it is difficult to understand why he uses the term "waste of votes" in referring to the shortcomings of the system provided by the Weimar constitution.

The article points out that in 1949 one major party was over-represented in Bremen and its rival was over-represented in Baden as the result of obtaining seats on a district basis. The former case was attributed to the fact that the total number of representatives from Bremen, three, was so small that P. R. did not have an opportunity to correct inequities in the district system. The article points out that under the German party system district elections are generally won by a plurality substantially short of a majority, averaging about 35 per cent.[1] Both this fact and the inequality in the population of the districts (which is not as great as that found in France and the United States, only about two to one at most) are prevented from causing grossly unfair results by the proportional feature of the election system.

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[1] If excess representation obtained on a district basis could be trimmed by denying the party the district representatives won by the smallest pluralities, to the extent necessary to restore proportionality, the German system could be made fully proportional and the district elections would serve simply to control the personnel of the party tickets and the sectional responsibilities of some of the representatives.—Ed.

British Columbia's Use of Alternative Vote Described

Last summer's election in British Columbia is described by H. F. Angus, of the University of British Columbia, in the December 1952 *Western Political Quarterly* (University of Utah). This report is more complete than any available when that election was noted by this department.[2] It points out that although the province borrowed the system of the single transferable vote for single-member districts from neighboring Alberta, it did not follow Alberta's provision of proportional representation for multi-member urban constituencies. Instead, in the five multi-member constituencies (two returning three members each and three returning two each) each voter cast as many ballots as there were representatives to be elected from the district.

It also appears that the districts varied greatly in population—between 1,700 and more than 40,000. It is consequently not surprising that the Social Credit and Cooperative Commonwealth Federation parties, which obtained the largest delegations in the Provincial Assembly, were successful out of proportion to the number of votes for them, and that the Conservative and Liberal parties, which designed the electoral system under a misconception of their interest, suffered a defeat out of proportion to their loss of popular support.

Mr. Angus' report outlines the position of the parties on the issues before the public at the election, particularly on compulsory hospitalization insurance, which had been instituted previously by the Liberal party.

Constitutional Revision in Uruguay Reviewed

The 1951 constitutional revision in Uruguay is reviewed by Russell H. Fitzgibbon, of the University of California at Los Angeles, in the November 1952 *Journal of Politics,* published by the Southern Political Science Association (University of Florida, Gainesville). The principal innovation was the provision of bipartisan executive councils instead of executive or administrative officers, not only to replace the national president but to replace regional administrators and directors of autonomous agencies of government. Fixed proportions of these executive councils and boards are allocated to the two largest parties and there is provision for allocation within these parties to distinct fractions or wings which enter the election with separate subtickets as permitted by the Uruguayan election laws.

These arrangements, besides substituting a kind of bipartisan government for a single-party government at the executive level, are expected to serve to strengthen and hold together the major parties. The legislative branch continues to be chosen by proportional representation, both on the regional and national level, however, and in that forum minor parties and independents with any substantial popular following continue to have a voice.

The historical background of the adoption of the commission form of executive in this particular variation appears to be quite complicated and it is not surprising to read of the campaign for ratification by referendum that "superficially it was frenetic — actually, it encountered a great deal of public apathy." Only about 37 per cent of the eligible voters cast ballots

(Continued on page 257)

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[2] See the REVIEW, October 1952, page 468.

Television, Radio, Films Dramatize Democracy

States Urged to Secure Educational TV Channels

THE action of the Federal Communications Commission, setting aside 242 television channels for the use of states, cities and non-profit organizations for educational purposes, has produced activity along a number of fronts. The channels will be held only until June of this year, when those not assigned will be made available for commercial purposes.[1]

Recognizing that television can play a vital part in education, the Council of National Organizations of the Adult Education Association has staged a TV Training Workshop for Community Organization Personnel. Held at the Allan Hancock Foundation, University of Southern California, April 22-May 1, the sessions constituted a pilot workshop whose findings will be developed into a report to serve as a guide to other groups interested in such activity.

The Council of National Organizations held a conference on January 15 to plan the workshop. Its report may be secured from the CNO, the Cooper Union, Fourth Avenue and Seventh Street, New York 3.

The National Citizens Committee for Educational Television, with offices in Washington, D. C., held its first conference on May 4. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Joint Committee on Educational Television, the central organization representing educational groups. The sessions were climaxed by a dinner meeting at which members of the FCC were honor guests. The committee, in its publication *Educational Television News*, reports on activities of states and cities to secure one of the channels.

The Massachusetts Civic League has made educational television a major project for this year. It has set up a special committee to help secure educational channel 2, temporarily assigned to Massachusetts by the Federal Communications Commission, through action by the legislature. The matter has been studied for the past year by the Special Commission on Educational Television, an unpaid group established by the 1952 legislature, which has filed a preliminary report.

State Senator Christopher H. Phillip, chairman of the Massachusetts commission, announced on April 14 that representatives of five private foundations have offered at least $500,000 to Governor Christian A. Herter for equipping a noncommercial television station in Boston.

The New Jersey Commission on Educational Television, reporting to Governor Alfred E. Driscoll on March 12, has recommended that the legislature appropriate $615,000 for educational TV. The Minnesota legislature has been asked to appropriate over $2,000,000 for a network.

In New York State, the report of the Temporary State Commission on the Use of Television for Educational Purposes, has reported against the plan. Whether television "is useful for academic teaching in the classroom remains to be established," the majority said.

Houston, Texas, is the first educational TV station to get on the air—May 4. The station is jointly licensed by the University of Houston and the

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[1] See editorial, "A Challenge to the States," the REVIEW, April 1953, page 165.

Harris County Independent School District.

Detroit's educational television station will go into operation in 1953, reports the *New York Times.* The new station is to be noncommercial, operated by a joint committee of the combined educational and cultural institutions and agencies in the Detroit metropolitan area. These include the University of Detroit, Wayne University and the Detroit Board of Education.

Cincinnati hopes to open its station by January 1 of next year. Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Dayton, Washington, D. C., and numerous other cities are taking steps to secure funds for the purpose.

The New York Times Magazine for March 8, 1953, carries an article by Robert Bendiner titled "If TV Moved into the Classroom—fewer and better teachers could revolutionize education, experts argue, although other costs are formidable."

Television and Education in the United States, by Charles A. Siepmann (131 pages, UNESCO, Paris, 1952, available at the bookstore of the United Nations, New York, $1), gives an excellent coverage of the subject. An article by the same author, "The Case For and Against School TV," appeared in the March 1953 issue of *Courier,* a publication of UNESCO.

Radio and Films

The Citizens Union of the City of New York has conducted a series of weekly radio broadcasts over WNBC on which it has presented possible candidates for the mayoral election this fall. Candidates were questioned as to their views on local problems by Citizens Union officials and newspaper and magazine reporters. Ben Grauer acted as moderator.

Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., of 202 East 44th Street, New York City, has issued a new series of films on American Democracy.[2] Included are such titles as Presidential Elections (ten minutes), prepared in collaboration with Ralph D. Casey of the University of Minnesota and Robert D. Ochs of the University of South Carolina; Pressure Groups (twenty minutes), in collaboration with the late Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago; and Political Parties (twenty minutes), in collaboration with Peter H. Odegard of the University of California, Berkeley.

Cincinnati has produced a color and sound film, "This Is Our City." Dramatized are the city's traffic problems, duplication of public services in adjoining communities and problems of slum areas. Issued by the Citizens Development Committee and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the film is being shown to civics classes in public and parochial schools.

Manager Plan Is Discussed and Supported

The Citizens Union of New York City is giving its full support to Governor Dewey's proposal that the council-manager plan be investigated as a means of bringing efficiency to the government of the city. "The recommendation is most timely," says Milton M. Bergerman, the union's chairman. "In our judgment it is the most constructive part of the governor's program for meeting the city's fiscal difficulties."[3]

A luncheon and conference on council-manager problems was held March 26 under the auspices of the City Manager Committee of the Chicago City Club. C. Harold Eash, village manager of Brookfield, Illinois, was the principal speaker. His subject was "The City Manager Plan Stimulates New Citizen Interest in Good Government." Following the luncheon the conference discussed the latest developments in the move to amend the state's optional manager act to include Chicago, reasons for the success or defeat of the plan in recent Illinois referenda, proposals for a city manager or other special charter for Chicago, and the possibility of a county manager for Cook County. Legislators, city officials and representatives of business and civic organizations joined in the discussion.

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[2] See "The Story Behind the Films," Democracy Series.

[3] See also the REVIEW, March 1953, page 134; April, page 179.

The annual meeting of the Brockton (Massachusetts) League of Women Voters heard Mrs. Leslie Hallock, a director of the Worcester Civic Association, discuss council-manager government at its annual meeting in March. Petitions to place the manager plan on the ballot are being circulated in the city.

Guy C. Larcom, Jr., former executive director of the Cleveland Citizens' League, spoke before the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League on "Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Gets Efficient Government with County Manager."

"A Review of San Antonio's Progress under Council-manager Government," a newspaper tabloid of eight pages, has been published by the San Antonio (Texas) Committee for Council-manager Government. Some 80,000 copies have been distributed.

Candidates Supported

Citizen groups in communities where the council-manager plan is in effect are endorsing local candidates. The East Moline Citizens for Good Government unanimously endorsed seven candidates and pledged its support for both primary and general elections.

In San Antonio, the Citizens Committee for Council-manager Government endorsed three councilmanic candidates favorable to the manager plan, who addressed members of the group at a recent candidates' luncheon.

The Better Government party of Corpus Christi, Texas, has pledged itself to work for revision of the city charter to end what one of its candidates termed "government by loophole." W. J. Brace, the party's candidate for city councilman, said he believed that the city's council-manager government can be improved: (1) by electing only men and women of proven ability and integrity to the council and (2) by keeping always in the city manager's office a man whose technical and professional qualifications are matched by complete and unquestioned integrity.

In Dallas, the Citizens Charter Association and the Greater Dallas party supported slates of candidates for the April city council election.

Four-year Terms Sought

The League of Women Voters of Ohio, as well as its local leagues, is concentrating much of its efforts at the current legislative session on securing a four-year term of office for the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state and other elected state officials. Needed is a constitutional amendment since the present constitution calls for two-year terms. A close second on its agenda is appointment of a commission to study constitutional revision.

Citizen Planners Confer

The Ohio Planning Conference held its annual meeting February 24 and 25 in Columbus. One of the main purposes of the sessions was to have delegates meet their legislators on the spot and get the organization's program understood and adopted. One session was devoted to the legislative program, another centered around the problems of small and medium-sized cities. The conference is an organization of citizens and public officials "to promote action on problems of community planning, housing, redevelopment and conservation."

The Greater Dallas Planning Council's annual report summarizes the work of committees, outlines 1952 objectives and the extent to which they have been obtained. The year "was the most constructive year in the life" of the council, comments the report.

The Cincinnati Citizens Development Committee, in its *Bulletin* for February 1953, reaffirms its approval of the city's master plan objectives, discussing off-street parking, housing and urban redevelopment and stressing expressways.

Citizens Hoover Committee

The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, which suspended operations during the 1952 presidential campaign, has resumed its activities. Former President Herbert Hoover, who headed the study of federal administration which bears his name, is serving as honorary chairman.

Get-out-the-vote Awards

One of the awards of the American Heritage Foundation's "get-out-the-vote" contest went to the League of Women Voters of the City of New York "for the most intensive register and vote campaign by a women's organization in cities over 1,000,000 population."

Yonkers, New York, was awarded a first prize for its outstanding get-out-the-vote effort at last November's election by the foundation. Yonkers tied with Bridgeport, Connecticut, for making the most intensive and most effective nonpartisan register-and-vote effort by a city with a population between 150,000 and 175,000.

Canton Loses Good Citizen

The death of Melvin H. Kuhl, civic leader of Canton, Ohio, leaves a gap in the ranks of the Citizens Committee for Good Government, whose organization he sparkplugged. Mr. Kuhl, assistant general manager of the industrial division of the Timken Roller Bearing Company, has long taken part in the affairs of his community. He participated in the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in 1951 and 1952.

Strictly Personal

The women of San Antonio, Texas, recently paid tribute to Mrs. Manfred Gerhardt at a testimonial luncheon in recognition of her great contribution to the community life of the city. Mrs. Gerhardt, the first woman member of the city council, was on the commission which drafted San Antonio's council-manager charter. She is past president of both the United Council of Church Women and of the Council of Parents and Teachers.

Martha Murphy Lindegren, executive secretary of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, has resigned to go into the free-lance writing field. She will continue to work with the association, however, on some of its publications. Mrs. Lindegren is secretary of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

Robert J. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens' League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, has succeeded Sherman Voorhees, executive director of Future Springfield (Massachusetts), who recently resigned, as treasurer of NACS.

Researchers Probe Legislative Problems

Apportionment, Committees, Annual Sessions Examined

FIVE recent studies of legislative reapportionment should be added to those which were reported in this department for November 1952 on page 523. Three of these reflect the great attention that has been given to the subject in Kansas this past winter: *Apportionment in the Kansas House of Representatives,* by C. Stewart Boertman (Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, December 1952, fifteen pages); *Reapportionment of the Kansas House of Representatives* (Kansas Legislative Council, Lawrence, December 1952, 25 pages); and *Legislative Apportionment in Kansas,* by Thomas Page (University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research, Lawrence, 1952, 179 pages). The last of these is a fairly complete historical treatment of the problem of representation in the Kansas legislature.

Kenneth C. Sears, in *Methods of Reapportionment* (University of Chicago Law School, 1952, 89 pages), investigates the question in Congress and in seventeen states. He concludes that certain methods of reapportionment used in Missouri, Arkansas, Colorado, Washington and California have produced constructive although limited results.

In *Legislative Apportionment in Illinois* (Illinois Legislative Council, Springfield, December 1952, 62 pages), the problem in that state is briefly discussed and nine plans for legislative action are proposed for purposes of discussion.

The operations of the West Virginia legislature from 1941 to 1949 are briefly surveyed and criticized by Cecil H. Underwood in *The Legislative Process in West Virginia* (West Virginia University Bureau for Government Research, Morgantown, 1953, 68 pages). Drawing also from his five terms as a member of the House of Delegates, the author concludes that annual sessions should be held, pre-session filing of bills should be allowed, the number and size of committees should be drastically reduced and a legislative council should be organized and staffed with well trained personnel.

Annual legislative sessions are more thoroughly investigated by the Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council in *Annual Legislative Sessions* (Topeka, January 1953, 50 pages). Although arguments pro and con are meticulously listed, the vast preponderance of logical evidence is on the side of annual sessions.

Legislative Research in Kentucky, the second biennial report of that state's Legislative Research Commission (Frankfort, 1953, 57 pages), describes the interesting array of work performed under the supervision of Director Arthur Y. Lloyd. In addition to other reports and studies in the past two years, the commission has published a *Handbook for New Legislators,* a guide for the general public entitled *Kentucky's General Assembly—A Working Legislature,* a report on *The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* and a between-sessions periodical for legislators, *Legislative Research News.*

Two other legislative research groups have published reports: The Committee on Legislative Research of the General Assembly of Missouri has issued its *Fifth Biennial Report: 1951-1952* (Jefferson City, 1952, 28 pages); the State Legislative Council of Oklahoma, its *Third Biennial Report: 1951-1952* (Oklahoma City, December 1952, 165 pages).

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Advocates Income Tax

Pay the Piper, by Denzel C. Cline (Michigan State College, Governmental Reseach Bureau, January 1953, 99 pages), is published "to simplify for the layman some of the complexities of his state and local taxes." It is notable for its attractive makeup and for the clarity with which it explains the ins and outs of an intricate and perplexing taxation system. Mr. Cline confesses that "there is no easy way to pay the piper," but he registers his judgment that Michigan should have a personal income tax. "It is the fairest type of tax available and is needed to make the state's tax system more equitable."

Handling Public Investments

The investing of government funds by states and localities is looked at from several angles in the February 1953 issue of *Municipal Finance* (Municipal Finance Officers Association, Chicago). Robert L. Funk writes on "Permissive Legislation Regarding Investment of Governmental Funds," Virgil H. Hurless on "A Large City's Investment Practices," A. R. Johnson on "Investment of Retirement Funds," and Ray L. Lillywhite on "Investment of Public Funds in Wisconsin."

Survey on City Services

Copies of a *Public Opinion Survey Concerning Municipal Services in Kalamazoo* (eighteen pages) are available from the Upjohn Institute for Community Research, Kalamazoo, Michigan. This careful study, conducted in collaboration with the sociology departments of Western Michigan College and Kalamazoo College, used the sample survey technique to gather opinions about water softening services, transit and light services, medical care for low income families, home accident prevention and so on. It is an example of the kind of research that is becoming more common in municipal affairs.

Merriam Fellowship

The University of Chicago has announced that the friends of the late Charles E. Merriam are establishing a fellowship in the university's department of political science in memory of Professor Merriam.

Committee Studies Inflation

The postwar inflationary trend in the American economy has complicated most of the problems faced by municipal governments. It is refreshing to find, then, a local citizens' committee which has taken a long, hard look at this national problem. Since August 1948 a Mayor's Committee on the Cost of Living, appointed by Mayor Frank P. Zeidler of Milwaukee, has been meeting. A mimeographed report of its Subcommittee on Monetary and Fiscal Policy, *Summary of the Inflation Problem* (August 1952, fifteen pages) states: "The inflation of 1950-51 was not caused by government deficit financing, but rather was encouraged by private deficit financing. . . . During fiscal year 1951-52 government deficit financing, as well as private deficit spending, has fanned the inflationary fires. . . . We must therefore have both a sound monetary policy and a responsible congressional fiscal policy in order to avoid further inflation."

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

The St. Louis Airport Becomes of Age. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* March 4, 1953. 2 pp.

Budgeting

Control of the Purse Strings: Part II—What Other States Are Doing. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, February 1953. 44 pp.

Cutting It Rather Close, The League Reviews the County's (Allegheny) 1953

Budget. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. L. Newsletter*, February-March 1953. 3 pp.

Performance Budgeting—Los Angeles. By Samuel Leask, Jr. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* February 1953. 4 pp.

The State's Proposed Budget for 1954. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* March 1953. 5 pp.

Child Welfare

Aid to Dependent Children in Wyoming. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, January 1953. 13 pp.

Disability Aid

Permanent and Total Disability Aid. By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, February 1953. 54 pp. $1.25.

Education

The Problem of Financing St. Louis Public Schools. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* March 16, 1953. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

State and County Elections in 1953. (General information.) Washington, D. C., CIO-PAC Research Department, January 1953. 58 pp.

Federal Government

Executive Reorganization in the National Government. By Edward H. Hobbs. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. vii, 104 pp.

Fire

A Survey Report on Atlantic City's Fire Services. Atlantic City (New Jersey), The Tax Survey Commission, December 1952. Variously paged. Tables.

Migration

Intrastate Migration in Michigan: 1935-1940. By Amos H. Hawley. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, 1953. 199 pp.

Municipal Administration

Administrative Management in Smaller Municipalities. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* March 1953. 2 pp.

Pensions

Backdoor Meddling with Hartford's Pension Systems. Hartford (Connecticut), Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* March 1953. 2 pp.

Report on the Philadelphia Municipal Pension Fund. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1953. ix, 90 pp.

Personnel

What About Residence Requirements? Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 23, 1953. 5 pp.

Snow Removal

Salt for Snow and Ice Removal. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Governmental Briefs,* February 28, 1953. 2 pp.

State Reorganization

State of Washington: First Report of Committee on State Government Organization. Olympia, Committee on State Government Organization, January 1953. 70 pp.

Streets and Highways

Controlled-Access Highways. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, January 1953. 57 pp.

Freeways—Good or Bad for Small Cities, Property Owners, Business? San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), February 23, 1953. 32 pp.

Turnpikes Head West. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* March 15, 1953. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Can We Measure State and Local Taxing Capacity? By James A. Arnold, Jr. New York 16, *The American City,* February 1953. 2 pp.

Comparative Tax Rates. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* February 6, 1953. 1 p.

Income Tax Reduces City Property Tax. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* February 1953. 1 p.

Kentucky Income Payments by Counties 1939, 1947, 1950 and 1951. By Will S. Myers, Jr., John L. Johnson and James W. Martin. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research, February 1953. 41 pp.

Long-Range Solution or Long-Range Power to Tax? Analysis of the City's 1953-54 Fiscal Program. New York 17, Citizens' Budget Commission, February 5, 1953. 13 pp.

Michigan's Sales Tax Diversion Amendment. Lansing 4, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, *Council Comments,* February 12, 1953. 4 pp.

1953 Property Tax Trends in Milwaukee County Municipalities. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 3, 1953. 7 pp.

Taxes and Economic Prosperity in Utah: 1929-1952. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* 1953. 4 pp.

Tax Levy Limitations. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, January 1953. 56 pp.

Transit

Zone Fares in Other Cities. Seattle, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, March 1953. 2 pp.

Unemployment Compensation

Maryland Unemployment Compensation: Some Industry Experience. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, March 1953. 11 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 249)

and the vote was approximately 232,000 in favor to 198,000 opposed. The metropolitan electorate of Montevideo opposed the change by 100,317 to 67,672, but was outvoted by the countryside.

New Books Treat of P. R. Principles

Enid Lakeman, research secretary of England's Proportional Representation Society, together with J. D. Lambert, is preparing for publication a book of about 300 pages generally reviewing representation systems and considering particularly the two basic forms of P. R. — the party list system and the single transferable vote (Hare system). The book will contain an up-to-date review of experience with these systems in various countries. From the table of contents it would appear that the discussion of non-proportional systems, although centered on the experience of the United Kingdom, will include some reference to other countries, such as France, the United States, Canada, South Africa and Australia. The title provisionally chosen for the volume is *Voting in Democracies*. Publishers are Faber and Faber of London, who expect to bring the book out this spring.

Readings in Municipal Government and Administration, a new textbook compiled by Charles M. Kneier and Guy Fox (Rinehart and Company, 1953) devotes a chapter to "The Case for Proportional Representation," by Oxie Reichler. Mr. Reichler is editor of *The Herald Statesman* of Yonkers, New York, which was governed by P. R. elections from 1940 to 1950. Another chapter, on the case against P. R., is by Newton D. Baker, secretary of war under President Wilson.

Books in Review

Coroners in North Carolina. A Discussion of Their Problems. By Richard A. Myren. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1953. 71 pp. $1.50.

This fine study, prepared for consideration by coroners, legislators and the public, describes with great completeness the history of coroners in North Carolina since the state's first constitution, the legislation and practices since then, and the current condition of the laws, which are highly uncertain and contradictory.

As in other states where coroners are elective in each county, the office falls into the hands of untrained persons, only 23 of the 100 coroners being medically trained and 40 being undertakers. One of the hundred is a trained pathologist. The field of the coroners is ridiculously restricted; in advanced practice 20 per cent of all deaths come to the coroners, but in North Carolina the percentage is irregular and very small. Present deficiencies of the law are:

"1. There is no satisfactory definition of the *jurisdiction* of the coroner.

"2. There is no requirement that anyone *notify* the coroner of deaths occurring within his county which happen under circumstances which would bring them within his jurisdiction.

"3. There is no satisfactory direction as to how the coroner is to *proceed* in those cases in which he is authorized to act.

"4. There is no adequate definition of the *role* of the coroner's *jury*.

"5. There is no adequate provision for giving the coroner the type of *medical assistance* that he needs.

"6. There is no adequate requirement for the keeping and preservation of *records* on the functioning of the coroner's office.

"7. There are no *qualifications* required of occupants of the office of coroner and the need thus created for in-service training has not been met.

"8. There is no adequate provision for the *compensation* of the coroner nor for the *financial support* which the proper functioning of the office requires."

The program for improvement of the service is a tightening up of the law and its clarification and a centralization of the pathological autopsy work in an enlarged bureau of the State Bureau of Investigation, (which already is equipped to do toxicological work for coroners and other law enforcement officials) in cooperation with the Department of Legal Medicine at the Medical School of the University of North Carolina. There are only 27 pathologists in North Carolina and all but one of them are in the western part of the state. Centralization of this service at Raleigh is the only possible technical solution, there being nowhere near enough business within each county to develop expertness of this function within the respective counties.

Two functions of the coroners, whose election is required by the constitution, could be retained by them, according to the recommendations of this pamphlet, (1) to hold prompt inquests as a sort of safety valve to prevent local people from taking the law into their own hands and (2) an additional check on the work of the police in finding cases of foul play.

Complete abolition of the coroner system is viewed as only the last and remotest alternative.

This is somewhat in conflict with a more sweeping and expensive proposal of the State Medical Society, previously reported in these pages,[1] for creation of a new seven-member commission appointed by the governor in charge of the selection and oversight of a chief medical examiner and district pathologists appointed by him. The latter proposal would leave the elective coroners without enough to do to justify their continuance and looks toward eventual abolition of the office as in Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia, and as proposed in the National Municipal League's *Model Medico-Legal Investigative System.*

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 183.

R.S.C.

Public Relations and the Police. By G. Douglas Gourley. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1953. 141 pp. $5.75.

Written by a keen observer of and able practitioner in police administration, this book discusses the nature, intensity and causes of public attitudes toward the police. The author, a captain in the Los Angeles Police Department, holds a master's degree in public administration.

Disturbed about the low esteem in which policemen and police departments are held by many, he has made a searching inquiry which clarifies much of the problem. The book reports the findings of attitude surveys in many U. S. cities and in postwar Germany. Included are biological, sociological and occupational facts about the citizens whose opinions were sought.

"There exists a need for selectivity in police public relations," the author says, "so that available time, energy and money will be most effectively applied in informing citizens who most need informing regarding the police activities about which the greatest lack of information exists; and in instructing policemen regarding modes of conduct which bring about the greatest acceptance by the public of police activities."

Perhaps the one weakness of the book is its failure to analyze the policeman's attitude toward the public, with the problems attendant upon his own sociological background.

MASON GOULD

America's Greatest Challenge. By Walter E. Myer and Clay Coss, Washington, D. C., Civic Education Service, 1952. 212 pp. $2.75.

This little volume vigorously follows the old futile line of scolding the people for giving insufficient attention to politics. A series of books on the same line could be written scolding them for inattention to our glorious history, the beauties of English literature, the rules of good health, etc. But preaching does no harm and there are some suggestive questionnaires and references on public problems of use perhaps for class rooms and assemblies on current topics.

The Selection of a City Manager. Suggested Procedure to Aid City Councils in Appointing a Manager. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1953. 28 pp. $1.00.

A review of the ideal procedures and available methods of finding a city manager, including a summary of ten successive steps which a council should take for orderly completion of the task. The first edition of 1930 and the second of 1937 are now elaborated in the light of further experience.

An Approach to Urban Planning. Edited by Gerald Breese and Dorothy E. Whiteman. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953. x, 147 pp. $2.00.

A collection of statements about the urban planning process and certain of its major components. Authors of five of the chapters are well known specialists in planning and related fields. There is an excellent bibliography, prepared by the Bureau of Urban Research of Princeton University.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

IBM Accounting—Local Government. New York, International Business Machines Corporation, 1952. 47 pp.

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Abatement Manual. Chapter 8, **The Meteorology of Air Pollution.** Washington 5, D. C., Manufacturing Chemists' Association, 1953. 40 pp. 75 cents.

Airports

The Need for an Expanded National Airport Program. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1953. 15 pp. Illus.

Assessments

Assessments at Present Day Market Values. A description of the procedures and methods used by Fort Worth, Texas, to determine property assessed valuations. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Budgets

Budgeting and Financial Management of the City of New York. By A. E. Buck. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1951. 90 pp.

Debt

The Municipal Debt—A Description, Analysis and Appraisal of Debt Policy and Administration of the City of New York. By Frederick L. Bird. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1951. 148 pp.

Decentralization

Measuring the 'Pull' to the Central Business District and to the Suburbs. Travel to Commercial Centers of the Washington, D. C., Metropolitan Area. By Gordon B. Sharpe. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* February 1953. 5 pp.

Federal Government

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies. Report of the Committee on Government Operations (including chart). Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1953.

Inflation

Guides to the Discussion of Problems of Inflation. By Robert A. Luke. Washington 25, D. C., Office of Price Stabilization, Office of Public Information, 1952. 32 pp. 20 cents.

The People Versus Inflation. By George Katona and Albert Lauterback. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 14 pp.

International Assistance

International Technical Assistance. By Walter R. Sharp. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. 146 pp. $2.50.

Labor-management Relations

Lectures on the Law and Labor-management Relations. (Delivered at the Summer Institute on International and Comparative Law, University of Michigan Law School, June 26-July 1, 1950.) Foreword by Russell A. Smith. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1951. xviii, 502 pp. $6.

Legislation

Current Trends in State Legislation 1952. Studies of Recent State Legislation. Prepared by the Legislative Research Center, University of Michigan Law School. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1952. xvii, 580 pp. $7.50.

Libraries

Contemporary Library Planning. A Report of the Fourth Institute on Public Library Management July 28-30, 1952. Madison 6, University of

Wisconsin Extension Division, Bureau of Government, December 1952. 83 pp.

Mental Health

Mental Health in the United States. Edited by Robert H. Dysinger. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, March 1953. 174 pp.

Municipal Government

National Municipal Policy 1953. Chicago 37, The American Municipal Association, 1953. 19 pp. $1.00.

State Municipal Leagues in 1953. By Charlotte McCarron. Chicago 37, The American Municipal Association, 1953. 4 pp.

Parking

Parking Meters—Their Number, Revenue and Use. A Summary Report of a Joint Study by the American Municipal Association, the Highway Research Board and the Bureau of Public Roads. By David R. Levin. Washington, D. C., American Municipal Association, 1953. 34 pp. $2.

Police

The New York Police Survey. Prepared for the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey (New York City). New York, Institute of Public Administration, 1952. 70 pp.

Political Parties

The Party in Power and the Role of the Opposition. A Conference Honoring the Memory of Robert Porter Patterson. New York 18, Freedom House, 1953. 30 pp. 15 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Population

Estimates of the Population of States: July 1, 1950 to 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 4 pp.

Salaries

Personal Wage and Hour Comparative Data of City Employees. (For selected cities of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia.) Morgantown, West Virginia, The City Government, 1953. Table.

Salary and Wage Data Michigan Cities and Villages over 4,000 Population. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices and Holiday Pay Practices 1953. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1953. 113 pp. $3.50.

Social Security

Social Security Financing. By Ida C. Merriam. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, 1952. 204 pp.

State Government

The Book of the States. Supplement 1, January 1953. (Lists the names of elective administrative officials, elective supreme court justices, and the members of the legislature for 1953.) Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1953. 79 pp.

State of Maine Administrative Agencies. Structure and Functions. Augusta (Maine), Citizens' State Government Committee, 1952. Variously paged.

State-local Relations

Canadian Government. Distribution of Functions and Revenue Sources Between Province and Municipalities in Ontario. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 7 pp. 50 cents.

State Office Buildings

Report of the State Office Building Commission to the Governor of Kansas and to the 1953 Kansas State Legislature. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, December 1952. 25 pp. Charts.

Taxation and Finance

The Financial Problem of the City of New York. (General Summary Volume of the Finance Project.) By Robert M. Haig and Carl S. Shoup. New York, Mayor's Committee on

Management Survey of the City of New York, 1952. 555 pp.

Lectures on Taxation of Business Enterprise. (Delivered at the Summer Institute of International and Comparative Law, University of Michigan Law School, June 25-June 28, 1951.) Foreword by Paul G. Kauper. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1952. xxv, 532 pp. $6.

Municipal Income Taxation in the United States. By Leon Jay Quinto. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1952. 116 pp.

Revenue and Expenditures of Selected States in 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 17 pp.

Your Money and Mine. State Finances 1951-1952. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, December 1952. 61 pp. Charts.

Traffic Safety

A Choice of Guides. By Thomas H. MacDonald. (Address on current critical highway situation.) Washington 6, D. C., Automotive Safety Foundation, 1953. 23 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for May: **Vehicle Maintenance.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

What You Can Do about Highways, Parking, Traffic Safety and How to Do it. (Kit) Washington 6, D. C., Inter-Industry Highway Safety Committee, 1953. Variously paged.

Transit Fares

The Revision of the Rapid Transit Fare Structure of the City of New York. By William S. Vickrey. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1952. 156 pp.

ATTRACTING INDUSTRY TO CITIES

(Continued from page 226)

munity, not alone to the specific recipients of a particular service. There is no special role of local government in economic development that is above and beyond responsibility to the whole community. That does not mean that the special needs of industry should not be adequately met. On the contrary, it means that all the services of government, including those to industry, are justified on the basis of community interest.

Adequate services of local government do not in themselves insure initial or continuing success in industrial development. They do constitute the most lasting inducement which local government can extend to industry. Community services do on occasion provide a locational factor of importance. That such services be rendered economically and efficiently, with imagination and understanding, is always in the immediate and long-range interest of sound local government and sound industrial development.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 243)

Subsequent search for other records revealed that the area embracing the county had never been ceded by Mexico to the Republic of Texas nor later to Arizona or New Mexico.

The secessionists visualize no income tax, no draft, legalized gambling, liquor at $2.50 a gallon and cigarettes at five cents a pack, but the district attorney has commented sourly, "Those Yankees will find something wrong with it."

Field Service Director Returns from Tour

Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the League, has returned from an extended tour in which he covered 85,000 miles and visited every state and more than 75 major U.S. cities over the past 30 months, advising civic groups grappling with local governmental problems.

Allen H. Seed, Jr.

"I was impressed by the growing awareness by citizens of their responsibility for participating in government," Mr. Seed reported. "They seem to realize that they must do more than believe in good government — they must do something about achieving it." He observed that many new citizens' groups are being formed and that membership in existing organizations is growing steadily.

The metropolitan area problem, or "suburbanitis," was commanding a great deal of attention in most of the cities Mr. Seed visited. He also observed growing interest in modernizing county government.

Richmond Host

(Continued from page 213)

ference will have been held in Richmond since 1911, when it also was convened at the Jefferson Hotel.

More than 200 speakers are expected to lead the more than 25 sessions on local, county and state problems during the three-day event. Public officials, political scientists, leaders of civic organizations and business and professional men and women from many states, as well as from several foreign countries, are expected to attend.

L. E. Marlowe of Richmond, general chairman of arrangements, predicts an attendance of more than 1,000. A member of the League's Council, he and Ed. P. Phillips, NML regional vice president, played leading roles in the fight to reform the government of their city a few years ago. With Mayor Haddock, R. Westwood Winfree, president of the Richmond Citizens' Association, and Edmond H. Brill, Jr., of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, they met March 27 to set the pre-convention machinery in motion. Allen H. Seed, Jr., the League's director of field services, was on hand to guide them in their early planning. He also addressed 75 leaders of various civic organizations, briefing them on plans for the Conference.

In inviting the participation of all local civic groups, Mayor Haddock wrote: "This is really good news for those of us who are interested in good government. The Conference will be an inspiring experience in the civic life of our community."

Won Award in 1950

Richmond attracted nation-wide attention beginning in 1947 with a civic revival which resulted three years later in an All-America Cities award. For many years, only about 3 per cent of the adult population of Richmond had bothered to vote in municipal elections.

The Richmond Citizens Association was formed and led a drive for a charter commission which the voters approved by four to one. The council-manager plan was adopted by 21,567 to 8,060, a total of almost 30,000 votes compared with the usual 3,000, an increase of 907 per cent.

League Active on Radio, Television

The League's staff has been active in recent weeks in the public information field via radio and television.

A 30-minute recording describing the League's All-America Cities awards was made by Armed Forces Radio, a U.S. Defense Department unit, for American troops overseas. The program can also be picked up via shortwave by about 90,000,000 people in the U.S. and overseas. Participating in the program were George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, who was foreman of the jury which heard the cases presented by the competing cities; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee; and Alfred Willoughby, executive director, and Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services, of the League.

Alfred Willoughby

George H. Gallup

"The Voice of America," official organ of the U. S. Department of State, visited the League's offices and recorded a fifteen-minute interview with Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Seed. Purpose of the program was to present to foreign listeners an example of "how and why we enjoy the free functioning of our democratic processes." Recalling the origin of the League, the staff members described some of its many services to help citizens be more effective in their communities.

Following Governor Dewey's recent proposal that New York City consider a city manager form of government, Mr. Childs appeared on George Hamilton Combs' "Spotlight New York" program over WABC, New York, to discuss the feasibility of such a plan. With Mr. Childs on the program were Wallace Sayre, head of the Department of Political Science at the College of the City of New York, and Robert P. Aex, city manager of Newburgh, New York, one of the All-America Cities of 1952.

On "First Edition," a daily televised newscast over WABC-TV, Mr. Willoughby, in a short interview with Taylor Grant, cleared up some popular misconceptions about council-manager government and told of the success which many cities have had with the plan.

Variety of Inquiries Keeps League Busy

To illustrate the variety of inquiries which flow into the League office, here are just a few of the many hundreds received during the past few weeks: Individuals, civic groups and newspapers in a large number of cities asked for material about how to get or preserve council-manager government; a public official in Massachusetts wanted advice on solving traffic and parking problems; a new citizens' league in Arizona sought advice on how to get organized; a civic leader in Michigan asked how many municipalities are using television as a public relations tool; a union official in Minnesota studying financial conditions in his city wanted data on trends in assessed valuation in U.S. cities.

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ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor

ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
MASON GOULD, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD
Proportional Representation

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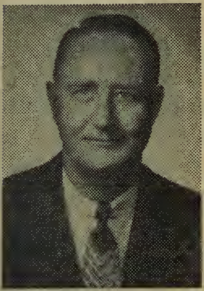
NEWS for League Members

Plans Being Made for Conference

Plans are moving ahead for the 1953 National Conference on Government to be held November 8-11 at Richmond, Virginia.



L. E. Marlowe

Enthusiastic cooperation by civic leaders in the historic southern city has already been evidenced, assuring the League and visitors to its 59th annual Conference of a stimulating and rewarding experience.

The Conference actually will get under way Monday morning, November 9, but the local arrangements committee is making plans for sightseeing tours and social gatherings Sunday, November 8, providing an unusual opportunity for those attending the sessions to see the many points of interest that Richmond offers. Following adjournment of the Conference Wednesday noon, November 11, many plan to take side trips to Williamsburg, Charlottesville and other neighboring historic communities before heading home.

Programming of the more than 25 Conference sessions on various governmental problems on the local, county and state levels was discussed with local civic leaders by John E. Bebout, assistant director of the League, in Richmond during the week of April 27. Present at the meeting, during which suggestions for subjects and speakers

(Continued on page 315)

Aerial view of Richmond, Virginia, host city for the 1953 Conference. White building at upper left is the State Capitol. James River is in background.

Cassella Awarded League Fellowship

William N. Cassella, Jr.

William N. Cassella, Jr., assistant professor of political science in the School of Business and Public Administration, University of Missouri, has been awarded the National Municipal League Fellowship for 1953-54. He will join the League staff about August 1 on a one-year leave of absence from the university.

Mr. Cassella follows Guthrie S. Birkhead, assistant professor of political science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, who was the first recipient of the League Fellowship established last year.

Screening of applicants this year was carried out with the assistance of a committee of political scientists selected with the cooperation of the American Political Science Association. The committee consisted of Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse University, chairman; Joseph E. McLean, Princeton University; Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee; Edward W. Weidner, Michigan State College; Edwin O. Stene, University of Kansas; and Winston W. Crouch, University of California (Los Angeles).

Mr. Cassella, who will be 33 next month, holds a B.A. degree from the University of Illinois, an M.S. degree from Syracuse University, and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, he has taught political science at the University of Missouri since 1948.

Visit to Williamsburg Regarded a 'Must'

Many of those who will be attending the National Conference on Government in Richmond next November are planning to make side trips either before or after the sessions to some of Virginia's landmarks.

No visitor to the state should miss Williamsburg, capital of colonial Virginia and America's most famous restored city with its Governor's Palace, Capitol of 1705, Raleigh Tavern and other buildings.

Restoration of colonial Williamsburg was started by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1926. Today, there are 325 restored or reconstructed colonial residences, public buildings, gardens, streets and greens, and 80 original buildings. Six million people from all parts of the world have visited the area.

Williamsburg, only 50 miles from Richmond, offers accommodations and eating places to fit every purse.

The Governor's Palace at Williamsburg

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Editorial Comment

Defense 'Socialism' Robs Cities

WE have heard a great deal in recent years about "creeping socialism." One form of government ownership, about which little is said, has been "creeping" at an alarming rate during the last year. This is *technical* federal ownership of real and personal property used by defense plants.

The American Municipal Association points especially to "a growing tendency on the part of federal defense agencies to phrase contracts so as to exempt raw materials, goods in process, implements, equipment and machine tools from local taxation. This is accomplished by immediately transferring title to such property to the federal government, or an agency thereof, upon small partial payment of the purchase price by the contracting federal agency."

The association observes that: "The holders of such contracts constitute a significant segment of private enterprise in the nation. They require and receive all of the protective and other services of local government without which they could not operate during the process of manufacturing material under federal contract."

Tax losses cited range from $3,500 in Jackson, Michigan, to $376,420 in St. Paul, Minnesota, and $18,000,000 in Los Angeles County.

The injustice of making other taxpayers in areas that have large defense contracts bear national defense costs that should be distributed throughout the country is obvious. Even more serious may be deterioration of public services and reduction of the capacity of municipalities to borrow for improvements required by increased population. Substandard educational and other services for millions will result.

This is just one of many urgent reasons for getting on with the comprehensive study of intergovernmental relations called for by Charles Edison last November at the National Conference on Government.

Ten Things on the People's Minds

NOVELIST Edna Ferber, on her return from Europe recently, excoriated New Yorkers for maintaining what she described as the filthiest city in the world. Miss Ferber has now declined appointment as vice chairman of a clean-up committee. She describes such sporadic campaigns as futile as Canute's command that the waves stand still. In any case, Miss Ferber's remarks on New York's chronic slovenliness point to what is only a symptom of an even greater slovenliness in government itself. As someone has observed, New York is so big that everything that happens to it is big, even the dirt and disorders of its streets. Unfortunately, it is true except with reference to big men. Too few of them have found their way into New York's municipal government in recent years.

There are more things on the minds of New Yorkers than littered streets. One recent survey made by

Elmo Roper of the things most troubling residents of that city came up with a profile of the New York mind that, in many ways, could be labelled "what people want in the community in which they live." On that list, dirty streets were fourth. They were topped in this order, by an intense hunger for (1) good housing, (2) better transportation, (3) better recreation facilities. Then came cleaner streets, better schools and better government.

Those six items represent what the ordinary Joe and his wife want for themselves and their children. A decent environment to live in, a decent place for the children to play and to go to school, and decent machinery for operating those facilities. Tagging along in the last four places are what might be described as the *sequelae:* the problem of taxes, police protection, juvenile delinquency and the unassimilated foreign masses in the slums.

The basic reason for the wide success of nonpartisan, council-manager government in many communities is that it is dedicated to the promotion of all the things the people of New York, and every other community, want. The old-fashioned partisan government, exemplified by the present staggering administration in New York, is concerned primarily with a kind of game among a few men who like power, influence and prestige. These men scheme and manipulate, not primarily so that people will have better houses, schools or playgrounds, but that they personally will gain influence or prestige or power.

As the voters of this country grow in maturity, they discard as quickly as possible the kind of extravagance that partisan local government so often represents. They do that by adopting a modern charter that permits the city's affairs to be run by men of competence, training and ability. Only in this way do the people more fully satisfy their basic hunger for a better community in which to live and to bring up their children.

The editorial republished above from the May 4 issue of *The Hartford Courant* (Connecticut), inspired the following letter from Miss Ferber to Herbert Brucker, editor:

"Someone—I hope it was you—sent me an editorial that appeared in the May 4 issue of the *Hartford Courant*. This was literally one of hundreds of letters and clippings that, to my surprise, I received after I had made what seemed to me a routine and obvious statement regarding the condition of New York's streets and buildings.

"Out of the welter of communications I am writing you because I thought your editorial was so wise and so constructive that I wish it could be copied in every New York publication (which certainly it won't be), and I wish it could be read by every citizen of New York City."

Arousing people to a recognition of conditions that need correction is only half the battle; indeed, usually much less than half. Most people are well intentioned. But they feel helpless to cope with situations and forces which they tend to overestimate.

Suppose Miss Ferber had chosen to lend the weight of her fame and pen to the cause of obtaining improved government for New York.

(Continued on page 289)

Let's Set Washington Free

Present setup disfranchises thousands of citizens and pesters President and Congress with many tiny duties.

By **ALFRED STEINBERG***

IN THE ninth largest city of this great democracy the people are denied the right to vote. Their governing officials are appointed by a man—the President himself—whom they had no voice in electing. Their laws are made by other men, senators and representatives, whom they can neither re-elect nor retire. Nearly two centuries after the colonies resounded with the cry against taxation without representation, more than 800,000 persons living in the nation's capital have an almost crushing burden of taxation with not the slightest trace of representation.

Since 1874, when Congress took over municipal government in the District of Columbia, its citizens have had no control over their own affairs. "What kind of monkey business is this?" mutters Italian-born Philip C. Manuel, proprietor of a Washington barbershop. "For fifteen years I'm a naturalized American citizen. But I can't vote for anyone."

This undemocratic situation not only disfranchises 840,000 persons living in the capital, but it saddles Congress and the President with petty municipal duties. Says Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, "Once when we were considering the British loan involving billions of dollars, we had to quit and spend a whole afternoon discussing whether rockfish ten inches long could be sold in Washington."

In the last Congress, 250 bills pertaining to the District of Columbia were introduced. Each required the same 28 legislative steps as a far-reaching national measure and some 5,000 man hours on the House and Senate floors and in committee. Four committees, involving a total of sixteen senators and thirty representatives, are responsible for sifting Washington ordinances and holding hearings. The second and fourth Mondays of each month the House of Representatives formally devotes itself to considering bills from one of these committees. Most of that time is spent on such matters as requiring straws to be served in local soda fountains and providing for the removal of weeds and grass more than four inches high.

South Dakotans who voted for Senator Francis Case and Illinois constituents who voted for Representative Sid Simpson would probably be surprised to learn they were also voting for the heads of the Washington city council. For Case and Simpson, as chairmen of the Senate and House committees on the District of Columbia, oversee almost

---

*Mr. Steinberg, a native of Minnesota, moved to Washington, D. C., in 1940, but later made his home in Maryland where he may exercise his right to vote. Since 1948 he has been wandering in and out of the White House, federal buildings and the Capitol, covering the national political scene as a free lance writer. His articles have appeared in *Reader's Digest, Harper's, Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Coronet, New York Times* magazine and the *Washington Post.*

all local legislation with the chief exception of the Washington budget, which is handled by the Appropriations Committees.

Three or four subcommittees of Case's and Simpson's committees are likely to be holding hearings on Washington affairs in any given week while Congress is in session. One such subcommittee heard 178 witnesses on a single bill. Another spent two and one-half hours wrangling whether to set Washington dog licenses at $3 or $5. And once a Washington ordinance emerges from committee, no one can predict how long the full Congress will wrestle with it on the House and Senate floors.

In addition to committee and floor work on District legislation, congressmen put in thousands of extracurricular hours on other local matters. Cab drivers who hold revoked drivers' permits or would-be firemen who lack the required number of teeth roam the halls of the Capitol searching for help. Congressional phones jangle with calls from local officials and irate citizens. "At three o'clock yesterday morning a lady called me up," relates an internationally known legislator who also sits on the Senate District Committee. " 'You're my alderman, Senator,' she yelled at me over the phone. 'There's a rowdy party going on next door to my house and I want you to have it broken up.' "

Nor is the President spared. As mayor of Washington one of his duties is to sign or veto every local ordinance Congress passes. If he vetoes a bill he has to send an explanatory message to Congress. He has to appoint all of Washington's judges, including those dealing with traffic violations, juvenile delinquents and small claims. By law he is required to sign the diplomas for the local college for the deaf.

Has this expenditure of valuable time created a model local government? The blunt truth is that Washington has one of the most monstrous local governments in existence. Congress is a deliberating body for enormous issues and too ponderous to handle local emergencies. Corrective action may take months and if Congress is not in session it has to be postponed until the next year. When Washington had two competing streetcar lines operating separate tracks on the same streets, everyone agreed it was pure folly; yet it took 32 years of repeated congressional investigations before a bill finally passed merging the lines.

President Appoints Commission

Nominally the city's top administrators are three commissioners appointed by the President. Two of them must be civilians who have lived in Washington for at least three preceding years, and their appointment must be confirmed by the Senate. The third is always a military officer the President details from the Army Corps of Engineers. But by patchwork interference Congress has empowered about twenty federal agencies and local boards and commissions to operate independently of the commissioners.

According to law, the chief of the Bureau of Animal Husbandry of the U. S. Department of Agriculture is officially the chief veterinarian for Washington. The Smithsonian Institution runs the Capital's zoo, though its expenses are borne by Washington taxpayers. The Secretary of the Army is responsible for gathering, filtering and pumping water for the District of Columbia, the commissioners paying whatever he thinks the water service is worth. All paving work around Washington parks is contracted for by the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, but a paving job across the street would be handled by the commissioners.

Congress has authorized five separate police forces to operate in Washington. Only one of them—the metropolitan police department—is regulated by the commissioners. In addition there are: the park police, under the Department of the Interior; the zoo police, under the Smithsonian Institution; the White House police and the Capitol police. The park police are supreme in Washington's 761 parks including a few dozen isolated traffic circles and squares that dot the city. The Capitol police direct traffic and hand out tickets around the Capitol and are appointed by congressmen.

Commission's Power Cut

Although Congress in 1892 gave the commissioners power to make some local ordinances, it has whittled away even this limited authority by making many local laws itself. The commissioners could not decree local daylight-saving time. This was left each spring to Congress, occasioning impassioned orations pro and con by city and rural congressmen.

Under one law Congress permitted the commissioners to name streets. Other laws fixed street names in certain areas. When the commissioners wanted to honor General MacArthur by changing Conduit Road to MacArthur Boulevard, they discovered that Conduit Road was a fixed name and that changing it would require congressional and presidential action.

The greatest shortcoming of the local government is its lack of power to fix its own taxes and budget. Both tasks fall to Congress, which shows far less interest in essential community services than in spending local tax money for tourist attractions. The capital has high crime and disease rates. Its schools and hospitals are crowded and pinched. Congressional indifference has made its slums among the worst in the country. Within shouting distance of congressional chambers are alley dwellings without plumbing or light, and where drug addiction, prostitution and tuberculosis abound. But its boulevards leading to historic monuments are wide and clean. Congress never permits Washington to build an ordinary bridge or courthouse but always authorizes an expensive monumental structure.

Some congressmen believe it a strong talking point back home to cut the capital's budget. Constituents erroneously believe that the federal government pays the District's expenses. One time a Mississippi congressman on the House Appropriations Committee had reelection trouble: his opponent charged him with being too generous to Washington Negroes. To prove he wasn't, he eliminated expense money from the next budget for the capital's reform school for Negro girls. An emergency appropriation was needed to continue this vital service.

Odd items often show up in Washington appropriation acts passed by Congress. Members sneak through unrelated national legislation by burying it in the middle of a District of Columbia appropriation bill. Such legislation, called a rider, is almost invariably something opposed by the President. Under the law a President cannot veto part of an appropriation act. It's either all or nothing. If he vetoes the bill all local services may grind to a halt before a new appropriation goes through Congress.

However, the worst feature of the Washington budget is that the government does not pay its fair share of Washington's expenses. This year for local services provided for the federal government, the government paid $10,000,000, which was less than 9 per cent of the District's budget. Experts agree that the share should have been closer to 30 per cent.

Expenses Not Shared

The federal government owns 42 per cent of Washington. None of this property is taxable. An additional 10 per cent is owned by tax-free foreign embassies and national organizations with headquarters in Washington. Yet it is the Washington taxpayers who install gutters, sidewalks, alleys and streets around federal buildings. They spend $100,000 a year to incinerate federal documents. Millions of gallons of free water air-condition government buildings and gush through drinking fountains.

The District of Columbia began life as a joint cession of one hundred square miles of land by Virginia and Maryland in 1790. This gift included two cities—Alexandria on the Virginia side of the Potomac and Georgetown on the Maryland side.

At the outset, however, citizens of the capital were free to manage their own local affairs. Each city elected its mayor and council. The two counties that were created, one on the Virginia side and the other in Maryland, were run by justices of the peace.

Although the constitution stated that: "The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over . . . the seat of the government," our founding fathers meant only that no state government would have any say in the capital. They championed local self-government. James Madison, the father of the constitution, wrote, "The inhabitants will have their voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them; a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them."

After 1800, when the government officially moved in, residents were not allowed to vote in national elections. The constitution is phrased to permit only citizens of states to vote nationally and the capital was not a state. From the start local groups petitioned Congress to amend the constitution on the ground they were suffering from taxation without representation. "We shall be reduced to that condition of which we pathetically complained in our charges against Great Britain," they pleaded.

But Congress did not propose amending the constitution. Congressman John Randolph of Virginia warned the House in 1803: "This species of government is an experiment: how far men may become reconciled to live without political rights."

Those capital citizens living in the 30-some square miles donated originally by Virginia howled for years about their "galling disfranchisement." Finally, in 1846, Congress acted upon their petitions and returned them and their land to Virginia.

Like most other American municipalities during the last century, the District of Columbia lacked public-minded officials. The city councils spent little money on improving the capital's ragged appearance. The District lacked even a single sewer.

The Civil War convulsed Washington. Soldiers stationed in the neighborhood were often rowdy and destructive. Mud grew deeper and the swarms of foreign diplomats who descended on the capital shouted indignantly about its many inconveniences.

Finally, in 1871, Congress decided that something had to be done. The city and county governments were abolished. The capital became a territorial government, with a governor and an upper house appointed by the President and a lower house elected by the territorial citizens. President Grant also appointed a board of public works to clean up the place.

The head of the board of public works, Alexander R. Shepherd, later territorial governor, was possessed with a fanatic passion for making the city the most beautiful of all national capitals. He tore down dilapidated structures, widened boulevards, paved streets, installed sewers.

But Shepherd made his improvements arbitrarily, and he spent almost $20,000,000. Some citizens spoke of financial irregularities, others protested the law giving Negro males local suffrage. Both groups influenced Congress and toward the close of its 1874 session Congress passed a temporary law ending the territorial government and local voting rights. Congress would itself make the local laws while it pondered a next move, and the President would appoint a board of three commissioners as local administrators. For the first time in three-quarters of a century the residents could not vote.

Voting Privileges Lost

In 1878 Congress made that system permanent. Local citizens agreed to swap voting privileges for a promise that the federal government would pay half the operating expenses of the capital. But in 1921 Congress cut the federal share to 40 per cent, in 1925 to 30 per cent, and today the government's share is less than 9 per cent.

For 75 years, now, Congress has debated ending its local legislative burden and bringing democracy back to the capital. Both political parties have called for the end of this local shackle. The Republican platform of 1952 reads: "We favor self-government and national suffrage for the residents of the nation's capital." Most congressmen speak exasperatingly of their work as city councilmen. Says Senator H. Alexander

Smith of New Jersey, "All of us have more than we can do. Let the people of Washington handle their own affairs."

In 1949 the Senate overwhelmingly passed a bill turning over its municipal functions to a locally elected government. And last year it passed a similar measure. But on neither occasion did the House back the Senate.

Off the record, most congressmen agree that at bottom the reason for the reluctance of the House of Representatives to relieve itself of this local headache is a racial one; 35 per cent of District residents are Negroes. A handful of congressmen, strategically sitting on the House District Committee where legislation to permit local voting must first pass, are determined not to extend suffrage to Washington Negroes. And in so doing they bar Washington's 545,000 white persons from first-class citizenship.

A great many of their southern colleagues are not impressed either with their stand or their public arguments. For his part, Senator Holland of Florida feels, "It becomes increasingly ridiculous to waste so many hours on problems that could be better handled by local representatives." Adds Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas, "There is no justification for Congress to deny the citizens of Washington their American birthright."

Washington cannot be set free without the help of fellow Americans throughout the nation.

Bills pigeonholed in the House District Committee can be brought to the floor by a petition signed by 218 members of the House. Unless there is a national demand by voters that their representatives restore local self-government to the District of Columbia—and devote their time to national issues—the present despotism will creak on.

Local representative government must come first. For it is the basic training ground for full citizenship. It requires only a law passed by Congress and signed by the president. The next step, the right to have a voting representation in Congress and the right to vote for president like all other Americans, requires an amendment to the constitution. This takes an affirmative vote of two-thirds of Congress and three-fourths of our state legislatures. It too will not come unless voters throughout the nation bring it about.

New Light on Public Ethics

Confusion of popular attitudes toward moral standards in public life prompts renewal of thoughtful discussion.

By **FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX***

THE editor of the REVIEW has asked me for some comment on four books which deal with the place of ethics in public life. In easing me into the harness, he has reminded me of my "special interest" in the subject. Curiously it was consciousness of demonstrated interest that previously led me to decline the privilege of reviewing one or two of these books in professional journals. I suggested on those occasions that it might be better to turn the job over to somebody unmoved by "special interest." But here the matter seems different. In the first place, four books on the same theme make a showing that will win the theme recognition even from those otherwise quite uninterested. Then also, at this spot, with its characteristics of a civic forum, a freely roaming report will be more welcome than the strict ritual of a book review.

The books are *Morality and Administration in Democratic Government*, by Paul H. Appleby,[1] *Ethics in Government* by Paul H. Douglas,[2] *Morality in American Politics* by George A. Graham,[3] and *Ethics for Policy Decisions—The Art of Asking Deliberative Questions* by Wayne A. R. Leys.[4] Each makes for rewarding reading. Each, indeed, could singly serve as a competent introduction into the complexities and ramifications of public ethics. Taken together, these books represent an impressive treatment of the subject—unflinching, mature, articulate. What a boon would it be if the contents could be condensed to the size of a pamphlet attractive to the timid appetite of normally alert citizens!

What is wrong with us, individually and as a nation, that we have brought upon us such heavy lecturing? This is a perfectly reasonable question to be raised at the outset. More than one thing, however, needs to be said to furnish an adequate answer. To begin with the most immediate, the twentieth century has witnessed something of a revolution in the role of government in American society. Growth of government, strikingly in evidence in particular during the last 25 years, has been working toward a new balance of free enterprise and public responsibility which is still nebulous in some important aspects and sharply contested in others.

Such growth brings growing pains —limpness, fatigue, inertia. These, in turn, not only offer a hospitable climate to parasites but also sap the moral stamina of people who generally value integrity. On a level of broader significance, it is no less necessary to recall the unresolved issues of ethics left us as the legacy of the industrial revolution. And ultimately, we even confront the formidable problem of the relationship between freedom and faith in an increasingly secular western civilization.

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*Dr. Morstein Marx, staff assistant in the Director's Office of the Bureau of the Budget, and adjunct professor of political science at American University, served as chairman of the Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government appointed by the County Board of Arlington County, Virginia. His account of the commission's work was published in the October 1952 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

[1] Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1952. xiii, 261 pp. $4.

[2] Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1952. ix, 114 pp. $2.25.

[3] New York, Random House, 1952. xiii, 337 pp. $3.50.

[4] New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. xiii, 428 pp. $6.35.

It is clear, then, that the appearance of these four books last year cannot be taken to prove that that year brought us to a moral reckoning. Nor would it be justified to explain the matter by reference to certain evil smells drifting across the political scene, sure to be exploited to the utmost in an election campaign having the earmarks of a true test. Publishers like to be timely, but it would be quite wrong to imagine that these books needed the stimulation of yesterday's disclosures about influence peddling, indifference to public ethics and violations of the trust of office.

On the contrary, the lesson suggested by the books is that in the long past we have often been no better than the worst we are guilty of now; that generally there is keener appreciation today of the urgency of sustaining a high standard of official conduct; and that such standard depends on a great deal more than devising some improvements in the design of traps to catch rats.

Defense of Integrity

Take Dean Appleby, who ostensibly sets out to check the rigging that connects morality and administration in the context of democratic government. Granted that he seems to be talking both at the beginning and at the end about things administrative, there is no chance for the reader to escape the sobering discipline of a deeper perspective. What is the relative degree of responsiveness to ethical restraint shown by private and public organizations? What meanings should one read into the concept of democratic morality? Which conditioning forces may be expected to function as safeguards against venality in government? Why is it that preoccupation with legal prescriptions for official conduct has proved to be a dead-end alley in so many respects? Can something be done to strengthen the relations between the three great branches of government as a common expression of the public conscience? These are some of the questions encountered by Appleby in his search for a "pattern of administrative responsibility through which administration seeks continually to nurture moral values peculiar to, and unfolded by, political democracy."

Appleby, whose judgment deserves much respect because of his extensive administrative experience, is convinced that public administration in the United States is well along toward some such pattern of responsibility. He feels that individual lapses will bring "correction" from within, even in the case of festering sores caused by the ills of patronage. Senator Douglas, by comparison, has satisfied himself that "institutional changes" need to be introduced and —what is a different matter—will do the trick.

Of course, like so many of us, Douglas would be glad to see a more radical change: "We all need a moral regeneration which will give us a loathing for the shoddy and the corrupt as well as a deep desire for integrity." But having said that much, he centers his attention primarily on specific recommendations for rules of legislative and administrative conduct, like those proposed by the Senate Subcommittee on Ethical Standards in Government under his distinguished chairmanship. On the whole, these recommendations would throw the weight of criminal law behind restrictions intended to keep public employees off that area where there is danger of an entanglement of public concern with private advantage.

In his observations on the ethical problems of legislators, Douglas tells a chapter that has long remained obscure to voters with little patience for their chosen representatives. Here he singles out the high cost of running for office, the lawmaker's dealings with administrative agencies, and the issue of fair procedure before legislative committees, especially those engaged in investigations.

It's Everybody's Business

Both in purpose and in execution, the most comprehensive examination of public ethics in our day is that by Professor Graham. Some may suspect satirical intent in a title like *Morality in American Politics*. These will be duly squelched once they have settled down to read. The intellectual diet contains much of the same nourishing staples that enrich the fare presented by Senator Douglas. This is no mere coincidence, for Professor Graham played a notable role on the staff of the Douglas subcommittee.

But nobody familiar with Graham's scholarship would assume for a minute that in his case association might breed subservience. For one thing, as an academic he was under no compulsion to write with as much circumspection as must a legislator when expounding a controversial thesis for the sake of clarity.

After a brief consideration of the cultural setting of morals and politics in the American tradition, he drives straight for the heart of the matter by exploring the moral aspects of political representation, legislative choice and executive leadership. As he proceeds, his path crosses often with Appleby's, but he ends up in a different corner, working through the underbrush of party action and pressure politics.

Despite the range of his analysis, however, Graham allows the reader no comfort. The pointing finger is never far from the nose of "the individual American, the average man," and closest perhaps in the massive sentence: "The battle for the integrity of American life is fought in the minds of men."

Asking the Right Question

If these three books are general disquisitions, the fourth by Dean Leys, out of the workshop of the philosopher, is given over, to the extent of a generous half, to practical exercises in ethical judgment. These, called by the author policy studies, deal with concrete situations stripped down to their essentials, such as racial conflict over a housing project, policy-making by labor unions and management, Donald Nelson and the reconversion controversy and the partition of Germany.

To be sure, before there can be fruitful exercises of this kind, it is necessary to know how to go about finding solutions. The needed guidance is supplied in the first half of the book. In this battery of chapters, Leys brings together an interesting assortment of nutcrackers found handy by various schools of moral logic. There is Bentham's utilitarian calculation, the casuistic approach, Aristotle's golden mean, the Hegelian rule of historical necessity, Dewey's instrumental thinking, and Kant's categorical imperative, to name some of the tools at random. In this way Leys gains a sort of checklist of critical questions with which to lay siege to tough ethical issues until they yield.

Leys, in short, is more concerned with helping those engaged in making decisions to ask the right questions than with forcing a single answer upon them. In this orientation he is not unique. The other books, too, see greatest hope for a restoration of public ethics to a place of eminence in a cultivation of habits of inquiry. If it is possible to develop such habits of inquiry, there would be no doubt about the outcome of what Graham calls "the battle for the integrity of American life."

On the other hand, although regulations expressing an informed consensus have their use in this field as in others, nothing would do less toward a stronger moral sense than clamping upon people's minds a crisp orthodoxy that has all the answers. If we mean business in the matter of public ethics, our paramount concern should be to induce more people to raise questions of ethics as a common practice, in their own minds as well as in public affairs. The effect would not be blunted by honest differences in answers.

A Long-Term Task

There is in these four books a clear awareness that public ethics reaches far beyond the pious satisfaction of avoiding scandal. It will do little to moralize about malfeasance in office and ignore the circulatory process that makes into one thing private ethics and public ethics, business morality and official morality. In this view it becomes obvious that the state of public ethics at any time is merely a mirror of what people accept as the general facts of life, social and economic as well as political. The mirror may need wiping but the wiping won't change the picture.

Thus, ultimately, we face a central problem which in these books is stabbed at only in occasional allusions. That central problem is how to define, in terms of wisdom, the ethics of conflict, which by inference also includes the ethics of making common cause. As embattled partisans, we simplify our problem by identifying the other side with the Devil, whom we meet by cunning in order to match his cunning. But our cunning makes him only the more resourceful. And let nobody forget that the ruthlessness of conflicting interests comes into stark display even in local affairs, despite the romance we have woven about our town.

If we just slap some more lawyer's language into the statute book and then turn to something else, we would have hardly done more than change the subject of discussion. On the other hand, what might be done in a long-term effort still awaits reconsideration and authoritative statement.

How to Sell Judicial Reform

The technique of the salesman and the enthusiasm of the missionary must be combined to stir citizen's interest.

By WINSTON PAUL*

JUDGES and lawyers should be leaders in the effort to improve the judicial system of any state. The Bar Association of Texas is to be commended for taking the lead there. Judge John J. Parker of Texas has aptly stated:

"If the lawyer wishes to preserve his place in the business life of the country, he must improve the administration of justice in which he plays so important a part and bring it into harmony with that life. If he imagines that the present functioning of the courts is satisfactory to the people, he is simply deluding himself.

"Workmen's compensation commissions were established very largely because the courts were not handling efficiently the claims arising out of industrial accidents and it was felt that they would not administer the compensation acts as efficiently as administrative bodies.

"Business corporations are willing, as all of us know, to suffer almost any sort of injustice rather than face the expense, the delay and uncertainties of litigation. Arbitration agreements are inserted in contracts with ever-increasing frequency; and every such agreement is an implied affirmation of the belief that lay agencies for attaining justice are more efficient than the courts.

"Let me remind you that the administration of justice is the business of the lawyer as well as of the courts and that if he does not wish to see his business slip away from him, it behooves him to go about it in an efficient and businesslike way.

"But there is a higher ground upon which I would base my appeal. If democracy is to live, democracy must be made efficient; for the survival of the fit is as much a law of political economy as it is of the life of the jungle. If we would preserve free government in America, we must make free government, good government. Nowhere does government touch the life of the people more intimately than in the administration of justice."

How does one go about getting judicial reform; how does one organize to accomplish this? In this field, lay interest and the organizing talents of businessmen can be most helpful.

In selling judicial reform four factors are important: (1) a non-legal sponsoring group, (2) leadership, (3) public knowledge and support, (4) adequate financing based on a carefully prepared budget.

This article is based primarily on the experience of New Jersey in obtaining a complete reorganization of its courts as one of the principal objectives of the 1947 revision of the state constitution. While the educational work and the campaign that brought success dealt with other needed improvements in the constitution, judicial reform figured so prominently in the picture it is possible to tell the story largely in terms of this one issue.

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*Mr. Paul, chairman of the Board of Directors of General Aniline and Film Corporation, was president of the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision, a member of the 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention and chairman of its Committee on Public Relations and Information.

The first step is to invite into the preliminary meetings, even for the discussion of objectives, a group of outstanding civic leaders. They must be thoroughly familiarized with the reasons for the proposed improvements. As laymen, they may well know where the courts fail to meet the needs of the citizen, especially the local police and traffic courts, which are too often integral parts of the political rather than the judicial system. And these are the courts in which millions of our citizens have their only contact with a court and from which experience they form their opinion of American justice.

Lay interest will also be especially valuable in improvements in the method of the selection of jurors, to insure that they be competent, intelligent and honest. Also, little argument will be required to convince businessmen of the value of responsible and effective administrative supervision of the judicial system of their state. No businessman would think of running his business without an executive or administrative head.

Care and thought must be exercised in the selection of these civic leaders to insure that they consist of people who have a sincere civic spirit. Careful and thorough advance planning of this organizing group will be a major factor in your ultimate success. An important consideration is that this organizing group should be balanced and bipartisan. It should include representatives of such business groups as the state chamber of commerce, the local chambers, taxpayers and trade associations. Selections from both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. are important. Representation of the farm bureau, state grange and similar farm groups should be obtained. The affiliation of the League of Women Voters and similar women's groups is especially valuable. In New Jersey, they were literally a tower of strength in the campaign. If there are important foreign and racial groups these also should be given recognition.

Leadership Important

From this organizing group, a leader should be selected. He should be a person of courage, persistence and determination, with sufficient knowledge of political tactics and strategy to give over-all direction to the campaign, based upon a knowledge of political currents. New Jersey was fortunate in having such leadership. Arthur T. Vanderbilt, formerly president of the American Bar Association and now chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, filled this role most admirably, although without any official position in the movement. The official leaders looked to him for wise advice and guidance. If funds afford it, a full-time, experienced director, preferably professional, is desirable.

After setting up an organizing group and selecting a competent leader for the direction of the campaign, the next need is to secure sponsorship of the movement by "front men," whose integrity and public standing are such that their support will be generally recognized as sincere and informed and who can command newspaper space. Obviously, it is of great help if the effort is led by a public official of commanding position. In the campaigns for constitutional and judicial revision, New Jersey had the active leadership of three successive governors, Charles Edison, a Democrat, and Walter E. Edge and Alfred E. Driscoll, Republicans, and leaders of the New Jersey Bar. Statements by any of these men always received excellent publicity and commanded public respect.

Outstanding leadership and shrewd direction, however, are insufficient. Needed is support by the public. Citizen ignorance and apathy as well as the selfish interest of those who feel they benefit from the existing system must be overcome. It is necessary to make clear to the businessman and the ordinary citizen that he has a stake in the efficient and expeditious administration of justice, for instance, many businessmen have been the victims of strike suits.

Get Public Support

The campaign for public support will require the enlisting of speakers for whom a handbook, printed or mimeographed, should be prepared; the arranging for numerous public and group meetings of service clubs, churches and schools; and the distribution of literature, embellished, if possible, with cartoons.

Many citizens are unfamiliar with the present court system of their state and with the reasons for improving it. It is therefore of primary importance that information on these points be widely disseminated. Newspapers can be induced to run series of articles. Leading editors can be persuaded to write editorials. Just as the evangelist is psychologically sound in seeking first to convince the individual of his sinfulness, so the average citizen must first be convinced of the need for improvement in the judicial system. Charts can be prepared showing the present court setup and comparing it with the simpler and improved proposed plan. Comparisons can be made with the systems of other states. Articles can be written for state law journals and for the weeklies and Sunday papers which circulate in the state.

Such a broad and wide campaign to enlist public interest and support will require adequate financing based on a carefully prepared budget. I would stress that such financing should be separate and independent. If the financing comes from the state chamber of commerce, for instance, the public may think the latter will attempt to exercise control and the whole movement may be looked at askance by other groups. There is no harm in getting contributions from the individual members of such organizations, but the movement should not be an appendage, or thought to be such, of any one group.

Realizing the New Jersey campaign would require years, leaders in the campaign set up an Educational Foundation to concentrate on educational aspects. This eases the money-raising problem since contributions to such an educational foundation are tax-deductible.

There was a close affiliation between the Campaign Committee and the Educational Foundation. The speakers and the publications of the

(Continued on page 289)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Kansas Administration Department Created

Five Separate Functions Brought under One Head

THE 1953 Kansas legislature has enacted a law setting up a Department of Administration, under an executive director to serve at the pleasure of the governor. The department will include divisions of personnel, purchasing, budget, accounts and reports, the division heads to be in the classified civil service, appointed after competitive examination. The change occurs on July 1.

The legislature in 1951 created in the office of the governor, for a two-year period, a Division of Administration with the duty, among others, of cooperating with the Legislative Council in drafting a bill to reorganize and modernize the fiscal, accounting, purchasing and budget affairs of the state, in a single administration department. The new law is a result of this effort.

The Legislative Council prepared a report on *Fiscal Reorganization* for the legislature as background for consideration of proposed bills on the subject. It points out that the functions mentioned above are now performed by five different offices. The principal duties of the single department are stated to be: to develop financial policies and plans for consideration of the governor and the incoming governor, as the basis for the executive budget, to prepare the detailed documents to carry out the financial plan; to coordinate and supervise all fiscal affairs and procedures and execute policies and plans approved by the legislature; to approve audit claims, make special investigations upon request, purchase and store supplies, install and maintain records, issue warrants, provide central and consolidated services, and develop plans for improvements and economies in the organization and operation of the various state administrative agencies.

Legislative review and control would be provided by an independent post-audit and by a State Finance Council consisting of three legislators, the governor and the lieutenant governor, as an advisory and review board.

Most of the powers of the present Civil Service Board are transferred to the executive director and the State Finance Council. The board will continue to hear appeals of employees and will consult with the executive director on rules recommended by the personnel director.

Arizona Legislature Makes Administrative Changes

In the course of its recent regular session, the Arizona legislature again provided for a limited amount of administrative reorganization by establishing three new departments of government, initiated a proposed constitutional amendment to freeze the size of the House at its present figure and enlarge the membership of the Senate, set up a legislative council, made several changes in the state election laws and authorized some budget relief for local government. The legislature was in session 79 days, a new record for the body. The governor did not once exercise his veto.

New departments of law, finance and public schools will be established. Organization of the last named, however, is contingent upon acceptance by the voters at a special election to be held September 29, 1953, of amendments to abolish the present state board of education and the elective office of superintendent of public instruction. The Department of Public Schools would include, in addition to a commissioner of education, a state board of public schools, none of whose members would be permitted to be a teacher, school administrator or an elective or appointive school official.

The proposed amendment relating to the size of the legislature will, if adopted, freeze House membership at 80 and increase the Senate from 19 to 24 by giving each county two senators. If the amendment is rejected, the House, beginning in January 1955, will include 104 members. The amendment, however, would augment the power of the conservative rural counties which at present are overrepresented in the Senate under a system of constitutional apportionment which allots one senator each to nine counties and two each to the other five. The amendment will be submitted to the voters at the special election in September.

Personnel of the twelve-man Legislative Council authorized by the legislature have already been appointed by the presiding officers of the two chambers from their respective memberships. The presiding officers are *ex officio* members. The council, whose duties will begin July 1, will supplant the special legislative committee on state operations (interim committee) which has been functioning for the past several years and will succeed to the powers and duties of the State Legislative Bureau, now a part of the State Department of Library and Archives.

Although Arizona has a system of permanent, personal registration, a new law provides for a temporary break in the continuity of registrations by requiring that all qualified persons must re-register after January 1, 1954. Another act makes various changes with respect to the form, verification and method of circulation of petitions and provides a formal method by which petition signers, after second or possibly first thought, may withdraw their signatures.

Cities, towns and counties which have experienced difficulty in furnishing adequate services because of the 10 per cent budget limitation law were granted some relief by a measure which permits them to adopt for the 1953-1954 fiscal year a budget based upon actual expenditures during the current fiscal year, plus as much as 20 per cent more. Tax levies must not be increased more than 10 per cent, however, as in the past. The new budget figure will serve as a basis for future budgets to which the customary 10 per cent ceiling will apply.

A state retirement law will supplement benefits received by state employees under the federal old-age and survivors' insurance program, in effect in Arizona since January 1. Under the supplementary program, both employees and state government will contribute 3½ per cent to the retirement fund.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Colorado Council Studies State Reorganization

The Colorado legislature, instead of appropriating funds for Governor Thornton's Committee on Reorganization of the State Government,[1] has directed the recently established Legislative Council to cooperate with the committee by furnishing staff and other assistance for a thorough study of administrative reorganization of the executive branch.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 139.

Partial Area Basis for Wisconsin Senate

In a referendum at the April 7 election in Wisconsin the voters by a narrow margin approved the use of area as well as population in redistricting for the State Senate. A similar proposal had been defeated on November 7, 1952, in an advisory referendum, by a majority of about 65,000. Early in the present legislative session, however, the dominant rural majority in both houses voted to hold the second referendum, in which, despite a heavy opposition vote in Milwaukee County, the proposal won by about 20,000.

A caucus of the rural majority, mostly Republican, thereupon devised a plan giving 70 per cent weight to population and 30 per cent to area, after considering a 60-40 division. Detailed legislation introduced as a result will, as one effect, transfer the ninth Senate district from Milwaukee to northern Wisconsin, leaving Milwaukee County with six senators instead of seven. The proposed new ninth district's population (1950) is 58,186, whereas the rearranged districts in Milwaukee County range in population from 136,603 to 157,308. The lost district has been represented by a Democrat.

Merit System States Now Number 23

Enactment of a civil service law in Montana covering most of the 4,000 state employees brings the number of merit system states up to 23, according to the National Civil Service League. The new law results from investigations by the state's "Little Hoover Commission" and is expected to cut turnover, which has sometimes been as high as 100 per cent a year in clerical staff, and to establish a job classification system and a sound salary and career plan.

Home Rule Loses Again in Washington State

The legislature of the state of Washington has adjourned without submitting to the voters a proposed home rule amendment. A similar proposal lost out in 1951. The amendment, although considerably limited in scope, would have embodied much of the home rule program urged by the Association of Washington Cities. It received almost unanimous support from the Senate Committee on Constitutional Elections and Appropriations, after a public hearing, but died in the Senate Rules Committee.

Missouri River Basin Commission Proposed

A revised draft of a suggested interstate compact for development of water, land and related resources of the Missouri River basin has been published for the Missouri River States Committee by the Council of State Governments. It calls for the creation of a Missouri Basin Commission of ten to fifteen members, including state and federal representatives. The draft was issued at the request of Governor Sigurd Anderson of South Dakota, chairman of the committee, as a preliminary to further study and consideration of the compact idea in relation to the basin's development.

Rhode Island Primary Law Somewhat Improved

Rhode Island's legislature made two improvements in its advanced direct primary law which brings it still nearer to the National Municipal League's model. One relieved the party managements of the necessity of filing petitions in support of their duly certified designees (which, uniquely, are identified as such on the party primary ballots, as favored in the League's model). The other permits unendorsed candidates for party nomination to combine their petitions for easier solicitation of signatures.

Other locally desired amendments were: (1) to hold primaries of all parties together on the same day (instead of a week apart)—this had been promised by the platforms of both parties; (2) to give unendorsed candidates representation among primary officials; and (3) to permit candidates to have their names grouped in a slate on the voting machines.

R. S. C.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Sioux City, Iowa, (1950 population 83,991) voted on April 28 to adopt the council-manager plan, 11,822 to 7,625. The city has operated under the commission plan for 42 years.

In **Orchard Park, New York,** (2,054) the village board has created the position of village manager.

In **Portsmouth, New Hampshire,** a bill was submitted to the city's delegation in the state legislature, calling for a referendum in November 1953 on the present council-manager charter and substituting a weak-mayor charter. At the public hearing only one person appeared in favor of the referendum, while 46 appeared against it. As a result, the city delegation has reported the bill as "inexpedient to legislate." Thus, the council-manager plan appears secure until at least 1955.

In **Concord, New Hampshire,** a bill was submitted to the city delegation for a referendum in November 1953 on the present council-manager charter and substituting what was substantially the old mayor-alderman charter under which the city operated from 1910 to 1949. At the hearing there was overwhelming opposition to a referendum. One local newspaper reported there was no more sentiment for such a referendum than there is for a revision of the United States constitution. The city delegation refused to authorize the referendum but substituted a bill which would give the voters an opportunity to express their sentiments on the present form of government. The question on the ballot will be so worded as to determine whether the voter wishes to hold a referendum at the 1955 city election. It will be, in effect, a referendum on a referendum.

In **Dover, New Hampshire,** which has a strong-mayor plan, proponents of the council-manager plan prepared a bill calling for a referendum this September. The bill met with strong opposition from politicians at the public hearing, but the city delegation decided that such a referendum will be held on the second Tuesday in September 1955, and every fourth year on petition, until the matter is referred to the people four times. The delegation also decided that 500 signatures must be obtained before a referendum can be approved.

A bill authorizing **Shrewsbury, Massachusetts,** to adopt the representative form of town government with a town manager has been presented to the legislature. The action was authorized at a special town meeting on May 4.

A campaign for the council-manager plan has been started in **Holyoke, Massachusetts,** beginning with a discussion meeting sponsored by the Young Republican Club in April. Petitions for a vote on the subject have been prepared.

A charter bill has been introduced in the state legislature for **Watertown, Connecticut.** It gives the people of the town two alternatives from which to choose, the council-manager plan and the mayor-council plan.

Bills have been introduced in the **Pennsylvania** legislature to enable cities of the third class to adopt the council-manager plan and to establish a new class—second class B—of 120,000 to 135,000 population, which would also be permitted to adopt the manager plan. This class takes in **Erie,** where there is an active movement for the plan.

The city council of **Reading**, one of the largest third-class cities of Pennsylvania, voted three to two to endorse the legislation permitting the manager plan in such cities.

On April 28 voters of **Steubenville, Ohio,** elected a charter commission of fifteen members pledged to draft a council-manager charter.

Mt. Clemens, Michigan, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on April 6 by a margin of 71 votes out of more than 3,000.

Ann Arbor, Michigan, voted in the ratio of nine to one on April 6 to revise its old special act charter and to elect a nine-member charter commission on June 2.

A proposal to abandon the council-manager plan was turned down 2,941 to 1,220 by the voters of **Watertown, Wisconsin.**

Galena, Illinois, voted on April 21 to retain the council-manager plan, 913 to 838. The plan was adopted December 1, 1948, and went into effect May 1, 1949.

In an advisory vote on April 21 **Palatine, Illinois,** voted against the manager plan 1,022 to 489.

The **International Falls, Minnesota,** charter commission has been studying the manager plan.

Mason City, Iowa, voted 2,688 to 2,277 on April 28 against returning to the council-manager plan, which it had for eighteen years until 1945. Mayor Howard E. Bruce favored returning to the plan. Organized labor was opposed to it. Less than 5,000 of the city's 14,000 registered voters participated in the election.

In **Ft. Dodge, Iowa,** the Organization for City Manager has filed petitions calling for a vote on adopting the manager plan. In **Ottumwa** adoption of the plan is also being considered.

As a result of activity in favor of the council-manager plan, a special election will be held in **Joplin, Missouri,** on the election of a charter commission.

Valentine, Nebraska, voted against a proposed manager plan, 411 to 236, on May 12.

A group of citizens of **Abilene, Kansas,** has been conducting a campaign for abandonment of the council-manager plan in favor of the old commission plan. Petitions for a vote on the question have been filed.

There is a movement under way in **Girard, Kansas,** to change from the commission to the manager plan of government.

A study of the manager plan has been initiated by the **Olathe, Kansas,** Chamber of Commerce.

In **Tulsa, Oklahoma,** the mayor has appointed three charter committees—two to draft council-manager and strong mayor charters, respectively, and one to review the existing commission form.

In **Provo, Utah,** the *Daily Herald* is actively interested in adoption of the manager plan.

A citizens committee, appointed by Mayor A. F. Rohrman, has proposed to the city council of **Walla Walla, Washington,** that the council-manager form of government be adopted. The League of Women Voters has been studying the plan.

In **Marysville, California,** a citizens committee has met with city officials to study a proposed council-manager charter.

Fresno, California, by a vote of approximately four and a half to one on April 13 decided to name a board of freeholders to draft a new charter for presentation to the electorate within a year.

Oroville, California, defeated a proposal to adopt the manager plan at the general municipal election on April 13.

The legislature of British Columbia has created the **District of Kitimat,** a municipality covering 61 square miles on the Pacific coast, and has provided for the appointment of a municipal manager.

Faulkner Act Upheld in New Jersey

The Supreme Court of New Jersey on April 30 upheld the constitutionality of the so-called Faulkner act, which sets forth various forms of municipal government and provides for making them effective through local referenda. The law had been challenged by a group of six taxpayers of Hoboken, which city had chosen the mayor-council plan as prescribed by the act. The decision enabled Hoboken to proceed with the election of a mayor and nine councilmen on May 12.

Managership Training at Universities of Maine, Kansas

The training of post-graduate students for city managerships continues successfully at the University of Maine under Professor Edward F. Dow. Maine has over 100 small communities under the manager plan, where students of this course may get field training. Students frequently move directly into managerships on graduation in communities where they may hold several titles besides that of town manager.

Starting salaries have averaged about $3,500. Twenty students are currently enrolled and, as the demand for graduates continues greater than the supply, the university director of admissions is broadcasting invitations to "ambitious young men" to enroll for next September.

The sixth annual city managers' school at Kansas University, sponsored by the Governmental Research Center and the university, was conducted from April 22 to 25, inclusive, with 60 city managers in attendance. Besides serving as a refresher course for city managers in the five-state area centering around Kansas, it provided instruction for students of the profession throughout the area.

As noted in the April REVIEW (page 188) Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, starts a new two-year graduate course of training for city manager careers in September.

Newark, N. J., Elects Charter Commission

On May 12 the voters of Newark, largest city of New Jersey, decided by a ratio of eight to one to establish a charter commission to study that city's present commission form of government and determine whether it should be changed. At the same time the charter commission itself, consisting of five members, was elected, as well as the five members of the city's governing body. The recommendations of the charter commission are expected to be placed before the voters in a referendum at the November election. Its members include a professor of law, the president of the Newark Welfare Federation, a former president of the League of Women Voters, and representatives of the AFL and CIO.

Eleven Michigan Communities Use Joint Services

Eleven suburban communities north of Detroit, Michigan, are cooperating in the joint provision of important municipal services for their residents, including police radio, garbage and rubbish collection and disposal, water supply, hospital service, fire protection and sewerage.

Nine cities are included, ranging in population from 3,500 to 50,000: Berkeley, Birmingham, Clawson, Ferndale, Hazel Park, Huntington Woods, Oak Park, Pleasant Ridge and Royal Oak. The other two communities are Southfield and Royal Oak townships.

AMA to Meet in New Orleans

The American Municipal Congress, sponsored by the American Municipal Association, will have its 1953 meeting at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 29 - December 2, inclusive. Continued attention will be given to national municipal policies. The Government Public Relations Association will meet in New Orleans at the same time as the American Municipal Association.

HOW TO SELL JUDICIAL REFORM

(Continued from page 282)

Educational Foundation had easy access to schools, churches and similar groups for the dissemination of factual information as to the shortcomings of the old court system and the various proposals for improvement.

I have kept until the last the consideration of one essential ingredient for success, namely, that the campaign must be nonpartisan. From the beginning, effort must be made to secure the support of prominent, respected and independent members of both the major political parties and, in addition, to enlist those citizens who do not customarily engage in political activity. Naturally, if a legislature is dominated by one party, it is helpful, and only practical, to have the cause presented by leading members of that party, but bear in mind that legislators are impressed if the leaders of the opposition party also sponsor the proposed changes.

The appeal should be based on the facts: (1) that the program is not designed to harm either party, is not planned to be of assistance to either party, but that it rises above partisan consideration and is essential in order that the judicial system can best serve the interests of all the citizens; (2) that it is necessary in order that there be public respect for the processes and administration of law as the basis of our democratic form of government.

The technique of the salesman and the enthusiastic zeal of the missionary must be combined to stir citizen interest. This support will come if the cause is worth fighting for. As General Jan Smuts said to the students of Oxford, "When enlisted in a good cause, never surrender for you can never tell what morning reinforcements in flashing armor will come marching over the hilltop."

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 269)

Suppose she had chosen to persuade other influential, articulate persons to join her in looking beyond the dirt at the fundamental causes of the inept government that leaves the largest city in the position of stumbling along by blind momentum.

If the experience of hundreds of other cities is any indication, then she might expect to come back to New York some day and be quoted as saying, "What lovely, free air—free even from dirt! This, at last, is a city we can all be proud of."

Miamians to Vote on Abolishing City

Merger with Dade County Purpose of Florida Bill

AN act abolishing the government of the city of Miami for the purpose of consolidating it with Dade County will be voted upon by Miamians at a special referendum June 9. The Florida State Senate, which introduced the bill, approved amendments to it inserted by the House.

The original bill as passed by the Senate gave the voters of Miami no voice in the proposed abolition. The House added a provision calling for the June 9 referendum and also stipulated that the election would require participation by at least 15 per cent of Miami's registered voters to make it valid.

If approved by a majority of the required number of voters, abolition of the city government would take effect July 1. If less than 15 per cent of the voters go to the polls, the proposal will be re-submitted at the city commission primary in November. If approved then, abolition would take effect December 1.

Following is the text of the bill as originally passed by the Senate:

"Section 1. That the city of Miami, Florida, be and is hereby abolished.

"Section 2. That Dade County, Florida, shall service to and be liable and responsible for all of the debts, obligations and liabilities of the city of Miami, Florida, and shall acquire all of its property; provided, however, that only property within the corporated boundaries of the city of Miami shall be taxable for the indebtedness of the city of Miami evidenced by general obligation bonds, but such property shall continue to be liable and taxable for such bonded indebtedness.

"Section 3. This act shall take effect at midnight, June 30, 1953."

A companion measure, recently introduced, is actually in the form of a charter for the consolidated Miami-Dade County government to be known as the city and county of Miami. It would change the city of Miami to an urban taxing district with no government or functions of its own. Other municipalities within the territorial limits of the proposed new city and county would not be affected by this bill. However, any such municipality may subsequently consolidate with the city and county of Miami and come under the provisions of the act by a referendum of its voters, thereby becoming another urban taxing district.

The charter is said to be intended as an interim document until such time as a new, complete, long-range charter can be prepared. It confers many new powers and duties upon the county commissioners, who would administer the new consolidated government. Although described as "a step toward the county manager plan" when first announced, the charter contains no provision for a chief administrator of any kind.

City-county Traffic Commission Created

A joint traffic commission serving both the city of Savannah, Georgia, and Chatham County has been created by the state legislature, according to the American Municipal Association.

The seven-member commission will be composed of one city alderman, one county commissioner, three citizens appointed by the city and two citizens appointed by the county. Employment by the commission of a traffic staff headed by a traffic engineer is authorized. This staff will be carried on the Savannah city payroll and be governed by its personnel regulations.

The city will provide two-thirds of the commission's budget and the county one-third. The county commissioners have the right to levy property taxes to raise the funds necessary to pay the county's part. All expenditures made by the commission must be approved by both the city council and county commission.

Georgia Adopts Medico-legal Act; Illinois Seeks One

A new office, that of state medical examiner, has been established in Georgia by the legislature's passage of a bill entitled "Georgia Post-mortem Examination Act."

Holder of the office must be a licensed physician appointed by the director of the State Crime Laboratory (a division of the Department of Public Safety) and the director of the State Department of Public Health. The medical examiner is to designate "licensed physicians at convenient locations throughout the state to act as medical examiners in performing post-mortem examinations at the request of the coroner of any county." These local examiners may receive fees of from $15 to $75 at county expense or the work may be done free by salaried examiners of the state.

Dr. Warren B. Matthews of the Georgia Association of Pathologists, with support from the Medical Association of Georgia, was largely instrumental in securing passage of the bill.

In Georgia, coroners must require post-mortem examinations and inquests in certain broad classifications of cases. Coroners remain elective in each of the 159 counties for four-year terms under the new state constitution of 1945, a fact which has postponed fuller adoption of the principles of the National Municipal League's *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System.*

A bill to establish a chief medical examiner to improve the state's medico-legal service in the investigation of suspicious deaths has been prepared jointly by the Illinois State Medical Society and the State Bar Association for introduction in the state legislature. Since coroners are elective in the counties under the state constitution, the office must continue. The proposed bill, however, would transfer the investigation of deaths to the chief medical examiner, abolish coroner juries and establish tighter procedures under a staff trained in medicine and pathology as proposed in the League's *Model.*

County May Grant Tax Exemption to Industry

Maryland has passed a bill giving Allegany County a new form of industry tax exemption to help the county secure industrial expansion. Any expansions, additions and extensions made by established manufacturing, fabricating, assembling, processing and distributing industries, factories and plants in the county are now exempt from county and municipal taxation.

The new law is an extension of Chapter 449 of the Laws of 1951 encouraging establishment of new industry in the county by allowing tax exemptions for land, buildings, tools, implements, raw materials and manufactured products on hand, and all personal property used in the business for ten years from date of establishment of the new industry in the county.

States Recommend County Assessing Districts

The New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policies has recommended appointment of full-time county assessors in the state, the National Association of Assessing Officers reports.[1]

The commission also recommended that assessments be made at 50 per cent of full value. Assessments in New Jersey now vary from 10 to 60 per cent of full value.

In Michigan, a bill was introduced recently to create an assessment district in each county to have jurisdiction over all property not within the corporate limits of any city. This bill would abolish all township assessors and many part-time assessors.

Three other states—Pennsylvania, Iowa and Nebraska—have established county assessment districts in recent years.

Court Upholds County Education Board on Bond Proposals

The Supreme Court of North Carolina has ruled that the power of county commissioners to approve or disapprove requests of county boards of education for bond issues does not include the power to submit an alternative proposal to the voters in a bond election.

According to *Popular Government,* published by the Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, the ruling resulted from a case in Anson County where the county board of education had submitted to the county commissioners a proposal for a bond issue of $1,250,000 to finance seven specific school construction projects. The commissioners approved the request and called a special bond election to obtain the necessary approval of the voters.

One of the projects for which the bond issue was requested was construction of a new high school for white students. On their own motion and without consultation with the county board of education, the commissioners submitted a second question in the bond election: should the new school be built even if the existing high school could be enlarged to accommodate all the white students in the county?

A majority of voters answered "yes" to the first question, thus approving the bond issue; but a majority also answered "no" to the second question. On the basis of the second answer, the commissioners proposed to reduce the bond issue from $1,250,000 to $950,000 by abandoning the project for the new high school. The plaintiff, as a taxpayer, began an action to either invalidate the election and restrain the commissioners from issuing the bonds thereby, or to compel them to issue the bonds in the originally authorized amount of $1,250,000 without abandoning the new high school project.

The lower court ruled against the plaintiff and dismissed his action. The plaintiff appealed and the Supreme Court reversed the decision.

The decision seems to establish a general budgetary procedure for school capital outlay in North Carolina, whether financed by tax or bond revenues: the county board of education must initiate proposals; the county commissioners can approve or disapprove them but they cannot substitute their own.

Texas County Drops Fee System

The office of justice of the peace in Hopkins County, Texas, formerly on a fee basis, has been placed on a salary basis by the county commissioners court. Salary for Justice Ray Morgan was set at $175 per month.

Wisconsin Medical Society Sponsors County Health Units

The Wisconsin State Medical Society is sponsoring legislation to organize centralized health departments in Wisconsin counties. The society urges an appropriation of $33,000 a year to the State Department of Health to finance

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[1] See also page 294, this issue.

"trial runs" for such a project in not more than three counties each year, for a maximum of five years. Purpose is to secure a demonstration of the plan that the health department has been unable to sell to the legislature.

The society agrees with the health department that county-wide units are needed to replace the present program under which urban health services are frequently good but weak or non-existent beyond city boundaries. After the proposed trial financing by the state, the counties would be expected to take over, at their own initiative, or in cooperation with city governments.

Town Boards May Lobby Says Wisconsin Legislature

The Wisconsin state assembly recently passed a bill making it legal for town boards to lobby at the state capitol with the use of town funds. The bill was passed by the assembly "under the lash of town board members in its ranks," according to the *Wisconsin Tax News*.

"This newest of public officials' lobbies," says the publication, "apparently is to be condoned, presumably because counties and cities have received some statutory recognition for doing the same thing. This officials' lobby business at Madison is becoming pretty vicious. Usually to attend a hearing, a citizen has to elbow his way through a crowd of state or local officeholders whose salaries and expenses he is paying apparently so they can lobby for higher state spending and, thus, more state taxes."

Back to "Grass Roots" Says Town Health Officer

The trend in New York State is toward a down-to-earth "grass roots" administration of relief, meaning a return of greater responsibilities to towns, Ralph W. Witmer, welfare officer of the town of Webster, New York, told members of the Wayne County (New York) Welfare Officers Association.

"The method being discussed most during the last two years," he reported, "is the establishment of a more active central office in each town to be known by some name similar to a service center. Establishment of a service center does not mean that the town will have to make any new appointments."

A survey of towns made during the past two years revealed that ever-increasing duties and responsibilities are being handled by the town welfare and service officer, Mr. Witmer revealed. Some of the additional duties being placed on the shoulders of welfare officers are part-time assistant to the assessor, assistant to the tax collector, assistant to the town clerk, bookkeeper for the supervisor, building inspector, assistant to the building inspector, deputy tax collector, deputy registrar of vital statistics, deputy town clerk, director of the youth recreational program, inspector for the zoning board of appeals and manager of the school lunch program.

In addition, many town boards are appointing their welfare officers to either head Community Chest, Red Cross, March of Dimes and other drives, or to furnish clerical assistance or take some other active part. Also, many towns require their welfare officers to cooperate with local chambers of commerce in establishing local employment bureaus.

A total of 536 towns (out of 932) in New York State now have welfare or service officers, Mr. Witmer reported.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Jersey Commission Cites Property Tax Evils

Makes Its Report on 'A Century of Inequities'

NEW JERSEY stands out among the states as the one which has most successfully resisted the trend toward property tax replacement. The locally assessed property tax is responsible for 90 per cent of all local taxes and two-thirds of all state and local taxes, exclusive of payroll taxes. This is what is meant by the observation that New Jersey is a local property tax state.

The New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policy recently published a comprehensive report on the property tax. Indicative of the abuses and inadequacies accumulated during a century of neglect, the commission's report opened with the following blunt statement:

> The evidence that the general property tax . . . is badly administered fills many pages of this report. There is not a county or municipality which can escape some criticism. In fact, the statutory conditions under which the tax is administered encourage some of the evils. Despite a century of tinkering with the administrative machinery, it is still woefully inadequate. It not only fails to produce a fair tax system, it also discolors many other vital relationships of government. New Jersey is not alone in this dismal situation. Similar conditions are to be found to some degree in almost every other state. But many states are taking steps to eliminate evils, and New Jersey has an opportunity to become a leader in the national movement for reform of the general property tax.[1]

The commission's report contains extensive and detailed statistical documentation that property is not uniformly assessed as among classes of property, as among taxing districts or as among individual properties within single taxing districts. The over-all conclusion is that all taxable real estate within the state is assessed at an average of about one-third its value.

On this basis, the statewide average tax rate of $6.77 per $100 valuation taxable (1952) represents an average effective tax burden of $2.30 per $100 of full value. However, the great variation as among property assessments indicates that this average can show the position of any single taxpayer only by accident. The averages do mean that the $433,000,000 which the property tax raised last year could have become three times as much, or $1,300,000,000 without any increase in the average tax rate. The commission observed:

> The full significance of this gap between law and practice can be appreciated only in light of the findings of this report—of discriminatory taxation, gross inequalities, incompetent assessments, competitive undervaluation, legal evasions, the breakdown of review and equalization, and the implications of these in the financial relationships between state and local government. This report is a criticism of the entire system, without regard to the work of any individual assessor or reviewing official, without distinction among taxing districts or political parties. We have bad laws, badly administered, because taxpayers of the state have been willing to accept bad compromises with fair and equal taxation.

The need to improve property tax administration is widely recognized, but improvement is difficult to accomplish. By no means least among the reasons for this is the habit of avoiding—rather than answering—questions of basic policy sometimes designated as "political."

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[1] New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policy, Sixth Report, *The General Property Tax in New Jersey*, Trenton, February 1953, page ix.

The commission prefaced its recommendations with this statement:

> As a point of beginning, it will be necessary to drop the connotation that political means unchangeable. This study shows that the present system has failed. It is incredible that so much money is raised so badly. It demands that both political parties assume responsibility for the correction of recognized evils.

Against this background the commission developed specific recommendations to eliminate the present morass of inequities in the general property tax in two ways: (1) by establishing an adequate structure and organization for the local assessment of property, and (2) by placing the assessment process, so far as possible, upon defined and objective standards of value. Recommendations were as follows:

1. That the county be established as the primary assessment district with a fully qualified county assessor properly compensated.

2. That provision be made for the absorption of all qualified assessing personnel now employed in the various taxing districts.

3. That the costs of county assessment be apportioned among the municipalities of the county in proportion to their assessed valuations and that such costs be a charge against the budgets of the respective municipalities.

4. That the assessment process be recognized as a professional operation to be performed by technically qualified personnel, removed from all political considerations.

5. That the county boards of taxation be retained for the purposes of appeal and review, but that their title be changed to board of tax review with appropriate county designation, i.e., Board of Tax Review, [Blank] County Division.

6. That the Division of Taxation and the Division of Tax Appeals as at present constituted in the state's Treasury Department, be retained.

7. That the following method of valuation replace the historic "true value":

(a) Valuation for the purpose of assessment of property taxes should be made biennially, except for new construction, additions, abandonments and demolitions.

(b) Existing statutes should be revised in accordance with the letter and spirit of the tax clause of the new constitution to assure review and correction of discriminatory assessments regardless of whether or not the complainants' property is assessed at less than its full value.

(c) Standards of "true value" as applied to buildings and improvements, in recognition of the widespread practice of many assessors, should be defined by statute as follows:

> "True value" shall mean the average of reproduction costs less depreciation and the gross actual or imputed rental value of each property, to be ascertained under such uniform rules and regulations as may be promulgated by the director of the Division of Taxation.
>
> Land shall be valued by the assessor as under present practice.
>
> In order to assure the benefits of the new formula without depending upon radical reductions in present high tax rates, the legislature could provide for assessments to be made on 50 per cent of the valuation as determined by formula.
>
> Reproduction costs shall be determined according to the average level of construction costs during the five years immediately preceding the year for which an assessment is made.
>
> Depreciation shall be allowed in accordance with such schedule as the director of the State Division of Taxation shall promulgate, taking into consideration the actual use experience with different classes of buildings; but in no event shall depreciation exceeding 80 per cent of reproduction cost be taken, so long as a building is in use.

8. That the general tax law be amended to require every owner of real

property, upon suitable penalty, to file a confidential informational return with the assessor, setting forth so far as is possible: (a) the original cost of his property; (b) date of construction; (c) dates and costs of additions and modifications; (d) annual gross rentals for income producing properties; (e) the consideration for which the property was last conveyed; (f) insurance coverage (exclusive of land and foundations); (g) and if the property is currently for sale, the price at which it is offered, together with all encumbrances.

9. That the taxation of household goods and personal effects be abolished.

10. That taxation of all other locally assessed personal property be administered by the county assessor, as in the case of real estate and improvements under the proposed plan.

11. That inventories of raw materials, work in process, finished goods and stock-in-trade be assessed at a stated per cent of average book value during the year.

12. That machinery and equipment be assessed at a stated per cent of its book value, allowing for normal depreciation.

The commission concluded:

> These are the minimum requirements to place the general property tax of New Jersey on a fair and defensible basis. . . . It is the people and the legislature who must decide if they will be satisfied with anything less.

James A. Arnold, Jr.

Princeton Surveys
Princeton, New Jersey

Ohio Cities Adopt, Change Income Taxes

The city of Maumee, Ohio, has adopted a 1 per cent payroll income tax, effective January 1, 1953. The tax applies to salaries and wages, as well as net profits of businesses and professions, earned in Maumee by residents and nonresidents, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

Taxpayers must file returns on or before March 31 of each year, beginning with 1954. Employers are required to withhold taxes from wages and salaries at the time of payment and make quarterly returns to the city. A reciprocity clause is included in the ordinance, which permits a taxpayer to credit income taxes paid to other cities by residents of those cities against the tax due Maumee up to 50 per cent of the Maumee tax.

In two other Ohio cities income tax rates were changed. Springfield reduced its rate from 1 per cent to 6/10 per cent and Youngstown increased its rate from 3/10 per cent to ½ per cent.

Ordinances establishing municipal income taxes in Canton and Marietta, Ohio, were defeated at the polls in November. Lancaster, Ohio, imposed a ½ per cent income tax which was rejected at the November elections. The city readopted the tax on December 4, 1952, however, to become effective January 1, 1953. Two other Ohio cities, Akron and Struthers, adopted ½ per cent income taxes, while Campbell, Ohio, imposed a 3/10 per cent tax.

The only attempt in Minnesota during 1952 to broaden the municipal tax base met with defeat when the voters of Duluth rejected a proposed ½ per cent city income tax. Efforts in Michigan to establish a city income tax have thus far been stymied by adverse court decisions which have invalidated a 1 per cent tax proposal by the city of Saginaw on constitutional grounds.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Fairest Plan Says Worcester Editor

Best System to Elect True Cross-section of Voters

Editor's Note.—The article below appeared in the Worcester (Massachusetts) *Gazette* for April 25. Prepared by Robert C. Achorn, of the *Gazette's* editorial staff, it is reproduced here by permission.

THERE are probably more misconceptions in these parts about P.R. than about almost any other subject.

P.R. is the handy tag for proportional representation, the system Worcester uses to elect its city council and school committee.

The politicians should know the facts. But a good many of them are vague on how P.R. works and what it is intended to do.

When Worcester changed to the council-manager system of government in 1950, the charter provided for nonpartisan elections. There are some who suppose P.R. was the only reason for taking party labels off the ballot.

But the two matters aren't that closely linked. Any type of charter the city would have been likely to accept would have provided for nonpartisan elections, P.R. or no P.R.

About 60 per cent of the cities in the country have nonpartisan municipal elections, although only a handful use P.R. Most large cities in Massachusetts have nonpartisan elections. Springfield, with its antique bicameral charter, is one of the few exceptions.

Nonpartisan elections have been common for many years in other parts of the country. More and more cities are turning to them, feeling that the issues that divide the parties at the national level have little to do with running a city.

The party hacks are always in there pitching for a return to the old system. Then, if their party sweeps into office, they can readily deal in patronage, favors and petty graft.

But some responsible citizens also cling to the idea that local government is more satisfactory if the responsibility can be put squarely on a single political party in power. They want "the two-party system" restored. They favor an arrangement under which the voters could mark their council ballots for nine candidates. Under this simple plurality system, the nine hopefuls with the most votes would be elected.

This is somehow supposed to provide "fairer" representation than does P.R. But it doesn't. Just the opposite.

Such an arrangement often doesn't mean a two-party system. It means a one-party system.

Boston, for example, chooses its city council on a somewhat similar method, with a primary and then a runoff election. The result is that Boston, for the first time, has not a single Republican in its city council. One out of every five enrolled voters in Boston is a Republican. But not one of the nine city councillors is a member of that party.

There are complaints about P.R. because a minority of the voters elects each councillor. But under some of the alternate schemes, a minority can elect the entire council.

The fact is that about 90 per cent of the votes cast here under P.R. go toward electing someone. No other system can come close to that.

In New York City, 7,123,455 votes cast at eighteen municipal elections were completely wasted. They didn't help elect anybody. And that was 41 per cent of the total vote cast in those elections.

P.R. is the best system yet worked out for electing to municipal office an accurate cross-section of the voters. Some may think that's not a good idea. But it's hard to say it is not "fair representation."

P.R. combines the best features of the ward system and of citywide elections. Under P.R,. each councillor is elected by a relatively small group, as in the ward system. In that way, no single group can monopolize the offices, as one can under a citywide election on a simple plurality basis.

P.R. eliminates geography as a consideration of a candidate's fitness for office. If voters know of a good candidate on the other side of the city, they can support him.

The P.R. argument can be carried on almost endlessly. And it's like other political arguments—all the talking in the world won't convince anybody who already has his mind made up.

Some of the P.R. critics are simply trying to make political hay. But many are completely sincere. In a good number of cases, however, they're not wholly clear on what part P.R. plays in Worcester's system of government.

Minority Report Lists P. R. as Future New York Charter Goal

As a member of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, which recently completed a three-year $2,000,000 series of studies of the city's government,[1] George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the New York Citizens Union and one of the editors of this department, submitted a "Minority Statement on Future Charter Objectives," published as Appendix F of Volume I of the committee's report.

This statement begins:

"The Mayor's Committee report seems to me highly constructive. . . .

"Nevertheless, it leaves a number of important questions unanswered which I think must be asked and answered some time if the city is to get the best structure for its needs."

The memorandum then lists and discusses as future charter objectives the standard city manager plan (instead of the committee's recommendation of a city administrator appointed by the mayor), a single-chamber policy board replacing the present board of estimate and city council, proportional representation for the election of the new policy board which would choose the city manager, an appointive instead of elective comptroller with only auditing functions, borough presidents serving as presidents of local improvement boards but without administrative duties, and community districts for administration and planning.

The part of the statement on proportional representation reads:

"Obviously the single policy board should be as representative as possible. A body like our present council, which consists of 24 Democrats, one Republican and no others, is not so constituted as to speak with a real mandate for all the citizens of the city. Some of our boards of estimate have been even less representative, consisting only of nominees of the largest party.

"Great stress has been properly placed in this report on the desirability of inviting active civic interest and participation in government. That objective is not well served by an election system which gives all the representation in each area to the largest organized group.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1953, page 232.

"Under New York City conditions it is not ordinarily possible to get anything even remotely approaching a properly representative governing body without proportional representation. We had proportional representation for five council elections, from 1937 to 1945. In every one of these at least a third of the places went to the minority and no one party ever monopolized the seats in any one of the four large boroughs. By and large the caliber of councilmen was superior to what we have had before and since. The members included increasingly creditable party representatives and such independent civic and labor leaders as Genevieve Earle, Dr. Harry Laidler, Louis Hollander, Charney Vladeck, Andrew Armstrong, Robert Straus, Ira Palestin, Gertrude Klein and Charles Belous. Stanley Isaacs and James Burke, prominent leaders and borough presidents of the two major parties, were first elected to the council under proportional representation by large independent minorities without party support. Ironically, the last proportional representation council was the best council we have had in point of record and accomplishment.

"The only reason we lost proportional representation was that the same system which assured participation in government by the various esteemed minorities of which our city is largely composed naturally gave representation also to unpopular minorities when they were sufficiently large. No avowed Communist could be elected in New York today, under proportional representation or any other system; but at a time when the United States and Russia were friendly allies, 2/23rds of the voters cast their votes for plainly labelled Communist candidates and elected two Communist councilmen out of a total of 23. Then the international climate changed and a party organization which all along had disliked proportional representation because proportional representation had broken its near-monopoly used the presence of the Communists to inflame the press and the voters against the system. The two times that the issue of repeal of proportional representation was presented to the New York electorate without complication of communism, in 1938 (on a prohibitory constitutional amendment) and in 1940 (on a straight repeal), the repeal was overwhelmingly defeated.

"For the present we are still too much worried about our dwindling Communist minority to make the resubmission of proportional representation opportune. But the time should come before long when New Yorkers will again be more concerned about electing people who can speak for them adequately than about guaranteeing the exclusion of somebody else, and then proportional representation will be reconsidered because it is the only way to make the people's representatives an accurate reflection of the people themselves. It is already in effect, in one form or another, in a large part of the democratic world, including such stable countries as Ireland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Australia.

"If the revival of proportional representation is coupled with the adoption of the council-manager plan we should get even better results from proportional representation than the moderately good results we got before, because the body elected by proportional representation will have much more power and therefore attract more high grade candidates and more intensive public attention at elections."

Citizen Committees Aid City Governments

Investigate Finance, Comic Books, Censorship, Planning

ACCORDING to a survey made by the Michigan Municipal League, reported in its *Michigan Municipal Revew* for February 1953, practically all Michigan cities use citizen committees at some time or other. The league sent questionnaires to 85 of the state's largest cities about half of which replied. In addition to some 264 citizen committees termed "administrative," the 45 cities which returned the questionnaires reported they had 85 committees "which may be described as advisory." "Taken as a group," reports the journal, "they are usually temporary and are not given much to work with in the way of funds or personnel."

Flint has many such committees, the most important of which is the Mayor's Fact-finding Committee which helped prepare a postwar capital improvement program and a priority basis for undertaking the various projects approved. Dearborn has a City Beautiful Commission, Petoskey a Waterfront Park Naming Committee.

Some groups act as censorship bodies. Muskegon has a Comic Book Committee, Adrian a Citizens Committee Controlling Sale and Distribution of Obscene Literature, Saginaw a Censorship Advisory Board and Royal Oak a Motion Picture Censorship Committee. Quite a few deal with traffic and parking problems.

Most of the committees have in common the fact that they are concerned with problems that are on the periphery of typical municipal activities, investigating new problems for which the city does not have adequate operating departments or activities which the people do not want the city to take over entirely but in which some municipal action is needed or they may investigate problems on which officials want to find out how the citizens feel.

A 24-member Citizens' Finance Committee in St. Louis, appointed by the mayor, has submitted its report making suggestions for economies in operating costs and for additional sources of revenue.[1]

The mayor of Gainesville, Florida, has appointed a committee of 32 local citizens to study the needs of the city and make recommendations to the city council.

In San Antonio, Texas, four neighborhood committees are advising the city's planning commission on needed improvements in their part of the community. These are divided into subcommittees on storm sewers and drainage, streets and traffic, and parks and recreation. The city has also a citizens' advisory committee on capital improvements, appointed by the mayor to advise city officials.

The Journal of Social Hygiene, in one of its recent issues, tells the story of the activities of the Citizens' Advisory Committee to the San Jose (California) police department. Authors are A. P. Herman, city manager, and Ray Blackmore, police chief. The committee's functions are to foster a closer relationship between the people of San Jose and their police department; to stimulate city-wide interest in educational programs designed to help the individual protect his life and property; to pool information useful to the police in controlling detrimental influences; to tell the public about the steps taken by the police department to control vice and crime; and to act in a consultative capacity on policies suggested by the city administration and to determine whether they would prove beneficial to San Jose.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 145.

City Councils Like Citizen Attendance at Sessions

City councils in three municipalities are interested in having their constituents attend council sessions and view the proceedings intelligently. Richmond (Virginia), Austin (Texas) and Hayward (California) distribute leaflets to visitors to aid in the understanding of the council's activities.

All three brochures contain a diagram of seating arrangements for the council and other officials in attendance. That for Richmond sets forth council procedure. The Austin piece contains a diagram of the city's government and describes the council's order of business and manner of taking action. Haywood describes the city's government, as well as duties of its officials, and suggests ways for citizen participation.

High school students attending sessions in Richmond get credit in their civics courses. The council tries to get the names of such students, sending each a letter of thanks for his council visit.

All three cities have council-manager government.

Adult Education Subject of Workshops, Articles

The February 1953 number of *Adult Leadership*, published by the Adult Education Association of the United States of America (743 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago) is devoted almost entirely to the subject of "initiating social action." Articles describe the meaning of social action and report on activity in particular communities. Jean and Jess Ogden, well known for their community services work with the Extension Division of the University of Virginia, tell how the people of Front Royal, Virginia, organized effectively for cooperative planning and action. "Youth Awakens a Sleeping Town," by J. D. Mezirow, describes how the efforts of the young people of Alexandria, Minnesota, stirred the community into organizing a Community Council for the development of youth programs. "The Best Defense," by Lester J. Waldman, describes the citizens' defense of the public schools, attacked in an unnamed large southwestern city. A large chart describes "Phases of Community Action." Many other helpful articles are included.

"A Summary Report of the AEA's Second National Conference," titled "The Adult Education Movement Charts Its Course," has been published in the January 1953 issue of *Adult Education*, of the Adult Education Association.

The AEA has just received a grant of approximately $92,000 for its magazine *Adult Leadership* and for its Council of National Organizations. Purpose of the association is "to further the concept of education as a process continuing throughout life," reports its president, Paul H. Durrie.

The seventh annual workshop and laboratory in human relations training of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development will be held June 21-July 11 at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine. The laboratory is sponsored by the National Education Association and the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan. For information apply to the laboratory at 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

The sixth annual conference on adult education, conducted by Community Services in Adult Education of Purdue and Indiana Universities and Ball State and Indiana State Teachers Colleges, was held April 20 at West

Lafayette, Indiana. It was an intensive one-day meeting "to discuss the public schools as a means of expanding adult education in Indiana communities."

Conducting Discussions

"The Blackboard," as an important adjunct to the conduct of a discussion group is described in a short article appearing in *Community Teamwork*, "A News Letter About Adult Education for Hoosiers," issued by Community Services in Adult Education at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana. *Let's Discuss It*, "A Guide to Group Thinking," issued by the Ohio State University Discussion Service, conducts a short "Discussion Clinic" in its March 1953 issue.

Manager Plan Supported by Civic Groups

A number of Illinois cities which have recently adopted the council-manager plan held elections this spring to choose the councilmen under whom the plan will be inaugurated. In most of these places, the civic groups which worked to secure the plan supported slates of candidates.

In Mount Vernon, O. R. Buford, who spearheaded the campaign which made Mt. Vernon the first city to adopt the manager plan after passage of the 1951 Illinois enabling act, was chosen the city's first mayor under the new government.

The Citizens Committee for Good Government, which sponsored the manager plan for Rock Island, Illinois, elected its mayoral candidate and three of its four choices for aldermen. In Oak Park, the Village Manager party elected its candidates for mayor and aldermen. In Bloomington, the "All-Bloomington" group elected its mayoral candidate as well as three of four aldermen. "Peorians for Council-Manager" also elected its mayoral candidate and four of its candidates for city council.

The number one project of the Committee for Better Elgin (Illinois) is an educational program to discuss the respective merits of the council-manager and the commission forms of government. The action was approved at a meeting attended by representatives of 23 local civic, social and veterans' organizations.

An open forum on the council-manager form of government was held at the Lycoming College (Williamsport, Pennsylvania) campus in April. Representatives of eleven civic organizations participated in arranging the session, started as a project of the League of Women Voters of Williamsport.

In Iron Mountain, Michigan, the Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Government waged an unsuccessful fight for adoption of the manager plan.

All three local units of the League of Women Voters of Brockton, Massachusetts, held sessions in April to study and acquaint their members with the council-manager plan, advocated for the city.

Plan E government (council-manager with proportional representation) as applied in Worcester, Massachusetts, was discussed before the Married Couples Club of the Worcester Central Congregational Church by three city officials—the city manager and members of the city council and school committee. The meeting was sponsored by the Citizens Plan E Association.

The Civic League of Long Beach, California, where the council-manager plan has been in effect for 32 years, has prepared a proposed charter which, if adopted, says its *Municipal News*, "will greatly strengthen our city government." The new charter will continue the manager plan but along modern and more efficient lines.

The Council-manager Association of Iowa City held its biennial meeting on Thursday, April 23, when it elected ten members of its board. The meeting was addressed by City Manager Peter F. Roan and Mayor William J. Holland.

Tax and Rentpayers, Inc., of Poughkeepsie, New York, heard Miss Elizabeth Knox, acting mayor of Hartford, Connecticut, speak on "Why Council-manager Cities Need a Nonpartisan Ballot" at its annual dinner. Poughkeepsie's council-manager charter went into effect last year. It provides for partisan elections for mayor and members of the council, the latter elected one from each ward.

The Charter Association of Colorado Springs, Colorado, organized in 1952[1] and pledged to support the city's council-manager government, endorsed three of the thirteen candidates running for three places on the city council, electing two of them. The third was narrowly defeated.

The fifth "Know Your City" neighborhood meeting sponsored by the city council of Phoenix, Arizona, was attended by some two hundred residents, reports the *City Manager's News Bulletin* of that city. A series of nine meetings is planned in different neighborhoods so that residents and city officials may get together to discuss mutual problems.

Proof of the Pudding

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, one of the liveliest and most successful civic organizations in the country, has had so many queries from other groups throughout the country, it has prepared a mimeographed fourteen-page statement on *The Pudding's Proof of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.* It describes how the league is organized, its scope of activities and its history, and lists a short inventory of accomplishments.

State Reorganization

"Your pocketbook will keep on taking a beating," says the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, "unless current efforts to modernize government in Oklahoma are successful." It has circulated a small booklet, *Here's Your Broom*, issued by the Governor's Reorganization Committee, which depicts the need for reform in state administration.

Citizens' Handbook

The Bureau of Municipal Affairs of Pennsylvania's Department of Internal Affairs has published a *Pennsylvania Citizens' Handbook.* Prepared by Paul E. Kilmoyer II, research assistant of the bureau, the twenty-page pamphlet gives qualifications for voting, tells how to vote, lists dates of elections and describes what constitutes a political party. Listed also are the offices on all levels of government for which elections are held.

Three Reforms Asked

The Committee of Seventy of Philadelphia, in its *Civic Affairs* for February, lists three much needed reforms for its city and state: Completion of consolidation for the city and county, reapportionment of legislative and senatorial districts and revision of the state constitution.

Spring Cleanup

The Central Atlanta Improvement Association reports that it has joined the Women's Chamber of Commerce in its annual spring cleaning drive. "We are proud," says the association *Newsletter*, "that, thanks to that organization, Atlanta has just been awarded second place among American cities in annual competition for the title of 'cleanest city.' Let's back them, win the top award this year and prove that beauty brings business."

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 581, and March 1953, page 149.

Citizenship Day Scheduled

The eighth national conference on citizenship, under the auspices of the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice, will be held September 17-19 at the Statler Hotel in Washington, D. C. Theme of the conference is "What Price Freedom." Civic organizations are asked to name delegates to the sessions. Some twelve hundred are expected to attend.

Two reports of last year's conference, on "The Constitution and the Citizen," are now available. The Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association has issued a 55-page pictorial report containing excerpts from many of the addresses. It is available from the association's offices, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., at 50 cents per copy.

The second report, *U. S. A. Citizenship* (56 pages), comes from the Office of the Attorney General. It covers the major part of the proceedings, reporting addresses and panel discussions.

Planning a Program

How to Plan a Club Program (21 pages), prepared particularly for women's organizations, has been published by Modern Homemaker, *McCall's* magazine, Dayton 1, Ohio. The price is 25 cents.

The April 1953 issue of *Adult Leadership* is devoted almost entirely to "evaluating program and performance." Articles include "Where and How to Look for What's Wrong," "Hurdles for Evaluators," "Evaluating Your Program," "Evaluating Goals" and others.

Community and the University

Two publications on cooperation between the university and the community are: *Fifth Annual Report—Program of Community Dynamics* (21 pages), issued by Earlham College of Richmond, Indiana, and *The Community of New York and Its Universities—A Suggestion for More Effective Cooperation* (fifteen pages). The latter was prepared by Irwin V. Shannon and Max Wolff. It may be secured from Mr. Wolff, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27.

Political Directory

A *1953 Political Directory* has been issued by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Georgia. Listed are all officials, both appointive and elective, for Atlanta and Fulton County, as well as legislators and congressmen from the area.

Seek Constitutional Revision

The Texas Junior Chamber of Commerce, at its state convention on April 25, went on record "in favor of the state legislature adopting the resolution [presented to it by a group of citizens] providing for exhaustive, impartial and expert research on state government and constitutional reform." It points out that Texas' constitution has been amended 113 times since its adoption in 1876 and that it has "too much administrative detail incorporated in it." Copies of the chamber's resolution were sent to the governor and members of the legislature, as well as the press.

Fight on Crime

Fifty Chicago organizations are cooperating in the circulation of a "Citizens March on Crime" petition, reports the *Chicago City Club News.* Directed to the mayor and city council, the petition requests that "the Council Emergency Crime Committee be continued and strengthened; that a competent staff, in whom the people have confidence, be hired; and that "a thorough and vigorous investigation be conducted to determine what persons and conditions are responsible for the alliance between crime and politics, and that such investigation result in the enactment of legislation to break this alliance."

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Metropolitan Areas Demand Attention

Recent Writings Show More and Broader Effort Needed

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first section of an article on metropolitan area problems. The second section will appear in the REVIEW for July.

A REVIEW of writings about American metropolitan government during the past year brings to light again some of the salient problems in this most challenging political and administrative arena. On few other problems of American government has there been as much lamentation and study in recent years and as little concrete improvement. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, there is urgent need to get the facts about our metropolitan areas and to go swiftly and methodically into a concerted program for alleviating the major problems. In December 1952 the American Municipal Association recognized this by establishing a committee on metropolitan areas "to undertake a comprehensive research program of the major problems of metropolitan areas."

Literature on the characteristics and pathology of the metropolitan complex and on governmental solutions for many of the problems fits generally into a familiar framework.

First, the bulk of the writing has been research of the many facets of the so-called metropolitan problem and its underlying causes. Sociologists and planners have by all odds been most productive here. Political scientists have given worthwhile attention to discrete areas and a few specific problems; but in their writings there has been a shortage of synthesis. Few have tried to bring together the results of the mass of studies on specific places, functions and devices and to classify, describe and criticize them generally. One is also struck with the fact that there are still many specific questions which have received little or no significant attention.

Second, a small group of scholars has dealt with governmental "solutions" or remedies for certain metropolitan problems, usually in connection with a brief summary of their research findings. A third, yet smaller, group has tried to prescribe the ways in which remedies should be applied.

Research Studies

Most of the research falls into one or another of a few categories: (1) writings on a single characteristic of the metropolis, for example, its size; (2) those dealing with a single governmental function or service such as sanitation or planning (often in a single area); (3) those looking at a geographic part, the central city or fringe areas; and (4) a few covering one whole metropolitan area.

An instance of the first type is an article by R. M. Lillibridge, "Urban Size: an Assessment" (*Land Economics,* November 1952). Instead of looking at a single city, Lillibridge brings together most of the important writings on the relation of city population to social relationships and the effective operation of municipal services. Such syntheses, even on a small part of the metropolitan problem, are all too rare. He discusses the contributions made by researchers on the subject of city size and concludes generally that "success in functioning" is definitely related to size. Most of the writers he identifies are economists, sociologists or planners; political scientists have rarely invaded this field. In the research that has been done, Mr. Lillibridge finds "it is readily apparent that there is a wide variation in the reliability and comparability of basic data."

The second category of research studies examines specific functions or services. Two excellent examples have appeared in recent months. Winston W. Crouch and Wendell Maccoby describe the development of metropolitan area-wide sewage and waste disposal administration in *Sanitation Administration in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area* (University of California, Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952). "Two strongly organized major systems of sanitation administration . . . have demonstrated an amount of flexibility in their scheme of organization that met the needs of a rapidly growing metropolitan community where municipal boundaries have changed often and where the pattern of municipal boundaries was a complex one."

The Los Angeles city system of contracts with neighboring cities places policy leadership in the city of Los Angeles, however, and depends solely upon contracts to enforce that leadership, and the authors fear that the citizens of Los Angeles one day may refuse to finance improvements or reconstruction. They look with more favor upon the "strong administrative enterprise" of the Los Angeles County sanitation districts system, governed by boards representing the areas involved.

Searching for a dynamic, over-all solution, the authors finally suggest that some type of special authority, similar to the Metropolitan Water District, in which each member city has representation on the governing board, would "be more conducive to smooth operation in the future." Such *ad hoc* solutions have met with increasing favor in the past decade, as is indicated by the national increase of 48.4 per cent in the total of special districts.[1]

Urban redevelopment has received its definitive treatment to date in two lengthy volumes, *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment* and *Urban Redevelopment: Problems and Practices* (University of Chicago, 1953), edited by Coleman Woodbury. A number of capable contributors bring into focus the fact that blight is a continuing as well as a crisis problem, and stress again and again that redevelopment, in its human as well as its physical aspects, must continuously proceed in both central city and suburbs.

These two books are a landmark—so comprehensive in their treatment that they will receive much well deserved attention in coming years. They represent a summing up, a bringing together of most of the research on this topic to the present moment. The job they do is one which needs to be done on every function of metropolitan government.[2]

Fringe Areas

A third type of research, examination of different geographic parts of the metropolis, has been frequent in recent years. "Fringe areas" especially have received a great deal of attention, as chronic "suburbanitis" has proceeded apace.[3] Barbara J. Hudson's newly prepared bibliography on *The Urban Fringe Problem* (University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952) is evidence of the fact.

Of course, the definition of "fringe areas" may differ for the purposes of different authors, functions or recommendations. In a plan for action, however, some line must be drawn. Harland Bartholomew and Associates in phase two of the Toledo Master Plan have recommended, for example, that water and sewer service be extended to areas "expected to develop a population density of at least five persons per acre." They propose that the water system be under city control, but that a new district covering all the area be formed to manage the sewers.[4]

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[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Governments in the United States in 1952,* 1953.

[2] Herbert Emmerich, in complimenting these studies, has pointed out some shortcomings, for example, too little time is spent on the question of financing new building. He suggests consideration of a "superannuation tax to be applied to structures and areas which have outlived their usefulness." See "New Approaches to Urban Redevelopment," *Public Management,* February 1953.

[3] See Thomas H. Reed, "Suburbanitis," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1950.

The spattering of housing developments, shopping centers and industries across the countryside has been a focal point for single area studies and master plans and, as suburban structures age, it has become obvious that there are redevelopment problems there as well as in the central city. Trends and patterns, however, are not at all clear. In Part II, "Industrial Location and Urban Redevelopment," of *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment,* Coleman Woodbury and Frank Cliffe have probed one aspect. To the question whether industries are decentralizing or diffusing within metropolitan areas, they give no firm answer. They find considerable variation in different industries and different parts of the country. "From an over-all view of the patterns of industrial location over the past half century or so, their chief characteristic is their relative stability." (Page 286.)

Obviously, industry is moving about and new plants are being built which are having strong repercussions on small communities and rural sections within and without metropolitan areas, for example, the Fairless Plant of United States Steel at Morrisville, Pennsylvania, and the new atomic installation at Portsmouth, Ohio. There are indications that industry management, government officials and private citizens are giving more constructive attention than formerly to the ramified questions of plant location.[5] We need studies, however, of what management is doing to anticipate problems, of what happens to local institutions and attitudes when there is an influx of workers and capital, of what state and local governments are doing or might do to control these situations.

The housing development or tightly knit community on the city's outskirts is a convenient unit for research because it is simple to define. Brief studies such as *Land Development in the Metropolitan Area of Toronto* (Toronto Real Estate Board, October 1952) are, however, rather infrequent. Its compilation of statistics on assessments, taxes, education, costs and debts in twenty villages, subdivisions and developments depicts the inequalities in a situation that to a degree is typical. The researcher can find other instances of such studies, and there is a task of pulling together and comparing which needs doing.

Another instance of research is that covering many characteristics and services in a single metropolitan area. Problems of the Nashville area are treated in the report of the Community Services Commission for Davidson County and the city of Nashville: *Future Nashville* (June 1952). The commission's recommendations are too lengthy to be included here, but it should be noted that they lean heavily on the devices of annexation of territory to the city and county assumption of "county-wide functions." They do not recommend establishment of any special districts or authorities.

Los Angeles Studied

The Haynes Foundation has published eleven of the projected sixteen volumes of a monumental study of the Los Angeles area, *Metropolitan Los Angeles*

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[4] *Toledo Municipal News,* January 1953.

[5] See Guthrie S. Birkhead, "New Industries Pose City Problems," the REVIEW, December 1952; Lawrence Durisch, "Attracting Industry to Cities," the REVIEW, May 1953.

—A Study in Integration.[6] This *tour de force* is undoubtedly the most thorough of its kind for many years; probably the study of a *Regional Plan for New York and Its Environs* (1927-31) is the only comparable prior work in this country. The completed set will include volumes on characteristics of the metropolis, population growth, finances, intergovernmental relations and eleven governmental functions. The final volume is to consider the question, "Is integration possible?"

Another publication of this type looks at Indianapolis: *Report with Recommendations* to the Indiana General Assembly by an official agency, the Metropolitan Area Study Commission of Marion County, Indiana (November 1952). This commission caps its research by recommending that all adjacent "urbanized" areas should be brought within the limits of Indianapolis.[7] Outside this city they would create a new unit of government, a joint rural township board, to provide certain services (highways, planning and zoning, and police); although the present townships would continue to exercise present functions (schools, relief and fire protection). Then, certain services would reach county-wide under the direction of the county government (law enforcement, health, welfare, among others).

This rather intricate distribution of functions would be accompanied by establishment of a Regional Planning Commission with jurisdiction extending five miles beyond the limits of the new city. Finally, annexation of built-up territory to the city would be accomplished by the city council, upon recommendation of the Regional Planning Commission. This ambitious program would require several constitutional amendments and numerous statutory changes, so many, in fact, that one is tempted to ask why the commission did not go further in its recommendations toward area-wide government and abolish several units of government. To an outsider, this proposal would not appear much less "practical" than those that were made.

Governmental Remedies[8]

Researchers customarily climax a study with proposals for solving or ameliorating some of the conditions they have found. Studies vary widely from the purely descriptive to the chiefly argumentative. Often more useful in the practical world of public affairs, however, are studies of the suggested solutions, research into and comparisons of the cases where they have been attempted, and evaluations of their usability.

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[6] E. A. Cottrell and H. L. Jones, *Characteristics of the Metropolis,* 1952; R. Bigger and J. D. Kitchen, *How the Cities Grew,* 1952; J. N. Jamison, *Regional Planning,* 1952; R. F. Wilcox, *Law Enforcement,* 1952; W. W. Crouch, W. Maccoby, M. G. Morden and R. Bigger, *Sanitation and Health,* 1952; J. K. Trump, M. Kroll and J. R. Donoghue, *Fire Protection,* 1952; R. F. Wilcox, *Highways,* 1953; H. L. Jones, *Personnel Management,* 1952; P. Beckett, M. Plotkin and G. Pollack, *Governmental Purchasing,* 1952; H. L. Jones, *Schools,* 1952; and H. L. Jones, *Libraries,* 1953. The remaining five volumes will be *Water Supply, Recreation and Parks, Finance and Taxation, Intergovernmental Relations* and *The Metropolis: Is Integration Possible?*

[7] The Commission defines as "urban" those unincorporated areas where there were eight or more residences per quarter mile square area (one residence per five acres). It recommends, however, that twice this density be used as the standard for bringing unincorporated areas into the city in the future.

[8] Victor Jones has made the most familiar and useful classification of these devices. He distinguishes two general types: those involving no structural changes and those requiring "fundamental changes in the structure of the existing units." He arranges the various remedies under these headings. *Metropolitan Government,* Chicago, Social Science Research Council, 1942, page 87.

The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States (National Municipal League, 1930) and Victor Jones' *Metropolitan Government* (1942) have been the standard critiques of such governmental devices for years.

Jones has brought much of his thinking up to date in *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment,* Part IV, "Local Government Organization in Metropolitan Areas: Its Relation to Urban Redevelopment." In view of increasing utilization in the past decade, the devices of annexation[9] and special districts and authorities receive careful attention. The author, however, does take a stand in favor of the federal idea: "I doubt that any proposal has much chance of success unless it is based on the 'federal principle' of allocating metropolitan functions to a metropolitan government and leaving other functions to less-than-metropolitan governments." (Page 605.) The recent merger of twelve suburban communities in the Toronto metropolitan area with the central city for purposes of administering planning and zoning, parks and recreation, water supply and sewage, assessments and several other services, provides the only important instance of the federal plan in effect on this continent.[10] It evidently goes far beyond any move that has ever been made in the United States.

The substance of most scholarly prescriptions for metropolitan ills can be summed up in a word—integrate. By endorsing remedial measures that are strongly integrative and require radical changes, Jones and other writers cited in these pages continue the trend. In his *Administrative Problems in a Metropolitan Area: The National Capital Region* (Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952), Geddes W. Rutherford has sought to combat this trend with a recommendation for more formal and informal intergovernmental cooperation in the Washington, D. C., area. He is conscious of the peculiar situation created by federal jurisdiction over the District of Columbia in combination with the interstate character of the metropolis. In his rejection of integrative devices, however, and in his insistence that most other students have recommended those devices only on the basis of *a priori* reasoning, Rutherford stands pretty much alone.

Effecting Governmental Solutions

Most neglected of these three types of writing is the study and prescription of the ways in which remedies or solutions, once chosen, should be recommended to the public. To judge from the poor record of applying such measures in the United States, one might think the topic would have been a favorite one for writers. It has not been so.

Brief articles on procedural matters that have appeared this past year are only suggestive of the uncharted problems. How is a plan for further integrating a metropolitan area produced and effected? How can citizen action on an area-wide scale be initiated and maintained at a high pitch? How can the so-called solutions be instituted and tested?

Three authors have inquired as to the best methods of organizing for and effectuating planning for the entire metropolitan area.[11] Official and private planning organizations in the areas of Pittsburgh, Kansas City (Missouri), Cleveland, Detroit, Nashville, Indianapolis, Atlanta and Boston are examined. In some cases, their legal bases, objectives, membership, full-time staff, budget and results to date are described. In two or three cases there have been concrete accomplishments beyond the mere formulation of a regional plan. For example, some of the health recommendations in Nashville have been adopted. The Atlanta and Baton Rouge plans are now in effect. These brief studies indicate in some measure, however, the extreme political difficulties under which these planning groups operate. No attempts are made to criticize their methods or diagnose the political weaknesses from which they suffer.

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[9] A Public Administration Clearing House *News Bulletin,* February 11, 1953, reports several of the annexation programs which large cities have undertaken in recent years. Seven places are mentioned as having greatly increased their areas through annexation since World War II. On the other hand, many more cities have experienced no annexation; and, indeed, many new incorporations have occurred in their suburbs. For example, Minneapolis has been completely encircled by suburbs during the past ten years. Around Chicago ten new municipalities have appeared.

[10] See the REVIEW, May 1953, page 236.

[11] H. G. MacNiven, "Organization for

Studies of politics, pressure groups and political action in the metropolitan area have been most neglected. A Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund pamphlet, *The Big City: An Inquiry into Civic Participation* (Washington 1952), outlines briefly the difficulties facing conscientious and effective citizenship in the urban complex. Intended as a guide for civic organizers, the pamphlet also points out the need for more research in the use of mass media in the metropolis, in financing citizen organizations there, in training leaders and in other topics. The conclusion is that "Much further study, research and experimentation is imperative."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

News from GRA

The Governmental Research Association has announced its annual competition for written materials prepared by members. One award will be given for the "most noteworthy piece of research" and another will be made for the "most effective presentation of a subject." Entries must be submitted by June 5 of each year.

The Association has just issued a *Supplement* to the 1952-1953 *Directory of Organizations and Individuals Engaged in Governmental Research and Related Activities.* The *Supplement* lists changes which have occurred during the period July 1952 to March 1953.

Regional members of the Governmental Research Association met in three daytime sessions at the Martinique Hotel, New York City, on May 2. Seminars on two subjects—"Are We Getting Enough from the Property Tax" and "What Happens When a Governmental Researcher Becomes a Public Administrator"—and a luncheon meeting were well attended.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Annexation

South Dakota Municipalities and Their Problem of Annexation. By John F. Green. Vermillion, League of South Dakota Municipalities, *South Dakota Municipalities,* April 1953. 2 pp.

Budgets

The Capital Expenditures Budget. How Cities May Efficiently Schedule the Construction of Public Facilities. By Philip P. Green, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, *Popular Government,* April 1953. 4 pp.

Economy and the New York City Budget. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., April 15, 1953. ii, 53 pp.

City Planning

City Planning and Urban Development. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber

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Metropolitan Planning," *Minnesota Municipalities,* February 1953; N. N. Gill, *Memorandum re Study Commissions on Metropolitan Government Problems,* Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, September 12, 1952; and W. R. Greeley, "The City or the Suburbs or Both?", *The American City,* January 1953.

of Commerce of the United States, Construction and Civic Development Department. 1952. 47 pp. 30 cents.

Fringe Areas

Fringe Areas and Rural Communities: Incorporation, Annexation, Special Districts, or Anarchy. By Don Dickey. Urbana, University of Illinois, Department of Agricultural Economics and Institute of Government and Public Affairs, *Local Government Notes,* February 3, 1953. 8 pp.

Hospitals

The State Hospital. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* April 1953. 4 pp.

Housing

Columbus Public Housing Study. Columbus (Ohio), Citizens Research Inc., 1952. 85 pp.

Legislative Councils

Report to the Thirty-second Session of the Wyoming State Legislature. Casper, Legislative Interim Committee, 1953. 23 pp.

Biennial Report 1951-1952. Columbus 15, Ohio Program Commission, January 1953. 132 pp.

Local Government Services

Public Services in Unincorporated Communities. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, April 1953. 28 pp. $1.00.

Medical Care

Report of the Committee to Review the Medical Care Program. Baltimore, Maryland State Planning Commission, Committee on Medical Care, February 1953. 74 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Government

Charter Change in Newark. Newark 2 (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research Inc., *Memo,* April 1953. 1 p.

Municipal Management. Buffalo 2 (New York), Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment,* April 16, 1953. 3 pp.

Personnel

How to Lower Morale in the City Service. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 20, 1953. 4 pp.

On-the-job Training for Municipal Employees. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* May 1953. 2 pp.

Promotion by Merit and Politics. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Governmental Briefs,* April 27, 1953. 2 pp.

Research

Regional Economic Research—An Appraisal. Tucson, University of Arizona, Bureau of Business Research, College of Business and Public Administration, *Arizona Business and Economic Review,* December 1952, 6 pp.

Research in Organization Effectiveness. By John M. Pfiffner. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *Public Personnel Review,* April 1953. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Facts on Wyoming State Fiscal Operations: A Compilation of Tables and Charts. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, March 1953. 18 pp.

Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island: Fiscal Years ending September 30, 1943-1952. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, February 1953. 8 pp.

Fiscal Reorganization.[1] Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, January 1953. vi, 40 pp.

Local Government Finances in Maryland: 1951-1952. Baltimore 1, Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1953. 40 pp.

Minnesota's State and Local Tax Burden. St. Paul, Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, 1952. Variously paged.

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[1] See also page 283, this issue.

Books in Review

They Went to College. The College Graduate in America Today. By Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952. x, 277 pp. $4.00.

Chapters 9 and 10 of this book, "Six Million Opinions" and "In the Voting Booth," constitute worthwhile reading for those interested in the development of participation in civic affairs. The authors give a lively interpretation of an extensive survey of college graduates, conducted by *Time,* Inc. Among other things, it is concluded that graduates are politically much more conservative than is commonly believed; that, of graduates who give themselves a party label, Republicans outnumber Democrats by about three to two; that the number of Democrats among women graduates is definitely higher than among men; that nearly four out of ten men and about three out of ten women list themselves as independents.

"But perhaps the ultimate political fact about our graduates is this: while they are an unusually well informed and alert group of citizens, and conscientious about going to the polls, neither the Republicans, Democrats nor independents among them carry as much political weight as their position in life would justify. Like most non-graduates, most graduates seem to leave politics to the professionals. The tragedy of U. S. politics may be akin to that of the weather—while everybody complains about it, nobody including those best qualified does much about it."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Interstate Cooperation—A Study of the Interstate Compact. By Vincent V. Thursby. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1953. vii, 152 pp. $3.25.

In company with *The Interstate Compact Since 1925*, by F. L. Zimmerman and Mitchell Wendell (Council of State Governments, 1951), this book provides a fairly complete history of experience with interstate compacts. Mr. Thursby is not too enthusiastic in recommending further use of the device. He concludes: "Its use would seem desirable wherever it appears applicable. That use may, indeed, be essential to preservation of the vitality and potency of the states and to avoidance of an overladen general government. And both of these may be essential to efficiency and to freedom. Certainly they are essential to federalism of the United States pattern."

The American City. By Stuart Alfred Queen and David Bailey Carpenter. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. viii, 383 pp. $5.50.

This textbook for college courses in urban sociology is a major revision of *The City,* published fourteen years ago by Mr. Queen and the late Lewis F. Thomas. It is notable for the attention it gives to the many different problems of the big city and big city life. The authors discuss at one point or another much of the major research that has appeared on metropolitan areas, and they draw extensively on their knowledge of the St. Louis area. They have missed, however, some important works like Victor Jones' *Metropolitan Government.*

Hidden Murder. By Victor Cohn and Charles W. Bailey. (A series of articles reprinted from the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune.*) Minneapolis, the

Tribune, 1953. 8 pp. (Available from the National Municipal League.)

Two staff writers of the *Minneapolis Tribune* prepared and published in February a comprehensive series of articles on the state of the coroner service in Minnesota. In them they lined up the existing practice in that state and elsewhere, comparing it with the National Municipal League's *Model Medico-legal Investigative System*. An immense amount of picturesque and shocking material is presented, equivalent in total space to about five full newspaper pages.

R. S. C.

Making Good Communities Better (Revised). By Irwin T. Sanders. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1953. vii, 197 pp. $2.50.

This is a revision of the same title of 1950. It canvasses the diverse difficulties of stirring up effective civic activity and organization in villages and cities. It is brief, readable and practical.

Democracy Is You. A Guide to Citizen Action. By Richard Waverly Poston. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953. xi, 312 pp. $3.00.

Mr. Poston in his *Small Town Renaissance* has previously narrated the three-year effort and ultimate expiration of the Montana Study, begun in 1944. Since then in the Bureau of Community Development at the University of Washington he has pursued similar efforts to show communities how to study themselves and spot local inadequacies of service and culture. Disappointingly, this book includes no narratives of success and failures but is wholly hortatory and conjectural, with such a dismaying abundance of advice and big questionnaires that it is hard to imagine volunteers energetic enough to proceed on such programs.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Education

School Facilities Survey. Second Progress Report. Prepared by the School Housing Section, Office of Education. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 63 pp. Tables, charts.

Statistics of State School Systems 1949-50. Chapter 2 of Biennial Survey of Education in the United States. By David T. Blose and William Jaracz. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 115 pp.

Foreign Government

Parliamentary Government in the Commonwealth. A Symposium. Edited by Sydney D. Bailey. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. v, 217 pp. $4.50.

Foreign Relations

Strengthening Our Foreign Policy. A Report by a Study Group of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Trade—and Aid. By Beatrice Pitney Lamb. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1953. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Judiciary

The Twilight of Judicial Control in the Province of Quebec. By Gerald Eric LeDain. Ottawa, Canada, McGill University, *The McGill Law Journal,* Autumn 1952. 21 pp.

Labor Relations

Effective Procedures for the Handling of Employee Grievances. By Louis J. Van Mol. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly, 1953. 25 pp. $2.00.

Libraries

The Problem of Periodical Storage in Libraries. A Solution with a List

of Current Periodicals Available on Microfilm for the Cost of Binding. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, 1952. Unpaged.

Management

The Secretariat Function. A Staff Aid for Executive Management. By John Grange. Chicago, Public Administration Clearing House, 1953. 75 pp.

Municipal Government

Proposals for Improvement in the Business Methods of the City of Chicago. Summary Report. Chicago, Committee on City Expenditures, 1953. 59 pp.

Neighborhoods

Preventing Tomorrow's Slums. A Plan to Preserve Values in Older Neighborhoods (Preliminary Report). Chicago, The Interim Commission on Neighborhood Conservation, 1952. 20 pp.

Parking

Parking Pickle. A Report on the Chamber of Commerce Parking Clinic, Salem, Massachusetts, December 3, 1952. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1953. 55 pp. Photos, charts.

Personnel

State Distribution of Public Employment in 1952. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 24 pp.

Primaries

The Case Against a Mid-summer Primary. New York 5, Election Reform Committee, 1953. 8 pp. (Apply Room 2200, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

Public Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for July: **Vacation Driving**; Theme for August: **Signs of Life.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

Who . . . Me? The Travelers 1953 Book of Street and Highway Accident Data. Hartford, Connecticut, The Travelers Insurance Company, 1953. 32 pp.

Records Management

Records Management and Administration: Selected References (Revised). Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Budget, Library, 1952. 7 pp.

Retirement Systems

New Chamber Policy on Social Security Program for the Aged. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1953. 24 pp.

Pensions in the United States. A Study prepared for the Joint Committee on the Economic Report by the National Planning Association. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 106 pp.

Retirement Coverage of State and Local Government Employees. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Budget, 1953. 12 pp.

Sewage Disposal

Sewerage and Sewage Treatment (Seventh Edition). By Harold E. Babbitt. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1953. ix, 674 pp. $8.

Subdivisions

Subdivision Regulations. A Model Set of Standards for Tennessee Communities. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1953. 23 pp.

Town Government

Forms of Town Government in Connecticut. By Max R. White and Shirley Raissi. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1952. 25 pp. 25 cents.

Training for Public Service

Educational Preparation for Public Administration. A Catalog of Graduate Programs 1952-53. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 65 pp. $1.50.

Mauck to Serve U. S. in Brazil

Elwyn A. Mauck, since 1940 editor of the County and Township section of the REVIEW, has been appointed public administration consultant in the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, a unit of the U.S. Department of State.

Elwyn A. Mauck

Dr. Mauck's first assignment will be to establish a department of public administration at the University of Minas Gerais, a state university located in Belo Horizonte, a city of 400,000 about 200 miles north of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He will also act as special advisor to the state of Minas Gerais and to the city of Belo Horizonte. When the department has been set up, he will probably be given a similar assignment in another part of Brazil.

Most recently, Dr. Mauck has been director of the Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau and staff director of the Commission on Administrative Organization of the State (of Maryland). Previously, he taught political science at the Universities of Maryland and North Carolina. He has also held county, state and federal administrative posts and assisted in the establishment of a school of public administration at the University of Puerto Rico. In 1946, he conducted a survey of a county government in Maryland for the League's Consultant Service.

His successor as County and Township editor will be announced soon.

Conference Plans

(Continued from page 265)

were offered, were Ed. P. Phillips, regional vice president of the League; L. E. Marlowe, member of the League's Council and former president of the Richmond Citizens' Association; City Manager Sherwood Reeder; Henrico County Manager Edward A. Beck; Raymond Pinchbeck, University of Richmond; Dr. James Pate, William & Mary College; Weldon Cooper, assistant director, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia; Harold Baumes, executive director, League of Virginia Municipalities; Mrs. Ralph Laird, president, Richmond Chapter, League of Women Voters; William Speck, executive director, League of Virginia Counties; Morton Wallerstein, counsel to League of Virginia Municipalities; Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, executive secretary, Virginia Students Cooperative Association; and Edward Brill, Chamber of Commerce.

Ed. P. Phillips

At another meeting in Richmond, Mr. Bebout discussed problems of civic education and how they might be presented in connection with the Conference with Mr. Phillips; H. I. Willett, superintendent of Richmond public schools; Dr. Fred B. Dixon, principal of John Marshall High School; and William Lloyd, director of school-community relations for the Richmond public schools.

An organization meeting of the local arrangements committee will be held soon to set up subcommittees to handle various aspects of the Conference.

Women Voters Hear League Speakers

Three National Municipal League personalities recently delivered addresses at state conventions of the League of Women Voters.

Richard S. Childs, Executive Committee chairman, spoke at the New Jersey convention at Asbury Park; Bayard H. Faulkner, member of the Council, spoke at the Illinois convention in Chicago; and John E. Bebout, assistant director of the League, addressed the Pennsylvania convention at Bedford Springs.

Richard S. Childs

Said Mr. Childs, in part: "We cannot devise a system of government that will automatically produce good administration but we can achieve systems which will almost inevitably be democratic. If we achieve a practical working of the democratic process, the self-interest of the voters can be appealed to for correction of lapses in performance, and sensitive responsiveness of the mechanism will facilitate the ability of such self-interest to prevail. Our goal is democracy in a truly workable form, free of such oddities as bossisms, rings or tight self-renewing cliques of politicians, regardless of whether taxes go up or down."

Bayard H. Faulkner

Mr. Faulkner traced the changes in our civilization during the first 50 years of the twentieth century — some good, some bad — and foresaw hope for the future so long as freedom lives.

"We in the west are beginning again to know and appreciate our heritage [of freedom] and to recognize its stimulating power in the minds of men," he declared. He named as "other straws in the wind" indicating progress: a marked resurgence of citizen interest, particularly in the small community, and the ability of Americans to adapt themselves to changing conditions.

John E. Bebout

Mr. Bebout congratulated the Pennsylvania League for taking the initiative in studying possibilities for better government through a constitutional convention. It was the LWV that took the initiative in organizing the nonpartisan effort for revision in Georgia, Missouri and New Jersey, where important changes were made, he declared.

He urged the Pennsylvania League to reject vigorously the opposition that may arise as an appeal to fear. "Those who oppose a constitutional convention on this ground," he declared, "do so either because they have a selfish interest to protect which they feel would not withstand the light which debate would throw upon it or they are saying in effect that we Americans today cannot trust ourselves to deal wisely with the future of the commonwealth as our forebears fortunately were prepared to trust themselves."

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ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
MASON GOULD, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
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NEWS for League Members

50 Local Groups Boost Conference

More than 50 civic organizations are represented on the local arrangements committee for the National Municipal League's 1953 National Conference on Government at Richmond, Virginia, November 8-11.

The committee is headed by L. E. "Duke" Marlowe who, as president of the Richmond Civic Association, played a key role in the civic re-awakening of the city a few years ago.

Members of the local committee are:

Mrs. Eva Barnes, Richmond Council of Women's Organizations; Mrs. W. C. Sowell, Northside Lioness Club; H. Mitchell Meyer, South Richmond Optimist Club; R. J. Begg, Highland Springs Civic Association; Mrs. Warren H. Spear, The Monacan Junior Woman's Club; O. N. Coty, president, Ashlawn Civic Association; Mrs. Alfred T. Hove, Jr., president, Ginter Park Junior Woman's Club; Edward H. Holloway, vice president, Lakeside Civic Association; Venbon E. Kemp, executive director, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce; Harold I. Baumes, executive secretary, League of Virginia Municipalities; J. E. Small, Sr., Inter-Club Council; George S. Thompson, Northside Lions Club; W. O. McGhee, president, Fairmount Citizens and Business Men's Association; Conway C. Mundy, past president, Virginia Exchange Clubs; A. J. Kovacs, president, Richmond Cosmopolitan Club.

Also, Mrs. Giles C. Engledove, Presi-

(Continued on next page)

Local arrangements for the Richmond Conference are discussed by L. E. Marlowe, left, arrangements committee chairman, and Mayor Edward E. Haddock, seated; and, left to right standing, Edmond H. Brill, Richmond Chamber of Commerce; R. Westwood Winfree, president, Richmond Citizens Association; and Ed. P. Phillips, NML regional vice president. (Richmond News-Leader photo.)

Coast Industrialist Picked by League

Carleton B. Tibbetts, president of the Los Angeles Steel Casting Company and chairman of the Los Angeles Citizens Budget Committee, was elected a regional vice president of the League at a meeting of the executive committee June 4.

He succeeds James L. Beebe, Los Angeles lawyer, who served as regional vice president for the last two and a half years and earlier had served as a member of the League's Council.

Mr. Tibbetts is a former mayor of San Marino, a suburb of Los Angeles, and recently completed service as chairman of the Little Hoover Commission in Los Angeles (see page 338).

Mr. Tibbetts is a former member of the National Labor Relations Board and Area War Manpower Commission and former chairman of the labor-management and establishments committees of the Los Angeles Community Chest.

He is a director and former president, Metals Trades and Manufacturers Association; former director, Merchants and Manufacturers Association and National Association of Manufacturers; and former president and director, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

CARLETON B. TIBBETTS

50 LOCAL GROUPS

(Continued from previous page)

dent's Council of Richmond Women's Club; Mrs. T. Preston Turner, Fifth District, Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Arthur L. Knight, president, Richmond Housewives League; Mrs. Kenneth M. Mallory, Richmond Federation of P.T.A.s; Mrs. Charles Kessler, Catholic Daughters of America; H. I. Willett, superintendent, Richmond Public Schools; John F. Showalter, representative, Richmond Public Schools; Mrs. Douglas W. Lloyd, president, Thomas Jefferson Junior Woman's Club; Doris E. Kean, chairman, Business and Professional Women's Club of Richmond; Mrs. Wade H. Flippen, vice president, Swansboro Citizens Association; Mrs. Enders Dickinson, president, American Association of University Women.

Also, Harry L. Cohn, secretary, Old Dominion Civic Club; F. B. Tolson, Jr., Stonewall Court Civic Association; Ray R. Daniel, president, Optimist Club of Richmond; Frederick Olert, chairman, Richmond Ministers Association; Robert Edhols, president, Richmond Ministers Association; James M. Enroughty, president, Westover Hills Civic Association; J. Kenneth Daughtrey, president, Chesterfield Kiwanis Club; Robert O. Glover, president, Windsor Farms Association; Mrs. L. S. Edwards, Stuart Ridge–Brook Side Civic Association.

Also, Sherwood Reeder, Richmond city manager; Jewel Tyson, president, Westhampton Citizens Association; Mrs. D. Graham Mathews, American

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Editorial Comment

Sabotage in the Legislatures

OUTRAGES against public decency and the democratic process regularly committed by state legislatures are a serious threat to the integrity and effectiveness of the American system of government that we are so ready to commend to benighted people in other parts of the world. Recent cases of legislative skulduggery in neighboring cradles of democracy, Rhode Island and Connecticut, are fair examples.

The 1953 Connecticut legislature suffered from a severe outbreak of "hallway piracy" which resulted in the "loss" of bills in transit between the two houses. A one-man investigation by Senator William P. Barber found that "four or five" bills had mysteriously disappeared in the late hours of the session and were just as dead as if they had been defeated by roll call in the second house. One such bill, unanimously approved in the Senate, was a 42-page uniform administrative procedures act weighing more than a pound, which had been prepared by the state's Legislative Council after a series of hearings. "It has gone into someone's pocket or it's been grabbed by some politician," concluded Senator Barber.

Another bill that was mysteriously lost was one passed by the lower house to give the people of Watertown the right to determine whether they wanted to change to a council-manager or mayor-council charter.

As a result of the recognized danger of such piracy, some senators personally escorted pet bills down the flight of stairs to the House Chamber.

The Rhode Island legislature, in a special session called by Governor Roberts for the purpose of validating local election provisions in charters overwhelmingly adopted in four Rhode Island cities, turned Friday, June 12, into what the president of the Citizens League of Pawtucket called a "day of infamy." A former mayor of Pawtucket described the proceedings as "a mockery of government" which "was enough to turn the stomach of every decent person who was present to witness it."

The legislature, after reluctantly responding to pressure from the governor and local representatives of Newport and Woonsocket to validate their election arrangements, adjourned on a trick motion without acting on the Pawtucket and Central Falls charters. The "rape of Pawtucket" was stage-managed by Speaker Harry F. Curvin of Pawtucket at the behest of the lame duck politicians in the old two-house Pawtucket city council which had been overwhelmingly repudiated by the 23,244 to 3,127 vote for the new city charter scheduled to go into effect the first of next year.

Shenanigans of this sort are only a few of the ways in which too many of our state legislatures flout their responsibilities to preserve and strengthen self-government. Most of them devote far more attention to frustrating and nullifying majority rule than to correcting such obstacles to effective democracy as outmoded constitutions and unfair apportionment of legislative seats. Irresponsible, anti-democratic behavior in state legislatures makes the current effort to return more responsibilities to the states seem almost hopeless if not downright dangerous. No government can in the long run be much stronger, more respectable or more effective than its legislature. If democracy really must begin at home, we had better get to work on our state legislatures.

People Need to Know

THE 1953 *Municipal Year Book*[1] reports that 402 cities over 5,000 population annexed outlying territory during 1952. This fact in itself is noteworthy for it indicates that municipalities have been taking over fringe areas at a rate unprecedented in recent years. During the previous year, the number of cities annexing territory was 309.

Equally noteworthy but highly disturbing is the claim that only one out of every five cities with annexation programs made much effort to explain to residents of the annexed areas how such action would benefit them. Among the few to do so were Milwaukee, Tucson, Boulder (Colorado), San Jose (California) and Lubbock (Texas). But what about the hundreds of others that acted less thoughtfully?

Therein lies the story of a municipal ailment which should receive thorough attention. Too often public officials lose sight of the human relations aspects of government. The democratic way requires that official action reflect popular demand and that even the most beneficial actions keep within the bounds of popular understanding.

Once all the "angles" unearthed by research and study have been thoroughly explored, the city should act in a manner so straightforward as to inspire confidence on the part of all citizens concerned.

This means laying a bed of facts and impartial conclusions on the road toward annexation so that all may see. Government in our communities exists because people want certain services and a set of rules to live by.

The answers can and should be provided. Public meetings can be conducted, with experts on hand to explain the various phases of the program and answer questions. Personal and friendly letters can be written by the mayor or other high-ranking officials in answer to queries by mail. Newspapers can be provided with the findings of the planning commission as well as with the official convictions of the city government. Public officials can appear on radio and television and before civic associations to explain the proposal. Pamphlets can be prepared and distributed.

Whatever the means, the citizen should be convinced that nothing is being put over on him and that he will benefit.

Important strides have been made in the still young field of municipal public relations. Many cities are properly sensitive to the opinions of their citizens, but much more care is needed to help them understand what their governments are doing or planning to do.

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[1] Chicago, International City Managers' Association. For a review of the 1953 edition see page 372, this issue.

Norwich—A Streamlined City

Merger with town and adoption of council-manager plan result in good government for Connecticut community.

By MARTIN M. MASTERS*

A TYPICAL New England community rich in tradition, Norwich, Connecticut, in 1951, took a bold forward step, consolidating two overlapping governments and adopting the council-manager form of government.

Norwich was first chartered in 1784, after having been settled in 1659 by a small group of Englishmen. It was an ardent Whig center in 1757 and, as the birthplace of Benedict Arnold, it later gained further political prominence. Its inhabitants were active in the pre-revolutionary movement.

Much of the area's early growth was due to its geography. Located at the junction of two rivers at the mouth of the navigable Thames River, fourteen miles from Long Island Sound, it soon became an important shipping center. Later the existence of natural water power helped it to develop into an important textile area. There were also other industries, such as firearms and light metal working. Norwich prospered until, in the late 1800s, it had the third largest total grand list (assessed property values) in the state. Now, textiles are the dominant factor in the community's economy.

While the town grew materially and economically, however, it retained much of its early form of government. In 1946 the city of Norwich, located within the town of Norwich, was still operating under most of its original charter, with some amendments. The town functioned under the general statutes of Connecticut.

Not only was the city's charter unwieldly, it was ludicrous. It provided that the city's policemen must wear frock coats and helmets. Public hacks were prohibited from traveling through the streets at speeds of more than six miles an hour. This was in 1946.

The rest of the government of the town and city was as archaic as the charter. A complex type of multi-headed organization existed in the city government. There was divided responsibility between town and city which made it practically impossible to function efficiently.

The old city of Norwich was governed by an elected mayor, eight councilmen elected by districts and four aldermen elected at large. A treasurer, city clerk, tax collector and two sheriffs were also elected.

The council was subdivided into six council committees. Each was responsible for the details of administration. In addition there were fifteen boards and commissions, each of which operated as a separate fiscal and administrative unit.

In the old town government, the board of selectmen was vested with

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*Mr. Masters covers state government offices as a reporter for the *Hartford* (Connecticut) *Courant*. As a free lance writer also, he is author of various feature articles on municipal affairs.

administrative powers which were shared by seven boards and commissions.

There was a duplication of some services and a dual tax system whereby city residents paid both a city and town property tax at different dates. Property owners in the metropolitan area were subjected to almost the highest tax rate in the state.

High taxes and a lack of planning discouraged new industries from coming to Norwich. The area became a victim of the unstable textile industry.

City Survey Made

By 1946 certain civic-minded persons began to view the situation with alarm. Finally, the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, a nonpartisan citizen agency for the improvement of government, was asked to make a survey of the city and town administration. Completed in the summer of 1946, the study was revealing. It showed that what was once one of the most prosperous towns in the state had not kept up with the rest of the state in the present century.

A complete consolidation of city and town was recommended, with consolidation of executive authority in a strong mayor or city manager with a policy-making council. Also suggested was an immediate and complete revision of the city charter.

Other recommendations included: Establishment of a centralized accounting control; a merit system of appointment for employees and good-behavior tenure; a single highway department, permitting purchase of better equipment and more efficient and economical operation; establishment of a single planning and zoning authority for the whole city-town area, to prepare a master plan and control subdivision development.

A Citizens Committee for Better Norwich Government was formed with 150 members on September 24, 1946, in an effort to realize some of the recommendations made in the study and to improve Norwich government.

But consolidation and a new form of government were not to be easily achieved. A bill providing for the consolidation of the town and city, presented in the 1947 General Assembly, was killed in committee by the machine politicians.

The Citizens Committee refused to admit defeat.

A bill for the consolidation of the city and town was reported favorably by the Cities and Boroughs Committee of the 1951 General Assembly, and passed by the legislature. Even the committee was surprised.

In July 1951, the voters of Norwich, in a referendum, chose consolidation. At a second referendum the following month, the citizens of the combined area voted for a council-manager plan charter.

A new nine-man nonpartisan council representing the consolidated city was elected in November. Four out of the six men proposed by the Citizens Committee were elected. Two councilmen not endorsed were also strong supporters of consolidation and the council-manager plan. Three members of the old council were reelected. Two of them were in sympathy with the council-manager government.

Besides being nonpartisan, the council is also representative. Serving on the council are insurance men, a tile setter, a carpenter, grocer, chicken farmer and business men.

On January 1, 1952, Irving H. Beck, only 31, became the first city manager of Norwich.

When the newly-elected city manager and council assumed their duties, they were faced with the tremendous task of a complete reorganization of Norwich's antiquated and politics-ridden government. Until department heads could be appointed, the city manager, in addition to his duties under the charter, filled the posts of director of public works, director of personnel, director of civil defense, chief of police and director of welfare.

Manager Plan Accomplishments

A streamlining of the city government was the first accomplishment. All major department heads were selected on the basis of ability, after open competitive examinations, to set the pattern for merit appointments. Appointments in the classified service were made under a new merit system and supervised by a personnel board.

Now, instead of 22 separate boards and commissions, the number has shrunk to nine, as provided for in the revised charter. For the purposes of taxation, the old city and town are considered as two distinct tax districts with the old city district paying both district taxes.

Then began the task of making long-neglected improvements. Facing the new administration were the poor condition of the sidewalks, narrow streets, ancient and inadequate storm and sanitary sewers, antiquated and neglected public buildings, fire stations and public schools.

Something had to be done about the rat-infested and smoky city dumps, inadequate and neglected playgrounds and the stagnation and economic strangulation which was being caused by antiquated zoning and an increasing traffic and parking problem.

Through the efforts of the city council, department heads, city employees and the city manager, much has been accomplished during the past year and a half.

Today there is a tighter control over spending in Norwich. Bulk purchasing at wholesale prices is now saving taxpayers money. Previously purchases were made in small amounts and at retail prices. A full-time purchasing agent has already saved the city much money, averaging about 35 per cent. Political favoritism has been eliminated in all city buying. Purchases are now made by open competitive bidding.

It is the policy of the new administration to get the most out of each dollar spent and to purchase locally except where market conditions or price competition make it necessary to go outside the city.

The tax rate for the first year included one and a half mills for both taxing districts for capital improvements. More than $82,000 was set aside for pay-as-you-go financing of some capital improvements to reduce the cost of borrowing. Long term bonds were thus avoided.

The new budget for the July fiscal year also includes a fund, two and a half mills, for pay-as-you-go financing of a new school and three-fourths of a mill for both districts which will be used for capital improvements.

Renovation of the city hall is nearing completion with cash from the capital improvement fund, without borrowing money. Other capital expenditures from current funds include the resurfacing of streets and the cash purchases of such items as a street sweeper, garbage disposal and collection equipment, traffic lights and other needed improvements.

Public works employees now enjoy a 40-hour week and overtime compensation. There are uniform allowances for both the police and fire departments, group insurance and hospitalization benefits for employees, shorter hours for city hall workers and other fringe benefits provided by new personnel practices.

Traffic Problems Tackled

Steps have been taken to alleviate the multitude of traffic problems. The council has permitted the employment of a competent firm of traffic engineers to cope with the traffic and parking problem. A comprehensive traffic signal program, funds for which have just been authorized, will help to relieve congestion in the downtown area.

Other accomplishments include a new recreation program developed by the superintendent of recreation and the recreation advisory board which has resulted in a modern playground system.

The city and town public works departments have been consolidated into a unified organization which has resulted in more effective street cleaning and maintenance, better care of parks and cemeteries. Operations will improve as new and more efficient equipment replaces worn-out apparatus.

Fire hazards, unchecked for years, are now being exposed in a rigid fire inspection program. The fire department has also launched an extensive training program.

Police prowl car zones have been extended to provide better protection in the city consolidated district. And the old town district now gets full-time police protection from a radio-equipped police car.

There's no fixing of parking tickets here since the city introduced a new envelope-type parking ticket which has received nation-wide notice. The ticket is addressed and stamped, resulting in prompt payment.

Since the new administration has gone to work city employees first received a 5 per cent across-the-board pay raise. Then the council adopted a new comprehensive pay plan based on a job classification study affecting 500 employees. New increases range from 7 to 14 per cent and most inequities between the old city and town have been eliminated.

The sanitary land fill method of garbage disposal will soon replace Norwich's ever-smoking dumps which have for years served as breeding grounds for rats.

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Metropolitan Area Merges

Toronto and twelve surrounding communities join hands to create the 'Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto'.

By **ERIC HARDY***

AN achievement of interest to metropolitan areas everywhere has focussed attention on Toronto, Canada. On April 15 that city and its twelve immediate suburbs became partners in a new government, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. Created by an act of the Ontario provincial legislature, the Toronto federation is rated as the most significant metropolitan development since the organization of the Administrative District of Greater Berlin in 1920. Jurisdiction of the super-government covers 245 square miles and takes in six times the area of the city proper. Inclusion of some half a million suburban residents brings its total population close to 1,200,000.

Divided jurisdiction in metropolitan areas has become one of the most acute problems of local government on this continent. Its far-reaching effects are indicated by the fact that, in Canada today, more than two-thirds of the total population is living in 31 major urban areas ranging from forty thousand to one and a half million people. The position of the United States is similar. And everywhere, responsibility for essential municipal services has been split up among independent municipalities or farmed out to special authorities.

Frequent efforts have been made to cut through these growing complexities of urban administration. But, in the larger metropolitan areas, measures which have been adopted can be regarded as no more than partial solutions—often of the makeshift or stopgap variety. Against this common pattern, the comprehensive legislation uniting greater Toronto stands in bold relief.

The only parallels to Toronto's metropolitan federation are those of London, Berlin and, to a lesser extent, New York City. The Toronto plan comes closest to the London County arrangement but it has a number of unique features. Its Metropolitan Council numbers 25 and includes the twelve heads — mayors or reeves — of the suburban municipalities and twelve representatives from the city. City members are the mayor, two of the four controllers (elected by city-wide vote) and one of two aldermen from each of nine city wards. The officials named to the metropolitan body are those who received the higher votes at the last local election. For the remainder of 1953 and throughout 1954 the chairman is an appointee of the provincial government, Frederick G. Gardiner, a lawyer, former reeve of Forest Hill Village and chairman of the Toronto and York Planning Board.

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*Mr. Hardy is director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto as well as the Citizens Research Institute of Canada. He was a member of the Committee on Metropolitan Problems of the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, which submitted its report in 1951.

A metropolitan school board is similarly selected. It has 22 members, the ten chairmen of suburban school boards, chairman of the Toronto board and nine trustees representing the nine city wards. The remaining two are separate school representatives (Roman Catholic) whose participation is limited to business affecting the secondary schools. The school board has chosen one of its own number, Dr. John Long, as chairman.

In London 50 years ago, local municipalities (boroughs) were created to form the county federation. The federation in Toronto links thirteen established municipalities which vary greatly in both population and area. The city, with a near-static population of 667,000, is made an equal partner with the twelve suburbs whose population of 467,000 is growing rapidly. Each suburb has equal representation on the metropolitan council despite the fact that two townships are nearing the 100,000 mark, whereas the three smallest municipalities are each well under 10,000.

In providing for members of the metropolitan council and school board to continue their major responsibilities in local councils and school boards, the plan follows the pattern of county government which has been in operation in the province of Ontario for over a hundred years. Cities, however, have never formed part of the county system. It remains to be seen whether in the larger field of metropolitan government the plan of dual representation will prove adequate to provide the kind of leadership required. There may be some question, as well, regarding the wide divergence of representation to population.

The metropolitan authorities have the rest of 1953 to prepare for responsibilities to be assumed January 1, 1954. The metropolitan council has been given complete charge of assessment of real property and new valuations have already been made for them by a provincial board. Beginning next year, the uniform basis of assessment will govern both local and metropolitan levies. Local municipalities will send out the bills and collect taxes not only for their own purposes but also for the metropolitan municipality.

Metropolitan Council Duties

The metropolitan council will take over supply and wholesale distribution of water to local municipalities, operate trunk sewers and sewage treatment plants, establish a metropolitan roads system and assume final authority for public transportation services. The latter will be operated by the Toronto Transit Commission which takes over from the City's Transportation Commission with added suburban representation.

The twelve suburban municipalities are to be separated from the county of York and former county functions will be established at the metropolitan level. These include administration of justice — the one service operated jointly by city and county—aid to public hospitals and certain welfare functions, notably, hospitalization of indigents, homes for the aged, statutory children's aid responsibilities and financial obligations for people committed to training schools and female refuges.

The metropolitan municipality will be made responsible for broad land-use planning, including supervision of local planning, zoning and subdivision operations of the thirteen area municipalities. It also becomes the senior municipality on a regional metropolitan planning board. How far the jurisdiction of this planning body will extend beyond the borders of the metropolitan municipality has yet to be determined. Metropolitan Toronto is given concurrent powers, along with local municipalities, to undertake municipal housing and redevelopment projects. It may also designate and develop metropolitan parks and recreational areas.

School Board Duties

The metropolitan school board is to make regular payments to local school boards sufficient to maintain a satisfactory uniform standard of schooling throughout the thirteen municipalities. The board will assume the debt liability outstanding against all present school buildings and have financial responsibility for future construction which qualifies for grants from the province. The board will meet its obligations from metropolitan taxation and as the future recipient of provincial grants. Individual local school authorities may undertake added expenditures, both capital and current, in order to provide better than average facilities and services; but they must obtain metropolitan assent and meet the cost through additional levies on their own taxpayers. The board will authorize school sites and plans, delineate school attendance areas and take primary responsibility for transportation of pupils.

Sole authority to incur new indebtedness on behalf of all the municipalities, school boards and associated boards and commissions throughout the area is given to the metropolitan council. Except for debenture liabilities which the metropolitan council has been specifically required to assume, present debentures continue as a direct responsibility of the thirteen local municipalities.

Except for some former county functions, already listed, which could hardly have been assigned to the local municipalities, responsibilities given the metropolitan council seem to have one thing in common. They are those which had proved the greatest barrier, for financial or other reasons, to orderly metropolitan expansion. The transfer of major services left with the local governments might be expected to bring economies or increased efficiency. Examples include policing, fire protection, libraries, public health services and control over building regulations. Public relief costs should obviously be pooled in the interest of equity. It is notable that no provision is made in the act for the later transfer of any of these service responsibilities.

Toronto has made some 45 annexations of surrounding territory. The last major addition, however, preceded World War I, so that the overflow has been building up for 40 years.

An administrative tribunal, the Ontario Municipal Board, has authority to deal with boundary problems. Concern with the Toronto metropolitan problem is far from new. But the present federation results directly from two applications to the board, in 1947 and 1950. The earlier, put forward by the suburb of Mimico (population 12,000), asked for an interurban administrative arrangement; the later, filed by Toronto and supported by Mimico, sought outright amalgamation. After protracted hearings and lengthy sifting of evidence, the board reported in January of this year, rejecting both applications, then went outside its legal responsibility in putting a proposal to the provincial government for a metropolitan federation. The main recommendations were quickly accepted by the government and written into the act of federation.

Two major changes were made. The Ontario Municipal Board had proposed a small appointed council with equal representation by the city and the suburbs, and a chairman chosen by the province. It was to be replaced later by a directly-elected body. Councillors' terms were to extend over at least three years—in contrast with present one-year terms in all local municipalities but Mimico, whose council sits for two years. Along with the new plan of council representation, the province introduced the plan for a separate metropolitan school board. The Ontario Municipal Board had felt that the job of school planning and financing could be handled by the metropolitan council.

Certain difficulties which may be in store for the new federation have already been indicated. The two-fold responsibilities placed on metropolitan councillors and school trustees is a threat to competent consideration of policy problems. And the fact that all but two of the elected members must be prepared to face yearly election contests detracts further from their capacity for service.

Hazards of Plan

Chief goal of the federation is to undertake and implement long-range planning; yet this is the job which representatives chosen by the present method might be considered least capable of handling. Another hazard of the particular plan of federation is its failure to base representation on population. There is also concern already that city and suburban members may tend to line up as two opposing camps.

While suburban municipalities have been used to a two-tier structure of local government, they are likely to find the new federation quite a different proposition. The major responsibility of those who sit on county councils is to their own local municipalities. Under the metropolitan setup, however, the position is reversed. The sharp reduction in the powers of local municipalities should not lower the caliber of candidates because the way to metropolitan office is through election to a local council or school board. But the real interest of representatives in services that remain local may fall off considerably. In any event, the proposed division of functions will increase the complexity of civic administration and add to costs.

Acute problems of local government in the modern metropolis are largely a by-product of the automobile, the shorter working day and related developments. Taken together, they have fostered a degree of mobility in the living habits of the people that was unthinkable a generation ago. The separation that has become possible between homes and businesses has fostered the growth of independent suburban municipalities, while at the same time linking their interests more and more closely with those of the central city. Growth of population has gradually joined the city and its neighbors in one continuous urban community. But municipal governments have held doggedly to their independence. Divided jurisdiction has given rise to serious inequalities in the tax capacities of the individual municipalities and has frustrated metropolitan planning and service developments.

No Plans for Expansion

Toronto's metropolitan federation has joined the areas of continuous urban development for selected major services. Its boundaries include some room for growth but satellite communities are left substantially outside its authority. Exceptions are the wider planning area and the authority given to the metropolitan municipality to seek and enter into agreements with adjacent municipalities for the extension of water supply and public transportation services. A regional body will also control certain feeder roads outside the metropolitan boundaries. Nevertheless, the new federation does no more than to cut away the acute problems of divided jurisdiction. It makes no declared plans for future changes in jurisdiction.

There are two ways in which such adjustments might proceed. Within the present area of federation, there might be a gradual transfer of services to the metropolitan level so that eventually a single government could take over. Beyond the present area of metropolitan government, a new federation might be created embracing the outer suburbs. There is nothing in the legislation to facilitate either of these developments.

In 1949, a committee which studied Toronto's metropolitan area problem defined the area as including ten municipalities beyond the present area of federation. At that time, the population of the outer suburbs stood at 43,000. Today, the figure exceeds 65,000. Moreover, Pickering Township, which lies directly east of the federated area, should now be considered as coming within the metropolitan orbit. Its population has reached 11,000 and is increasing rapidly.

The idea behind the Toronto federation is not new, either in Ontario or elsewhere. Such a proposal was circulated by the Ontario cabinet minister responsible for municipal affairs back in 1923. Amalgamation, annexation, federation and unification of selected services have all been considered at length in Toronto and in many other metropolitan areas. The Victoria state legislature brought in a federation bill for greater Melbourne, Australia, 40 years ago, but

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Manager Counties Evaluated

Operation of plan in Virginia for past fifteen years has resulted in efficient government and substantial savings.

By GEORGE W. SPICER*

VIRGINIA has more counties operating under the manager plan than any other state. Some of them have had the plan for nearly two decades. Experience covers five counties — Arlington, Albemarle, Henrico, Warwick and Fairfax. All except Arlington have operated under the Optional Forms Act of 1932.[1] An act of 1930 applicable only to Arlington provided a partial or limited manager plan for that county which was approved by the electorate and became effective in 1932.

Warwick, which adopted the manager plan in September 1944, voted to become a city after an impressive record of seven years. This action was taken primarily to avoid the threat of annexation by the city of Newport News. On November 7, 1950, Fairfax County adopted the county executive form by a substantial majority and the new government went into effect in 1952.

This article will be confined to a consideration of the record of those counties operating under the Optional Forms Act of 1932 but Fairfax is not considered because of the brevity of its experience.

The dominant purpose of the Virginia Optional Forms Act was to afford the people of the counties the right to choose, within appropriate limits, their own form of government —a form suitable to their needs, capable of rendering efficiently the services demanded by them and subject at all times to their control. Indeed, this act grants to the people of the counties for the first time the opportunity for some measure of home rule. Thus it has been the contention of the advocates of the new system that, if given proper support by the people, it would result in better public service at a more economical cost and in more effective popular control of local government. On these points the record has not been disappointing.

It may not be surprising that the most obvious and impressive results have been realized in the operation of the fiscal affairs of the county. For example, in Henrico's department of finance, which took over the duties of the former elective offices of treasurer and commissioner of the revenue, as well as the purchase and distribution of supplies and the supervision of accounts, more efficient service at more than 25 per cent less cost than under the old system was realized the first year. At the end of ten years in 1944, this department was still operating at

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*Dr. Spicer, professor of political science at the University of Virginia, was a member of the Virginia Commission on County Government which proposed the optional forms of county government he describes. He is author of *Fifteen Years of County Manager Government in Virginia* (1952).

[1] For a description of this act see "County Manager Government in Virginia," by Charles J. Calrow, the REVIEW, March 1938, page 148.

approximately $1,500 less than the cost of the offices of treasurer and commissioner of the revenue in 1933, although the cost of those functions in Virginia counties generally had increased more than 15 per cent within this period. This, of course, does not take into consideration the performance of two important additional activities by the department of finance, namely centralized accounting control and purchasing.

Fiscal Affairs Consolidated

In this department, headed by the director of finance, are consolidated all fiscal records for all departments of the county government, including schools. Here invoices are audited before payment, which is made promptly in order to take advantage of cash discounts. All collected taxes, fees and other revenues are paid promptly into the department of finance and all receipts, expenditures and debt service requirements are properly accounted for in strict accordance with the law and the requirements of the state auditor of public accounts.

It is possible at any time to compare the total expenditures in any given expense classification with the amount appropriated by the board of supervisors for that item. Each month heads of spending departments are sent a statement showing the appropriation and accumulated expenditures to date for the current fiscal year.

These improved accounting and bookkeeping methods afford the residents of the county up-to-date information regarding the financial condition of their local government at any time, and all of this information is available in one office.

It is not easy to estimate the indirect savings resulting from the greater efficiency of this department over the old fiscal offices but it seems safe to say that they are greater than those directly reflected in the appropriation to the department. For example, improvements in tax collection methods resulted in the more effective collection of taxes, both current and delinquent. Tax delinquency was reduced from 22.1 per cent for the 1933 levy to 14.9 per cent for the 1935 levy, to 6.8 per cent for the 1943 levy.

Likewise the institution of more efficient methods in the handling of insurance on county property resulted in a saving of approximately 20 per cent on this important item. Centralized purchasing covering supplies, equipment and contractual services used by all departments, including the school system, has resulted not only in more satisfactory purchasing but also in substantial economies.

New tax assessing methods brought both an increase in revenue and a more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

In summary, during the first decade of Henrico's manager government, the cost of overhead administration in relation to the total county budget was greatly reduced; a substantial portion of the bonded indebtedness of the county was paid off; the surplus and reserve funds were substantially increased; and the tax rate was consistently lowered until 1944, when an increase in the general county levy was rendered necessary by the loss of revenue through annexation of part of the county by Richmond, increased school costs and the general increase in costs incident to war conditions.

If this record had been purchased at the cost of positive service to the people of the county, it would have been a sorry bargain. Efficient fiscal management and other housekeeping functions are essential means to ends but they are important only to the extent that they promote and render secure direct positive services to the people.

But such has not been the case in Henrico. The value of the tax dollar increased in terms of education, public health, public welfare, public works, law enforcement and other social services. Appropriations for all of these services were increased, resulting in expansion or improvement or both, all along the line.

From the point of view of effective popular control, not the least merit of Henrico's manager government has been its system of reporting to the people full information regarding all activities of the government in an attractive and understandable manner. Every month the manager's report to the board of supervisors is mailed to every citizen who requests it. Herein is set forth the activities of each department for the period covered, its accomplishments and future plans and a financial statement showing the cost of the services rendered by each department.

The annual report of the county, published after an audit by independent auditors, summarizes the activities of all departments and makes comparisons with previous years.

Each year with the tax bill is enclosed an interesting little stuffer giving a brief summary of county services and their costs. As a supplement to the annual budget, the manager prepares a budget letter which summarizes any changes in expenditures and revenues or tax rates and, by comparison on a percentage basis, gives a clear picture of estimated resources and proposed expenditures for the following year.

Through this excellent system of reporting the citizens are enabled not only more clearly to comprehend their local government but also more effectively to control it.

Albemarle's Progress

Similar, if somewhat less impressive, results were achieved in Albemarle County during the same decade. Here we have the experience of a rural county operating under the other alternative provided by the Optional Forms Act, the county executive form.

Here, too, a vast improvement in the conduct of the financial affairs of the county took place. More effective methods of budgeting, accounting, purchasing, tax collection and custody and control of expenditures under a unified department of finance saved money in overhead which went for positive services demanded by the people. Thus the first decade of the new system in Albemarle brought increased appropriations for law enforcement, public welfare, public health, education and the improvement of agriculture, thereby making possible expansion or improvement in all of these important services.

Urgently needed capital outlays in the form of new school buildings, a large and well equipped new county office building, the restoration of the ancient courthouse, a new county shop and warehouse and a summer camp for 4-H Clubs were made.

Yet within this same period the tax rate was reduced in each of the districts of the county and the general fund surplus was substantially increased. Thus again, positive services were expanded or improved with no additional burden upon the taxpayers of the county.

Recent Experience

The foregoing facts are based on the experience of the first ten years under the Optional Forms Act, the period from 1934 to 1944, and do not reflect to any considerable extent the influence of the sharp inflation occasioned by World War II and later by the Korean War. Needless to say, therefore, the happy situation set forth above did not continue in any absolute sense. In the years following 1944 tax rates rose and expenditures increased at an accelerated pace. But in a relative sense the record still stands, for administrative costs in the counties of the state generally increased substantially more than in the county manager counties without comparable improvement in their positive services.

Henrico with a 1950 population virtually double the estimated population of 1944, and most of it in such concentration as to require urbanized services, has inevitably required a great expansion of positive services. This expansion was most marked in the departments of education and public works.

Total expenditures for schools rose from $518,808 in 1944 to $1,393,090 in 1949. The average yearly compensation of teachers rose from $1,218 in 1944 to $2,200 in 1949.

Expenditures of the department of public works increased from $118,084 in 1944 to $411,359 in 1949. New water mains and many water services were installed. New sewerage systems were completed and in 1945 a new sanitary district was created and a public water system and fire protection were provided.

Road mileage in the county was substantially increased in this same period. Smaller, but substantial, expansion occurred in such functions as welfare, health and law enforcement.

In the light of these expansions and improvements, it is interesting to compare the increase in costs of government in Henrico with that of the counties of Virginia as a whole. Total expenditures for operation and maintenance in all the counties of Virginia increased by 102 per cent from 1944 to 1949. In Henrico the increase was 127 per cent. This comparison is, of course, meaningful only when considered in relation to increases in population, concentration of population and the scope and quality of services rendered. The aggregate population of Virginia counties increased 20 per cent from 1940 to 1950 whereas the population of Henrico virtually doubled from 1944 to 1950. Furthermore, most of this population is of such density as to require most of the services performed in the cities in addition to the general countywide services.

Similar progress has been made in Albemarle since 1944. The accounting and administrative procedures of the department of finance have been toned up and improved. As the result of recent improvements the county now has one of the most efficient property identification systems in the state as well as one of the best sets of tax records.

The government of the county has continued to expand and improve its direct services to the people in response to growing needs and popular demand. The greatest recent expansion has been in the field of public education. Appropriations for the operation of schools increased from $288,885 in 1944 to more than $700,000 in 1951.

Warwick's Experience

But the most impressive of the recent developments in Virginia county government is the highly successful operation of the manager plan in Warwick County (now the city of Warwick).[2] On September 19, 1944, the voters of Warwick adopted the county manager form of government by a vote of slightly more than three to two. The large influx of new people in the three or four years preceding the adoption of the new government doubtless contributed much to this result. The population of the county had increased from 9,248 in 1940 to nearly 34,000 in 1944 as estimated by the Bureau of the Census. The 1950 population was approximately 40,000, representing an increase of 323.6 per cent in the ten-year period.

The demand for new services resulting from the rapid increase in the population and urbanization of the county led in turn to a demand for a more efficient and more responsible system of local government to plan and administer these services. This change was doubtless rendered less difficult by the fact that these people had not become the beneficiaries, or the supposed beneficiaries, of vested political interests and had not formed any strong personal ties with those political forces of the county bent upon maintaining the *status quo*.

The voters of the county elected a new board of supervisors at the November election of 1944, which in turn appointed an entirely new school board. The new board of supervisors organized and put into effect the county manager form of government on January 1, 1945, with J. C. Morris as county manager.

It is doubtless well known that the position of the board of supervisors is greatly strengthened under the Optional Forms Act of 1932. One of the most important duties of the board of supervisors under the manager form is the appointment of the county manager. He is their responsible agent for whose acts they are in turn responsible to the county electorate. The law provides that the manager "shall be responsible to the board of county supervisors for the proper administration of all the affairs of the county which the board has authority to control."

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[2] See "Virginia Counties Turn Cities," by James E. Pate. The REVIEW, September 1952, page 387.

Moreover, "As the administrative head of the county government for the board of supervisors," he is further required to "supervise the collection of all revenues, guard adequately all expenditures, secure proper accounting for all funds, look after the physical property of the county, exercise general supervision over all county institutions and agencies, and . . . coordinate the various activities of the county and unify the management of its affairs." His responsibility to the board of supervisors for the proper administration of the affairs of the county is spelled out in detail in another section of the law.

Skillful Manager

These managerial duties were infused with special vitality in Warwick, where the supervisors appointed a skillful and tactful administrator with unusual insight into the implications of his office. Manager Morris has a penchant for good administrative organization and smooth, efficient operation of administrative function. He seems to be able to keep his finger on every activity of the county government, as it were, without interfering with the proper discretion of the person immediately in charge of the activity. This kind of administrative leadership makes for respect, loyalty and cooperation in the public interest on the part of employees.

Placing of the financial functions of the county in one department was of especial importance in Warwick where, prior to the adoption of the new system, these activities were scattered among a half dozen offices and agencies with no responsibility to any single source of authority. In addition to the commissioner of the revenue, the county treasurer and the county clerk, there were three boards—an ex officio finance board and two appointive boards. Thus the department of finance took over functions previously performed by several different agencies and in addition many activities not previously performed by any agency.

This concentration of financial activities of the county into one department under a single director appointed by and responsible to the manager has vastly improved the efficiency of the county's fiscal system, reduced measurably the audit costs of the county and made readily available in one place information that was previously difficult to obtain. By this streamlining of the financial system of the county, aided by modern bookkeeping equipment, it is possible and even simple to determine at any time the exact financial status of any agency of the county. This was clearly demonstrated to the writer in numerous instances on the occasion of an examination of the Warwick system.

The fiscal procedures for which the director of finance is responsible under the direction and supervision of the manager include the preparation of budget estimates, assessment of property for taxation, collection and custody of public funds, control of expenditures, purchase and control of supplies and services, and debt administration.

In connection with Warwick's purchasing system extremely interesting and important features are the maintenance and operation of a fully equipped shop to repair and service the motor equipment of the county, including that used by the school system, and the operation of a county "store" for the sake of economy. The purchasing agent is also a skilled mechanic and is in immediate charge of the county's (now the city's) shop, garage and store. His office as purchasing agent, the garage and store, are all combined in the same building.

Purchasing Program

The county store is stocked with all the supplies and equipment needed for the operation of some one hundred pieces of motorized equipment and for the maintenance of all public buildings of the county. Even personal articles of employees peculiar to their occupation, such as rain coats, rubber boots, hats and gloves, are carried and sold at cost to employees.

Nothing is taken from the store except on requisition. An up-to-the-minute inventory shows the date each item is received in the store, when it is taken from the store and the remainder and exact location of items in stock.

The work of the department of finance, the scope and variety of which can only be suggested here, is indeed a far cry from those duties formerly performed by the two offices of treasurer and commissioner of the revenue. Yet the cost of these manifold functions in 1948 was only 30 per cent greater than the cost of the narrower functions performed by the two previously existing offices in 1944, despite the fact that the total budget of the county had doubled in this period in response to the growth and density of population. The cost of operating the offices of treasurer and commissioner of the revenue in the counties of the state as a whole had in this same period increased 61 per cent.

The record of Warwick in direct services cannot, of course, be recounted within the limits of this article. In summary it may be said that the operation of the manager plan in the county saw old services expanded and improved and many new services undertaken to meet the needs of a rapidly increasing population and the conditions incident to a highly concentrated population.

This was accomplished with no increase in the tax rate other than 30 cents on each $100 of assessed valuation to finance bond issues — chiefly for school buildings — voted by the people in 1947. The new fiscal system operated with impressive efficiency to meet the needs of these services and at less proportionate cost than the old system. The democratic process was strengthened through an effective system of accounting and reporting as well as through the fixing of more definite lines of responsibility for officers and employees of the county.

Now there has been nothing miraculous or incredible in this record. It is probably no more than could reasonably be expected of a competent personnel under competent and skillful leadership equipped with tools suitable for its tasks.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Stronger 'Manager' Urged for Los Angeles

Little Hoover Commission Issues Its Final Report

IN contrast to the present disjointed organization of municipal activities lacking effective coordination, the Los Angeles Commission for Reorganization of City Government recommends in its final report greater centralization of executive responsibility and the placing of most city functions under the present city administrative officer, making him a city manager to a large extent.

This position was created by a charter amendment proposed by the reorganization commission and approved by the voters in May 1951, but the administrative officer has been primarily a budget director. The new proposal would give him charge of twelve departments in addition to budgeting — administrative services, personnel, police, fire, public works, building and safety, social service, recreation and parks, receiving hospital, library, animal regulation and press relations.

The health and municipal art departments, which the commission believes should be consolidated with corresponding departments of Los Angeles County, would also be under the city administrative officer for the time being.

Commenting on the present organization the report says, "When it is remembered that nineteen departments are involved, each managed by a five-man commission, it becomes apparent that no one person could give detailed consideration to the operation." Such commissions would be relieved of their administrative duties and become advisory and appeals boards, except in the case of semi-independent proprietary departments — water and power, harbor and airport. These departments, together with broad planning agencies, would remain directly under the mayor and council. The mayor would appoint, subject to council approval, the members of all boards and commissions, as well as the city clerk, treasurer and public defender.

The city administrative officer would, as at present, be appointed by the mayor, with majority confirmation by the council, and could be removed by the same process or by the council on its own motion and with two-thirds majority. He would appoint the heads of all departments under him, but with the consent of the mayor and council and, for the present, subject to merit system regulations.

The council would be elected by districts for four-year staggered terms — which method was approved by the voters on April 7, 1953. All of its quasi-administrative duties would be transferred to various departments, leaving it free for policy determination. It would hold weekly meetings.

The mayor's veto power would be retained.

The city controller and the city attorney would continue to be elected.

The commission did not make studies of the proprietary departments, because of lack of time and facilities, but recommends that such studies be instituted.

Reorganization of the civil service system is urged, both as to administrative organization and internal procedure, to establish the principles of a real merit system. The new position of director of personnel would be created, with supervision of personnel selection, pensions, retirement systems and workmen's compensation insurance. The commission also proposes establishment of a single agency to determine salaries and wages for all city employees. Annual adjustment of pension benefits to cost of living is recommended.

Other proposals include one that all municipal elections be coincident with the regular county and state elections, where possible; the elections to be conducted by the county registrar of voters rather than by the city clerk.

State Reorganization Group Carries on in Washington

Although its recommendations were defeated by defenders of the status quo, at both the regular and a special session of the legislature of the state of Washington,[1] the Committee on State Government Organization—also known as the Shefelman Committee or the Little Hoover Commission — is preparing to convince the 1954 legislature of the need for its proposals. As stated by the *Seattle Times*, "Shefelman Committee members expect to re-examine all of their recommendations and perhaps take off some of the rough spots which enabled the opponents to manufacture their campaign against the program. They also may extend their studies into new fields, working closely with the state legislative council. . . .

"The tentative plan of the committee is to complete its work well in advance of the 1954 legislature, perhaps five or six months before the session convenes, and to hold public hearings before the final bills are drafted."

Tennessee Convention Submits Constitutional Amendments

The limited constitutional convention elected last November in Tennessee recessed on June 5 until July 14, after reaching agreement on the six subjects with which it was authorized to deal. When it reconvenes, general discussions will not be reopened. The only matters to be dealt with will be corrections of errors discovered in the language of the proposed amendments.

The following six changes have been proposed:

1. The governor's term is to be extended from two to four years; he is barred from immediate reelection.

2. The governor's veto powers are broadened so that he may veto items in appropriation bills.

3. The pay of legislators is increased from the 1870 stipulation of $4.00 per day to $10.00, plus $5.00 per day expenses. Regular terms continue to be limited to 75 days in two years.

4. The poll tax is completely removed as a prerequisite for voting, an end gained some years ago by statute, which has not been contested.

5. The constitution may be amended in two ways: (a) by approval by two successive biennial state legislatures, plus approval by the voters in a referendum by a majority equal to a majority of all votes cast for governor in the most recent election; or (b) by a constitutional convention, with the specific provisions validating conventions limited to consideration of stated portions of the constitution.

6. Home rule is conditionally placed within reach of each city and town to this extent: (a) if home rule is approved by the local legislative or governing body, or (b) if approved by the voters of the city or town, then home rule as extended in the constitution becomes effective in such municipality and no longer may the state legislature enact a local bill applicable to such city

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1953, page 34, and May 1953, page 237.

or town. The only home rule offered to counties is this: A local bill enacted by the state legislature does not become effective until the governing body of the county affected, by two-thirds vote, approves it and submits the bill to approval of the voters of the county in a referendum.

According to the *New York Times* of June 14, delegates were fearful that revision of the amending process might lead to a graduated income tax, now prohibited, and that home rule might lead to cities using new revenue sources. The convention's proposals for change in the amending process are so small that revision of its tax provisions would be almost impossible. The proposed home rule amendment has a section which specifically bars cities from levying new taxes not already authorized by the constitution.

The amendments will be submitted to the voters of the state at the November election.

New York Court System to Be Studied

An eleven-man special commission was appointed on June 16 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York and the presiding officers of the state legislature, to make a sweeping investigation of the state's court system, including methods of selecting judges. The commission is to make recommendations to the 1954 legislature. Creation of the commission was authorized by the legislature, with a cost limit of $100,000, upon the governor's recommendation based on overloading of court calendars, especially in New York City, and charges that there had been irregularities in various court activities, including bartering of judicial nominations.

Governor Dewey appointed as chairman Harrison Tweed, former president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; Louis M. Loeb, chairman of that association's judiciary committee; W. N. Seymour, former president of the same association; L. C. Ryan of Syracuse, former president of the New York State Bar Association; J. O. Moore, Jr., of Buffalo, former special assistant district attorney; and J. M. Nicely, New York City banker and former law secretary to U. S. Supreme Court Justice Holmes. Two state senators were appointed to the commission by the Senate Republican majority leader, and two representatives, by the speaker of the assembly.

Pre-primary Conventions Restored in Massachusetts

A bill restoring pre-primary conventions in Massachusetts became law on May 25 upon signature by Governor Herter. Such conventions, which were held in two elections in the '30s, endorse party slates of candidates to run in the regular state primaries; other candidates being permitted to run without party endorsement. The conventions are to be called by the chairmen of the state committees, delegates to be chosen from each town and ward.

New Jersey Sets Up Training Program

A statewide training program has been established in the New Jersey Department of Civil Service. Governor Driscoll authorized the new training unit, in cooperation with the Department of Education, to establish training programs for various state departments.

The first course will be in conference leadership. It will be given by the Institute of Management and Labor Relations of Rutgers University, to develop qualified leaders for future training. The second course will be in supervision and will emphasize the importance of human relations.

Oregon Constitution Study Committee Authorized

The Oregon legislature on April 20 adopted Senate Joint Resolution No. 28, creating the "Governor's and Legislative Constitutional Committee," to consist of nine persons appointed by the governor, outside of the legislature, including two from each congressional district and one at large; the president of the Senate and three senators appointed by him; and the speaker of the House and three representatives appointed by him.

The resolution states "that the committee shall examine the Oregon constitution to determine the need for the amendment or replacement thereof. If the committee determines there is such a need, it shall prepare and include in its report suggested amendments or replacements designed to illustrate by specific examples how, in its opinion, the constitution can be improved, and shall examine, study and make recommendations as to the method of accomplishing improvement."

The committee is to make a report to the next legislature, with findings, recommendations and proposed bills or resolutions.

Constitutional Amendments Proposed in Minnesota

The 1953 Minnesota legislature voted to submit four proposed constitutional amendments to the people at the 1954 general election. One is a repetition of a previous proposal, requiring a revision of the constitution to be submitted to the voters at the next general election held not less than 90 days after its adoption by the constitutional convention. Ratification would require approval of 60 per cent of those voting on the question. Legislators would be permitted to be members of the constitutional convention.

Another proposal would obviate filling short vacancies in state elective offices at the general election — such as for terms beginning on election day and ending the following January. Another authorizes the legislature to provide qualifications for probate judges and to change probate court jurisdiction. The remaining proposal authorizes the legislature to regulate the liability of stockholders or members of corporations and cooperative associations.

Massachusetts Commission Would Centralize State Building

The Massachusetts Special Commission on the Structure of State Government has recommended to the legislature a reorganization plan designed to centralize responsibility for the state's large building program, according to *State Government.* A new division of building construction, headed by a technically trained director, would be responsible for all state building projects except highways, port facilities, public housing and certain types of schools. The commission reported that when its study began there were 240 building projects involving seventeen state agencies.

Indiana Creates New Departments

The Indiana legislature has established a new State Department of Corrections, to be headed by a full-time commission of three members and to exercise central administrative control over all state penal institutions. A new Department of Health was also created, headed by a director with three assistants to supervise the divisions of health, mental health, and preventive medicine and medical institutions. An office of state traffic director was also set up.

An eight-member State Office Building Commission is empowered to acquire a site and construct a state office building financed by private capital, to be amortized over a 30-year period.

Arkansas to Vote on Three Constitutional Amendments

The Arkansas legislative session of 1953 has referred three proposed constitutional amendments to popular vote at the next general election, reports *State Government.* One would require assessment of property for tax purposes at its full market value, authorize a state board of equalization, limit mill levies by local jurisdictions, and permit the legislature to classify property for tax purposes. The second would increase the governor's term from two to four years. The third would provide that the governor and other constitutional officers take office the first Monday in December following their election and that the regular 60-day session of the legislature convene on the first Monday in February of odd-numbered years; salary increases for legislators and state officers and revision of court organization would be provided also.

Georgia Home Rule Act Held Unconstitutional

The municipal home rule act adopted by the Georgia legislature in 1951 and amended in 1952 was declared unconstitutional in a decision by Judge Jessie Wood of the Fulton Superior Court on May 15. It is expected to be passed upon by the Georgia Supreme Court.

The 1951 act enabled municipalities to adopt charters drafted by charter commissions elected for that purpose, or retain existing charters while otherwise adopting the provisions of the home rule act, by referendum election. The Georgia constitution, article 15, paragraph 1, upon which the act purported to be based, states that the legislature shall provide for uniform optional plans of county and municipal government. The court held that the act did not do this.

The case arose from a suit by certain taxpayers for an injunction against the city of Atlanta to restrain it from exercising authority over certain territory annexed to it by a special 1953 act. This territory had been sought to be annexed by the city of East Point, under the provisions of the 1951 home rule act, which that city had adopted. Atlanta asserted that the latter was unconstitutional.

Federal Commission Will Study Intergovernmental Relations

The functional and fiscal relations of the federal government to state and local governments are to be studied by the Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, authorized by the House of Representatives on June 4, a month after the Senate had approved a similar measure.

The commission is directed to study the proper role of the federal government in relation to the states and their political subdivisions with respect to fields "which under our constitutional system may be the primary interest and obligation of the several states and the subdivisions thereof," with the purpose "that these relations may be clearly defined and the functions concerned may be allocated to their proper jurisdiction. It is further necessary that intergovernmental fiscal relations be so adjusted that each level of government discharges the functions which belong within its jurisdiction in a sound and effective manner."

The commission is to investigate all existing instances of federal aid to state and local governments and to determine and report "whether there is justification for federal aid in the various fields where federal aid is extended; whether there are other fields in which federal aid should be limited and, if so, to what extent; whether federal aid should be limited to cases of need; and all other matters incident to such federal aid, including the ability of the federal government and the states to finance activities of this nature."

The commission's report is to be submitted to the president, for transmittal to Congress, not later than March 1, 1954. The membership is to include five from each house of Congress, appointed by their presiding officers, and fifteen members appointed by the president.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Elmwood Park, Illinois, (1950 population 18,801) voted 3,436 to 2,800 on April 21 in favor of the council-manager plan. The present council (or board) is reported, however, to have tabled the related ordinance at its May 18 meeting.

Princeton, West Virginia, (8,279) adopted the council-manager plan by charter amendment on June 2 by a vote of 973 to 944. The plan is scheduled to go into effect July 1.

Southern Pines, North Carolina, (4,272) has adopted the statutory council-manager Plan D. **Jacksonville** (3,960), in the same state, has adopted a modified form of Plan D.

Northbrook, Illinois, (3,348) voted 550 to 30 for a council-manager ordinance on April 21. The plan is expected to go into effect early in 1954.

The voters of **Winnsboro, South Carolina,** (3,267) on April 21, approved the council-manager plan, 375 to 147.

A referendum election on adoption of the council-manager plan is scheduled for September 11 of this year in **Dover, New Hampshire,** instead of in 1955 as formerly expected.

A petition was filed on June 4 in **Springfield, Massachusetts,** calling for a referendum on adopting the manager plan.

The council-manager plan is being studied in the village of **Waverly, New York.**

The village commission of **Ridgewood, New Jersey,** has established the office of director of operations, leaving the commission to function as a policymaking board. The borough manager of Fair Lawn, New Jersey, was selected for the position, to take office June 15.

The Florida legislature has approved a bill, sponsored by a **West Palm Beach** councilman, which would replace the present manager plan by a commission plan of government for that city. The bill makes the change subject to referendum on June 27.

Miami, Florida, voters on June 9 turned down a plan to consolidate with Dade County, 27,600 to 26,692 (exclusive of absentee ballots).[1] Miami thus retains its present council-manager government.

The League of Women Voters of **Elyria, Ohio,** has unanimously voted in favor of the council-manager plan and is engaging in a campaign looking towards its adoption in that city.

The city council of **Highland Park, Illinois,** on April 27 appointed the city collector as city clerk and city manager, under an ordinance enacted 26 years ago, which provided for the city clerk's being city manager and purchasing agent. However, he does not have full administrative authority under the council. The latter at the same meeting appointed the former city clerk as director of public works, for four years.

Fort Dodge, Iowa, at an election June 9, defeated a council-manager proposal 2,723 to 2,361.

Abilene, Kansas, voted 999 to 780 on May 19 to retain the council-manager plan, which has been effective since 1939. The alternative presented was the commission plan.

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[1] See also page 347, this issue.

At a special election in **Concordia, Kansas,** on May 19 the council-manager plan was retained by a vote of 974 to 645, as against returning to the mayor-council form. The manager plan was adopted in 1948 by a vote of 1,145 to 365.

A petition has been submitted to the city council of **Seward, Alaska,** calling for an election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan. Seward now has a mayor and council serving without salaries.

Three new city manager groups on a state or regional basis have been organized in recent months, and many existing groups have held meetings. Thirteen of the sixteen managers in Iowa met in Des Moines on April 29 and appointed a committee to formulate a constitution and by-laws. Manager Johnson of Charles City was elected president. Ten managers out of fifteen in Minnesota met in Granite Falls on April 15 and adopted a constitution and by-laws. Managers in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana recently by letter ballot approved a constitution and by-laws for the Northwest City Managers' Association. Manager Botch of Pendleton, Oregon, was elected president.

Oklahoma managers met in Oklahoma City May 15-16, with 27 managers present. Municipal developments, public relations and a management clinic made up the program.

City managers and their assistants, to the number of 33 from Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and western Nebraska, gathered in Boulder, Colorado, on April 9 at a three-day conference on municipal management sponsored by the University of Colorado and the Colorado Municipal League. Many students and guests also attended. Tools of management in the form of staff aid, auxiliary services and planning agencies, and public relations for municipal administrators were featured topics.

Nineteen Ohio managers met at Columbus, April 16 and 17, with annual reports, civil defense and planning for small cities as discussion topics. Virginia city managers held their semi-annual meeting at Luray, April 17 and 18, with 45 managers in attendance. Benefits from in-service training, new horizons in the personnel field, and a "stump the experts" panel were program topics.

The Association of Municipal Managers of Pennsylvania held its fifth annual meeting at Pittsburgh on May 1 and 2 with 31 managers present. New legislation, special assessments and security benefits were principal topics of discussion.

Texas city managers held their spring meeting at Corpus Christi, May 3-5, with 68 managers in attendance. Utility services, financing capital improvements, insurance and two informal round-table sessions highlighted the program.

New York City Manager Study Group Appointed

A nine-member commission, authorized by the New York State legislature to study the feasibility of the council-manager plan for New York City, was appointed early in June. Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who had signed the legislation on March 28, appointed five members, while the Senate and House majority leaders appointed two each. All are residents of the city.

The chairman is Devereaux C. Josephs, president of the New York Life Insurance Company. The governor's other appointees are Dr. Belle Zeller, professor of political science at Brooklyn College; Frederick V. P. Bryan, lawyer; Clement V. Conole, engineer and department store president; and J. Anthony Panuch, lawyer. The legislative appointees are Senators Joseph S. Periconi and Arthur Wachtel, both from The Bronx, and Assemblymen Samuel Rabin of Queens and Ludwig Teller of Manhattan. Senator Periconi and Assemblyman Rabin are Republicans, the other two legislators are Democrats. An initial meeting was held on June 8.

Newark Charter Commission Selects Staff and Advisors

The five-member charter commission created in Newark, New Jersey, by the referendum election of May 12 completed its organization late in May. For its executive secretary it selected Roland J. Delfausse, assistant executive director of the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research. Five nationally known experts in municipal government were retained to assist in the charter study: Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration and director of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of New York; William Miller, director of research of the Princeton Surveys; Bennett M. Rich, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, Rutgers University; John E. Bebout, assistant director of the National Municipal League; and Henry W. Connor, director of the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research.

The commission has nine months in which to complete its studies, unless extended by pending legislation.

Tammany Hall Cuts Committee Size

The Democratic organization of New York County (the borough of Manhattan, city of New York), familiarly known as Tammany Hall, has adopted in advance the principle of a law that goes into effect next year, cutting the party's county committee down to something like realistic and effective size. The New York County Democratic Committee has had 11,761 members; this is being reduced to 3,471. Even this number somewhat exceeds the prospective legal limit of four members per election district; 14 of the 1,016 districts will have five members each.

The Citizens Union on May 30 took the unusual course of commending Tammany for taking action voluntarily before the legal deadline and urged all other Democratic and Republican organizations in the city to take similar action.

It gave two reasons why it considered the reduction important: "(1) It reduces the committee for any Assembly district to a size where it can be accommodated in an ordinary hall and function as a normal deliberative body without excluding any of its members,

"(2) It permits any element within a party's membership to contest for control of the county committee without an insuperable task of enlisting candidates and meeting technical requirements. This is essential for real democracy and the healthy operation of party organizations as representatives of the people."

Richmond's Utilities Prosper under Manager Plan

Since Richmond, Virginia, adopted its council-manager charter in 1948, that city's utilities — water, electric and gas — have been placed on a much improved basis. Utilities Director J. Edward Metzger, in a recent address to the Richmond First Club, gave chief credit to the authors of the charter. He stated that the city's utility operations are now turning into the city treasury $1,250,000 annually in lieu of taxes, while water rates are below those of most cities and gas rates are 34 per cent less than in 1935. The city electric utility, which supplies street lights, has reduced its cost for that service to 0.6 cents per kilowatt hour through the use of standby water for electric generation and a favorable agreement with the Virginia Electric and Power Company for exchange of off-peak power.

With the utilities set up on a business-like basis under the new charter, the utilities department has been able to operate a larger service while reducing the number of employees from 556 in 1948 to 450 now, and this without dismissing a single employee.

Primaries Approved for Greenwich, Connecticut

At the representative town meeting held in Greenwich, Connecticut, on June 8 the town's traditional caucus system of nominating candidates for local elective offices was discarded in favor of direct primaries, as permitted under a law approved earlier in 1953 by the state legislature.

Under the leadership of Mark Matthews, a member of the National Municipal League's Council, a bill had been introduced in the Connecticut legislature by Harold O. Douglass (House Bill No. 358) to authorize for Greenwich the system of party nominations for public office as proposed in the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System.* It requires the town committee of each party to announce its slate of nominees on the 52nd day preceding election; within the next ten days other nominations may be made by petition and a filing fee of $35 for each candidate. If a town committee's nominee is not thus contested, the office will not appear on the primary ballot and, if none of the nominees are contested, no party primary will be held. Candidates advanced by a town committee shall be identified by first position in each office group on the voting machine and shall be designated as having been so nominated. As a compromise, the law does not include nominations for party office.

This is the first instance in the country of complete compliance with the League's *Model.*

GPRA to Work with AMA at Chicago Office

The American Municipal Association and the Government Public Relations Association have entered into an agreement for joint research and other activities. GPRA will have its secretariat at AMA's headquarters at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago.

Among projects under consideration are: a handbook about the making of municipal reports to the citizens; development of a course in dealing with the public, which might be utilized by city officials throughout the country as part of their city personnel training; establishment of a loan library for radio and TV scripts about city government functions and services, which might serve as blueprints for cities; research in new public relations techniques to help officials better interpret government to the people.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Mason Gould*

Miami Voters Reject Merger with County

Nip Consolidation Plan Narrowly in Referendum

THE people of Miami, Florida, on June 9 rejected a plan to abolish the city and consolidate its government with Dade County. The vote was 27,600 against and 26,692 for.

The proposal was passed by the state legislature with the stipulation that a majority of at least 15 per cent of Miami's registered voters approve it at a special referendum in order for it to become law. The vote, representing one of the largest turnouts ever recorded in Miami for a special election, was far above the 19,905 ballots required to make the election valid.

Miami thus will retain the commission-manager form of government that has been in effect since 1921. If the proposed consolidation had gone through, the city commission would have been abolished and all city offices placed in the hands of the Dade County commission, in charge of unincorporated areas in the county.

Three members of the four-man Dade County delegation, which introduced the measure to the legislature, were against putting the plan to a referendum, contending that Miamians had expressed themselves in favor of the idea in the 1948 elections and had reiterated their stand when they voted for a county charter bill last November. Sole holdout for a vote of the people of Miami was Representative Robert L. Floyd. Other representatives backed him and the House amended the proposal so as to include a referendum provision.

Proponents of the merger contended that it would save taxpayers hundreds of thousands of dollars annually by eliminating a duplication of activities.

County Manager Plan Considered in Two States

A bill empowering Illinois counties to adopt the manager form of government is being prepared by Representative Samuel H. Shapiro of Kankakee for introduction in the General Assembly. Responsibility for county management in the state now rests with a board of supervisors in the northern two-thirds of the state and with a board of commissioners in the southern counties.

The county manager plan for Broome County, New York, has been advocated by Clarence L. Chamberlain, former Broome County attorney and now an official in the State Department of Audit and Control. Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, made in a speech before the Binghamton League of Women Voters, was opposed by F. Clyde Eggleston, chairman of the Broome County Board of Supervisors. Mr. Eggleston suggested that the county adopt another form of the county executive idea—the county administrator plan.

A campaign for county manager government is being conducted in Rockland County, New York, by Louis H. Heydeman, president of the Nanuet Civic Association. He recently addressed the Spring Valley Kiwanis Club and the Rotary Club of the same community. The *Journal-News* of Nyack, in Rockland County, said in a recent editorial: "We think the larger [anticipated] population [of the county] will need a free-wheeling, efficient, strictly business government."

King County Abolishes Office of Constable

The office of constable in King County, Washington, has been abolished by the board of county commissioners. The action will be effective with the next election and will not affect the terms of constables now holding office.

It was felt that the sheriff's office could handle the constable's work more efficiently. Elimination of the office would also simplify the ballot and afford a slight saving in election costs.

Total budget for seven salaried constables in King County is $12,000.

Allegheny County Commission's Life Extended to 1955

The life of the Allegheny County Metropolitan Study Commission has been extended until the end of the 1955 session of the Pennsylvania legislature. The commission was created by the 1951 legislature[1] to promote uniform development in the county. The study will embrace possible school district consolidations and streamlining of some of the local governments in the county.

Maryland County Grants Plant Tax Exemption

A law providing for manufacturers' exemptions from taxation in Caroline County has been passed by the Maryland legislature. Purpose of the law is "to encourage and induce the expansion, growth and development of new and established manufacturing" in the county. New plants valued at $50,000 and over and expansions of established firms valued at not less than $25,000 are exempt from county and municipal taxation for ten years from completion of the new unit. The exemption applies to land, buildings, tools, implements, machinery, manufacturing apparatus and engines used in manufacturing.

States Act to Develop Better Handling of Deaths

Six state legislatures acted recently to make possible better handling of deaths unattended by physicians. One other state had such action vetoed.

A law empowering Michigan counties to abolish their elective coroner systems has been passed by the 1953 state legislature. The law gives to any board of supervisors the right to submit to referendum a proposal to abolish the office of coroner and appoint a medical examiner for a three-year term. A referendum can also be forced by a petition signed by 10 per cent of the voters in the county. The medical examiner must be a physician and, in counties having a civil service system, must be chosen from civil service lists.

The state pathologist in the Vermont Department of Health has been authorized by the state legislature to select, direct and remove 25 physicians as regional medical examiners. These examiners are the only persons who may certify the cause of unattended deaths and permit disposition of the bodies. Previously, town health officers and other public officials, who selected their own medical aides, had this authority.

A law permitting prosecutors to require autopsies when crime or negligence is suspected was passed in June by the Florida legislature. Heretofore, it has been virtually impossible to secure autopsies, except in three counties acting under special laws.

The state of Washington has created a central state toxicological laboratory to serve all counties. Function of the laboratory will be the study and detection of poison. No crime detection duties are involved.

A Committee for the Study of the

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1952, page 359; October 1952, page 462.

Medical Examiner System in Kentucky has been established by the Kentucky Medical Association. Dr. F. S. Maxwell is chairman.

A study of the existing coroner system and the possibility of substituting qualified medical examiners has been authorized by the Minnesota legislature. The job has been assigned to the Legislative Research Committee.

A bill creating the post of medical examiner in each county, appointed by the board of county commissioners, was vetoed by the governor of New Mexico. The governor stated: "In smaller counties the cost would be too great. Also, a system might evolve which would lead to furnishing of medical services at state expense."

Zone Conflicts Studied in Westchester County

The Westchester County (New York) department of planning recently co-sponsored with the Westchester Local Planning Program a series of intercommunity planning consultations to discuss problems of mutual interest. Chief topic was conflicting zoning along municipal boundaries. The sessions were attended by town supervisors, mayors and chairmen of planning boards and boards of appeals in Westchester County, southern Connecticut and the Bronx (New York City borough adjacent to Westchester).

Zoning Ordinance Passed by Talbot County

Talbot County, Maryland, has become the first county on the state's eastern shore to have a county-wide zoning ordinance. Proponents of the ordinance, passed by the county commissioners, said that it would give the people of the county a voice in deciding what type of industry should locate in the county. Those opposed charged that the ordinance was designed to keep out a proposed $25,000,000 oil refinery which, they said, would be an economic asset to the region.

North Carolina Counties Ponder Leasing Welfare Homes

Nash and Person Counties, North Carolina, are considering leasing their county homes to private operators, according to *Popular Government*, published by the Institute of Government, University of North Carolina. Person County has found that about $16,000 of the present annual county home budget of $23,000 could be saved if the home were leased and present inmates placed on the public assistance rolls.

Some years ago, there were 94 county homes in the state; today there are half that number. Most of the counties abandoning the homes have placed inmates in private boarding homes, but some have retained title to the home and leased it to a private individual. Under the lease plan, the individual assumes responsibility for operating the home, under a license from the State Board of Public Welfare, and makes his own financial arrangements with the persons to be boarded. The boarders are placed on the public assistance rolls of the county and hence are supported in large part by state and federal funds. Inmates in county-operated institutions are not eligible for public assistance support from state and federal funds.

New York State Provides Joint County Probation Service

A New York State law amends the Code of Criminal Procedure to provide that the board of supervisors may, by agreement with the board of supervisors of any other county or counties, provide for the establishment, operation and maintenance of a joint county probation service.

Bill Introduced to Kill County Veto Power

A bill has been introduced in the Wisconsin legislature taking away the power of counties to veto state highway commission plans for constructing state trunk highways. Proponents of the bill, introduced by Senator Oscar W. Neale, pointed out that counties have no financial responsibility toward the state system and should have no control over it.

Attorney General Rules on Election Precincts

County commissioners do not have the power to include rural areas outside a city within the election precincts set up for the city itself, the Texas attorney general ruled recently. His opinion was in reply to a question from the Navarro County attorney.

Phoenix Offered $775,000 by County for Office Space

Maricopa County, Arizona, has offered the city of Phoenix $775,000 for the city's share of the city-county courthouse building. Overcrowded conditions in both the city and county offices make it necessary that additional space be made available. The city is studying the legality of financing construction of a new city hall under a lease-purchase agreement.

NORWICH STREAMLINED CITY

(Continued from page 325)

Idle city-owned property has been developed into much-needed parking areas.

A dilapidated city hall is being turned into an attractive and usable office building through a cleanup campaign. The cleanup began a year ago with workers from the city's relief rolls. Now contractors are completing extensive renovations to complete the project.

All of this has been accomplished within the past year and a half.

The politicians, who said Norwich would never have a council-manager plan, have not given up hope of regaining control of the administration. In the recently adjourned General Assembly they sought to return to party label designations in city elections. But the bill was defeated.

Members of the Citizens Committee for Better Norwich Government cannot for a moment relax their vigil. The people of Norwich should realize that they have to work for and with better government.

The whole program carried out thus far by the council-manager plan in Norwich has been supported almost entirely by the city council. The nonpartisan group has spent many hours coping with the complexities facing a new administration. In reviewing the accomplishments of the council-manager plan, City Manager Beck has stressed the importance of having a hard-working and competent council.

Louisville Awards Go to West Coast Officials

MFOA Conference Gives Medals and Certificates

THE Louisville Awards for outstanding contributions in the improvement of municipal finance in 1952 were announced at the 49th annual conference of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association at Miami, Florida, June 3. Officials of two California cities were the recipients.

The gold medal award went to Walter C. Peterson, city clerk of Los Angeles, for "planning and producing a manual on the administration, enforcement and collection of license, sales and use taxes" in that city. The silver medal award was conferred on John B. Massen, assistant to the city manager of San Jose, for his contribution in developing an administrative manual and for "the development and use of a descriptive inventory of departmental activities in a performance type budget."

Certificates of merit and honorable mention went to W. B. Avery, city manager of Manhattan, Kansas; Cyrille Belanger, first assistant treasurer, city of Quebec, Canada; and Chester Kowal, city comptroller of Buffalo, New York.

The association at its final session elected as president for the coming year John McQuilken, director of finance of the city of San Diego, California, who succeeds E. Lynn Crossley, city auditor of Dallas, Texas. Honorary life memberships were conferred on T. Coleman Andrews, of Richmond, Virginia, now United States commissioner of internal revenue, and Walter R. Darby, director of the Division of Local Government of the state of New Jersey and a past president of the association.

Village Approves Defense Plant on Promise of Taxes

The little village of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, which has been waging a precarious battle with the United States Department of Defense over the issue of exemption of defense plants and their equipment from local property taxes, capitulated in May on promises that legislation would be introduced in Congress to permit payments for loss of tax revenue and that the regular building permit fees would be paid.

The Cleveland suburb had been selected as the site for a $40,000,000 government-owned press plant to be constructed and operated by the Aluminum Company of America. The setup, like those now so commonly being imposed on local units all over the nation, would have made the properties exempt from local property taxes, while bringing all the costs attending the presence in a community of a plant of that magnitude. The village mayor had effectively blocked the beginning of construction by refusing to break a three to three tie in the council on the question of granting a building permit.

The deadlock was broken when the company agreed to pay the building permit fees for the entire plant (about $4,500) and on the promise that remedial legislation would be secured.

Tennessee Tax on U. S. War Gas Stocks Upheld

Possibly bearing on the plight of Cuyahoga Falls (see above), as well as other local units throughout the country whose tax rolls have been pruned of defense industrial properties and inventories through transfer of title to the United States under war contracts, was a decision by the U. S. Supreme Court in a Tennessee gasoline tax case.

During World War II gasoline owned by the Defense Supplies Corporation, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, was stored in Tennessee in tanks owned by the Esso Standard Oil Company, which received a service charge based on the number of gallons in storage. The United States agreed to assume all liability for state taxes. Tennessee, in 1949, demanded payment of taxes under its gasoline tax law, and Esso paid under protest taxes on the amount of gas stored during January 1944, and sued to recover. The United States intervened in the suit, contending the tax was unconstitutional under the doctrine of intergovernmental tax immunity.

The Supreme Court, by a five to three decision, upheld the state tax. A dispatch to *The New York Times* quoted Mr. Justice Reed, who wrote the majority opinion, as saying:

"The United States today is engaged in vast and complicated operations in business fields, and important purchasing, financial and contract transactions with private enterprise. The constitution does not extend sovereign exemption from state taxation to corporations or individuals contracting with the United States merely because their activities are useful to the government. We hold, therefore, that sovereign immunity does not prohibit this tax."

States Ease Income Taxes, Lower Rates, Raise Exemptions

While the federal government struggled to produce a budget which would permit some tax reduction a year from now, North Dakota and Idaho legislatures cut income tax rates and half a dozen other states eased the load on the taxpayer by extending reductions or raising exemption allowances.

The Idaho reduction, amounting to 15 per cent, was allowed to individuals and corporations beginning with the 1953 tax year. North Dakota both reduced rates and raised personal exemptions. The rates were reduced from 2 to 1 per cent on net incomes between $2,000 and $3,000, from 12.5 to 10 per cent on net incomes between $10,000 and $15,000, and from 15 to 11 per cent on net incomes above $15,000, while the personal exemption for single taxpayers and dependents was raised from $500 to $600 and an additional $600 was allowed for individual taxpayers and each spouse over age 65.

Montana for the first time allowed a medical deduction up to $1,250 for each taxpayer and each dependent, to a maximum of $2,500 on a single person's return and $5,000 on a joint return. Utah raised the allowance for dependents from $300 to $600 and Kansas allowed an added deduction of $600 to persons over age 65 and the blind.

Several other states extended reductions already in effect. Colorado extended a 20 per cent credit allowed since 1950, Iowa made permanent a 25 per cent credit first allowed on 1947 income, Maryland extended a 15 per cent credit first allowed last year, and New York extended a 10 per cent credit allowed on individual income taxes and a 25 per cent reduction on the unincorporated business tax, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators.

Florida Legislature Passes Many Bills; Large Appropriations

The recently completed 1953 biennial session of the Florida legislature will probably be remembered more for the quantity of bills received and the volume of its appropriations than for its willingness to grapple with major public policy issues. The legislature ended by appropriating $352,229,935 for the next two years, which is some $9,700,000 less than anticipated revenues. No taxes were raised except on the state's "take" from dog-racing tracks. The sliding scale chain store tax was repealed with a loss to the state of an estimated $500,000 per annum. Farm and fisheries users of certain petroleum fuel products were also granted a limited refund of present state levies.

A two-year study looking to uniformity of wage and job classifications in state employment (there is no general merit system in Florida) was authorized with an appropriation of $75,000. A study of the various state retirement systems was also authorized. The State Auditing Department was strengthened while the community planning and development functions of the State Improvement Commission (successor to the State Planning Commission) were abolished. State benefits to the needy aged were increased from a minimum of $50 to $60 and a new program for the totally disabled was approved.

The legislature refused to consolidate the administrations of the state's two white universities and raised its negro college to the status of a university. A separate turnpike authority to build proposed toll roads was authorized and a council of various state officials "to coordinate and supervise state purchasing" (actually a long way from true central purchasing) was authorized. The Milk Commission was given two more consumer members and the Livestock Sanitary Board was reorganized. These and the hundreds of special acts affecting counties and cities are among the more important acts of the 1953 Florida legislature.

The other side of the picture was the failure of Governor McCarty's requests for a number of programs of major significance. The legislature turned down the governor's requests for:

1. A $25,000,000 financial buffer based on current surplus;
2. Consolidation of the conservation program which is now handled by several agencies;
3. A separate State Department of Labor;
4. A change in the succession to the governorship from the president of the Senate (elected from a district) to the secretary of state (elected at large);
5. A state constitutional commission to study constitutional revision;
6. Consolidation of state tax collecting agencies (there are now seventeen);
7. Abolition of the fee system as a means of compensating county officials and placing them on a salaried basis;
8. Creation of a state tax commission with power to make local assessments uniform.

The governor has stated that constitutional revision and creation of a tax commission will be major items of his recommendations to the 1955 legislature.

Given the lack of any pressing financial problems at this time and the general preoccupation of Florida with the problems of physical growth and economic expansion, the 1953 session did about as was expected. However, the major questions of state administration with which it did not deal during 1953 bid fair to be around for a long time and will be heard from again.

William F. Larsen
University of Florida

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(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Hopkins Holds Third P. R. Election

Uses Alternative Vote to Choose Mayor, Judge

THE mayor, four city councilmen and a municipal judge, the latter unopposed, were elected in Hopkins, Minnesota, by the Hare system on May 19. This was the third proportional representation election since the adoption of the city's present charter in December 1947.

There were five candidates for mayor but three of them received a mere scattering of votes, while the other two, associated with rival groups of council candidates in the nonpartisan election, divided the remaining votes almost evenly.

On first choices Joseph C. Vesely led his rival Russell H. Zakariasen by ten votes. This margin was increased to 43 when the ballots cast for defeated candidates were transferred, according to the next choices marked on them. Both Vesely and Zakariasen were incumbent councilmen.

Associated on a slate with Mayor Vesely in campaign advertising were Joseph A. Empanger, Lee Stevenson and Otto H. Wenzel, councilmanic candidates. These candidates were prominent in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. Empanger and Stevenson, both employed in local or nearby industry, were elected.

There was no formal slate presented in campaign advertising in opposition to this group, but a number of the other candidates for the council, as well as the losing candidate for mayor, were known to be Republicans and were regarded as an informal group. One of these, Joseph M. Witmer, led the poll with 444 first-choice votes, six more than the quota necessary for election. Dr. Philip W. Sheldon stood second highest in first choices, and was one of the four elected.

Only 2 per cent of the 2,299 ballots cast were invalid, compared with 3½ per cent at the last presidential election, and 10 per cent at earlier municipal elections. For council ballots alone, however, the figure was 5 per cent, although the method of marking the ballots was exactly the same as in the case of the ballot for mayor. Voting instructions in clearcut language were placed in voting booths by the city for this election and the local newspaper, which strongly favors the P. R. voting system, made a special effort to make the method of marking the ballots clear.

Chief issue in the election appears to have been responsibility for certain tax cuts granted local industries on their personal property assessments in the process of equalization, which is done by the city council sitting as a board of equalization. Neither the manager form of government nor the administration of City Manager W. R. L. Taylor seems to have been at issue.

Australia Elects Senate by Hare System

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below was written by GEORGE HOWATT, a Fulbright Scholar from the University of Pennsylvania, attached to the University of Melbourne. Mr. Howatt is in Australia to study election methods in that country.

Australia's third P.R. election to choose its federal Senate was held on May 9, 1953. In this contest, as in the preceding two P. R. elections, all the seats were won by the major party groups and divided between them in close proportion to the popular votes —see Tables I and III. Another striking result was the fact that 94.2 per cent of all who recorded valid votes cast first choices for winning candidates![1] The percentage of effective ballots was still higher.

The three P. R. elections contrast vividly with almost all the previous Senate elections since the founding of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. Prior to the first use of P. R. in 1949 the extreme fluctuations which so frequently characterize block voting were seen in the Senate elections. Great discrepancies occurred between the amount of support expressed by the voters for their respective parties and the numbers of seats received.

The six elections preceding adoption of P. R. serve to illustrate. In 1946 the Labor party, with 52.1 per cent of the nation-wide vote, obtained sixteen of nineteen seats. In the preceding election, in 1943, it was even more lucky. With 55.1 per cent of the votes it "won" 100 per cent of the seats. In the contests of 1940 and 1937, as seen in Table II, the two parties were nearly equally popular with the voters; yet in 1937, the Labor party was awarded sixteen of nineteen seats; while in 1940, by dropping a mere 1.5 per cent in voter favor, it obtained only three of nineteen seats. The elections of 1931 and 1934 gave a near monopoly of the seats to the non-Labor party, although the percentages for these two earlier contests were nearly the same as those of 1943 and 1946.

From 1901 to 1949 each state had six senators, half of them normally being replaced every third year by means of statewide, popular suffrage. General ticket, or block, voting on a plurality basis was used until 1918, when the

TABLE I

AUSTRALIAN SENATE ELECTIONS, MAY 9, 1953[a]

Comparison of Votes and Seats Received, Totals and Percentages
(On Basis of First Preference Votes)

	Liberal and Country Party		*Labor Party*		*Others*		*Per Cent Invalid on State Basis*
States	*Votes*	*Seats*	*Votes*	*Seats*	*Votes*	*Seats*	
New South Wales	752,267	2	948,920	3	98,103	—	
	41.8%	40.0%	52.7%	60.0%	5.5%	—	4.0
Victoria	563,265	2	644,123	3	57,564	—	
	44.5%	40.0%	50.9%	60.0%	4.6%	—	5.6
Queensland	322,214	3	299,268	2	47,637	—	
	48.2%	60.0%	44.7%	40.0%	7.1%	—	2.6
South Australia	189,105	2	219,628	3	7,553	—	
	45.4%	40.0%	52.8%	60.0%	1.8%	—	4.9
West Australia	139,804	3	141,416	3	6,917	—	
	48.5%	50.0%	49.1%	50.0%	2.4%	—	7.2
Tasmania	73,283	3	70,613	3	9,909	—	
	47.7%	50.0%	45.9%	50.0%	6.4%	—	5.1
Totals	2,039,938	15	2,323,968	17	227,683	—	
	44.4%	46.9%	50.6%	53.1%	5.0%	—	

[a] Computations based on final figures provided by the commonwealth electoral officers of the six states.

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[1] This phenomenally high percentage, even for P. R., is explained by the limitation of candidates and the use of voting cards in the campaigns of the two major parties and the fact that nearly all the votes were cast for these parties.

TABLE II

AUSTRALIAN SENATE ELECTIONS
For the Six Elections Preceding Adoption of P. R.[a]
Comparison of Votes Cast and Seats Received

	Liberal-Country Party		*Labor Party*		*Others*	
	Votes	*Seats*	*Votes*	*Seats*	*Votes*	*Seats*
1931	1,737,611	15	1,281,051	3	116,661	—
	55.4%	83.3%	40.9%	16.7%	3.7%	—
1934	1,744,021	18	1,358,196	—	185,614	—
	53.0%	100.0%	41.3%	—	5.7%	—
1937	1,636,889	3	1,699,172	16	168,569	—
	46.7%	15.8%	48.5%	84.2%	4.8%	—
1940	1,831,138	16	1,708,024	3	93,655	—
	50.4%	84.2%	47.0%	15.8%	2.6%	—
1943	1,481,563	—	2,139,164	19	262,443	—
	38.2%	—	55.1%	100.0%	6.7%	—
1946	1,775,022	3	2,133,273	16	189,032	—
	43.3%	15.8%	52.1%	84.2%	4.6%	—

[a] Source: Commonwealth of Australia (by Chief Electoral Officer), *Statistical Returns* (for the years concerned), Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer. Although equal numbers of Senators are chosen from all states regardless of population, these figures, for the sake of summarization, are based on nation-wide totals.

TABLE III

AUSTRALIAN SENATE ELECTIONS
First Three Elections under P. R.
Percentages of Votes and Seats Received

	Liberal-Country Party		*Labor Party*		*Others*	
	Votes	*Seats*	*Votes*	*Seats*	*Votes*	*Seats*
1949	50.4	54.8	44.9	45.2	4.7	—
1951	49.7	53.3	45.9	46.7	4.4	—
1953	44.4	46.9	50.6	53.1	5.0	—

alternative vote system[2] was adopted for electing the federal House of Representatives from single-member districts. Simultaneously it was decided to choose the senators by the same method, with provision for successive recounting of all ballots on a majority basis in order to fill vacancies. By this procedure any group of party candidates (and the ballots listed the candidates in party groups) obtaining a bare majority of the votes would capture all the seats, for as soon as one candidate was elected all of his ballots would be recounted and credited to the candidate marked as next choice.

Growing dissatisfaction with the grossly exaggerated fluctuations in the composition of the Senate throughout its history did much to prepare the public and the political parties for a change. Besides, the switch to P. R. in 1948 appeared to be advantageous to the party in power at that time. Moreover, the existing form of ballot, the method of marking it and the use of the states as separate electoral units were applicable without alteration under P. R.

The first P. R. election coincided with the increase from six to ten in the number of senators from each state, with half of them normally being elected, as previously, every third year. In order to achieve the increase in size, seven senators were chosen from each state at the first election in 1949.[8] In 1951, because of a simultaneous dissolution of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, as in 1951, ten senators were selected from each state. In the 1953 elections the normal number of five per state were chosen, save for one vacancy each in West Australia and Tasmania because of deaths.

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[2] The Hare system or single transferable vote applied to the election of one member at a time as a system of majority preferential voting.

Change to P. R.

The major change introduced by P. R. was in the altering of the method of counting ballots. Although an electoral system may provide the voters with a suitable means for registering an adequate expression of choice, as the old Senate system did, the translation of this expression into a selection of candidates consistent with the record of the ballots depends upon the manner in which the votes are counted. Here is where the former non-proportional Senate system fell down, giving rise to the distorted results cited above. P. R. solved this problem of drastic swings of over- and under-representation by supplying counting rules which award the seats to the candidates who merit them by virtue of the record on the ballots.

The Hare system used for the Senate elections employs the Droop quota and distributes surplus votes according to exact proportion as revealed by examination of the second choices of the candidates with surpluses. "Secondary" surpluses are allowed to accumulate. The ballots are separated according to first choices by the local polling staffs and sent to a commonwealth divisional electoral office, of which there are several for each state. The divisional officer rechecks the ballots for validity and accuracy of sorting, and conducts the rest of the process under the direction of the federal electoral officer in charge of the state. The latter officer directs the count for the whole state by keeping in touch with the several divisional counting places by telephone and telegram.

The P. R. counting rules have improved the speed with which the ballots are handled, as many fewer transfers are necessary under P. R. than under the former Senate system. In the state of Victoria in the recent elections, for example, the first transfer commenced at 11:00 A.M, on Monday and all results were completed by 12:00 noon on Wednesday, approximately sixteen working hours later.

The delay of three weeks or more before announcing final results is necessitated primarily by the fact that no transfers are made until all absentee ballots have been received or accounted for. As overseas votes may not be cast in advance of polling day, allowance of a week or two must be made for the ballots to arrive from distant places like England or Korea. Moreover, upon arrival they must first be checked and then sent to the electoral division where the absentee voter is registered before counting can proceed further. The use of compulsory voting in Australia, of course, increases the number of absentee ballots from overseas.

The provision for staggering the Senate terms was not altered when P. R. was introduced. As a consequence the Senate may not represent the latest complexion of political thought, as shown in the 1949 and 1953 elections, when the party majority of the holdover members was large enough to outweigh the party majority represented in the newly elected senators. In the recent poll, P. R. reflected accurately the fact that public opinion since the 1951 election had changed to give majority support in favor of the Labor party, headed by the leader of the opposition, Dr. H. V.

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[8] See the REVIEW, April 1950, page 199.

Evatt. The provision, however, for overlapping terms left the Liberal-Country party government of Prime Minister R. G. Menzies in control of the Senate with 31 members to Labor's 29. Some recent criticisms of the Senate and its mode of election arise from the inevitable effects of staggered terms of office and from the potential power of an upper house to obstruct the lower one.

Contrasts with America

Nominations by party caucus. Nomination by primary election or by petition is not used in Australia. All regular party candidates, including those for the Senate, are named by party executives or by party members at private "pre-selection" meetings.

Limitation of number of party candidates. Australian parties do not nominate a candidate for each seat to be filled, but only as many as they hope can be elected. In the recent Senate poll, the ballot used in Victoria contained only three nominees for each party, as no party believed it could win more than three of the five vacancies.

Compulsory marking of all preferences. In Australia each voter is required by law, under penalty of having his ballot invalidated, to mark a preference for every candidate. This provision applies to all preferential elections for public office in Australia as well as to P. R. voting for the Senate. In view of compulsory marking of all preferences as well as compulsory voting it may seem surprising that the number of invalid ballots is not greater than the nation-wide average of 4.6 per cent experienced in the Senate election just past (see Table I for the percentages of invalid ballots for the separate states).

Use of how-to-vote cards. Each party prepares a sample version of the official ballot, on which are printed preference numbers for all candidates as recommended by that party. These "how-to-vote" cards are distributed at every polling place, and their advice is faithfully observed in overwhelming numbers by the respective party supporters, who copy onto the official ballot the preferences exactly as they appear on the voting cards.

Listing of candidates on ballot determined by party. All candidates are placed on the ballot in separate groups according to party affiliation. Within their party group they are listed in an order determined by party management. As a result, therefore, of the use of the how-to-vote cards, the effect of the operation of the system, ostensibly the Hare system, approximates the working of a list system in all states except Tasmania, where the voters are familiar with the Hare method because of their long experience with it in choosing their House of Assembly.

Tasmanians exercise their right to pick and choose within as well as between parties. An example was furnished in the recent elections. Senator Aylett, who was listed as No. 4 by his party executives, campaigned for No. 1 votes and was elected. Had party dictum been rigidly observed by the voters only the first three candidates would have been elected. Incidentally, according to recent newspaper reports, Senator Aylett is going to be disciplined by his party state executive committee for "breaking the party rule to observe official directions on how to vote."

Although voters usually cast their ballots in the locality where they are registered, they may stop at any polling place within their state on election day and cast an absentee ballot without any advance notice. Voters outside their state on election day may also vote absentee, in this case by means of what is called a "postal vote." In Victoria, in the recent election, 9.5 per cent of the voters took advantage of the absentee and postal vote privileges.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Don't Mislay Your Best Tool — Publicity

Seattle Civic Leader Advises Colleagues All Over Country

TOO many journals and reports issued by civic agencies are overly solemn, dull, objective and pious. They miss their purpose by a mile—getting someone to read them because of genuine interest.

This is not entirely the fault of the civic secretary in his role of editor. Probably he is a competent governmental researcher but this doesn't give him expertness in effective publicity or journalism. His writings have few of the devices which induce millions of readers to reach for their daily newspapers and magazines.

If he takes the dim view that his writing is "what's good for them," he is lost. His aim should be to publish a little journal with a distinctive name and lively literary personality whose coming is welcomed by its readers with some degree of enthusiasm. It should enlighten, gratify, startle, make indignant and cause a smile or two.

The civic secretary can sharpen this neglected tool of his profession by sitting down to learn. He can go humbly to the best city hall or court house reporter in his town and ask him for pointers on how to make his bulletin more effective and palatable. He can supplement this by views from a competent advertiser among his members.

As for the fledgling civic secretary or city manager in college, there is a serious gap in any public administration course unless the student is given a journalism course which embodies fundamentals of newspaper reporting, magazine and editorial writing and advertising, all of which are applicable to his coming career.

If the civic secretary has been around town for five years or more, and if he hovers around the city hall as he should, he should know more municipal lore than anyone in town outside of veteran officials. Not only should he know what ominous trends and "soft spots" in the city's management to view with alarm, but he should also know the city employees who deserve orchids and rarely get them as well as the loafers and connivers who impose on the taxpayers. To serve his agency and community, he should be a combination Lincoln Steffens and H. V. Kaltenborn for his home town.

Type of Publicity

Publicity of a civic agency should have these aims:

1. To impart to members and citizens accurate information about important current civic transactions and problems,
2. To alert them to do something about ominous trends,
3. To publicize recommendations by the agency for civic betterment and solicit help from citizens in putting them over,
4. To keep members aware of operations at the agency office so they won't feel they are merely feeding another paid secretary.

A journal for members is one of the most important activities of a civic agency. It should rank high in importance in the budget. It is the only contact the officers and secretary have with most members outside of the annoying reminders for payment of dues. The editor-secretary's high aim should be to make his little journal so readable that each member will feel he is getting his money's worth from this alone and that it is as essential to his reading as *Life* or the *Saturday Evening Post.*

First, why not christen this journal with a snappy title with more imagination than just *Municipal News* or *Civic Bulletin*? When a member gets over saying, "I read an item in your leaflet last week," and calls it by name, it has arrived journalistically.

Thought should go into the size of this bulletin. It could be of convenient size to slip in one's pocket to read on the bus or at home. Here are some assorted sizes of civic periodicals:

1. 12" x 18" — such as the large four-page periodical published by the Toledo Municipal League. This is large enough for all kinds of stories and typographical devices including assorted headlines to attract readers.

2. 4" x 8½" — such as *Just a Moment,* published bi-weekly by the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau. This is pretty small for anything over a terse one-shot message. However, the single story might be longer remembered if written with plenty of "bang."

3. 11" x 9" — such as the weekly *Municipal News* of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County. This affords ample space for the several civic messages which merit current discussion and is roomy enough to permit some "glitter" in writing style and the use of assorted type and headlines to enhance interest. Verbosity is hindered by its limitation in size.

4. Legal size mimeographed or printed — such as the *Civic League Report* of the Lake County Civic League of Waukeegan, Illinois. This format is inclined to be dull in appearance but could be dressed up by type variations and intriguing headings.

How often should this journal be published? Opinions differ but, if a civic agency is worth its salt, it can assemble enough "hot" items for a weekly publication. A monthly publication is almost too infrequent but is better than nothing.

Civic secretary-editors should learn to use the traditional newspaper "lead" in their reports. This is the explosive first sentence in a story which answers "who, what, where, when" and also "why" for the interpretive writing necessary. Maybe the item will lend itself to a colorful lead of the feature or "bait" variety such as is found in magazine articles.

Avoid Cliches

Corny old political science cliches should be avoided. Whenever the editor writes a story about taxes, he could refrain from referring to the "plucked goose." Or can't the county government be called something fresher than "dark continent" or "horse and buggy?"

Now as to its contents.

The most exciting yearly story in many civic bulletins is the announcement that next year's tax levy will be .17383 of a mill higher or lower than last year. What a community outburst this revelation usually stirs! Many members may not even be too sure what a "mill" is.

Of a necessity, the civic journal should carry many heavy "must" items about tax rates, bond issues and per capitas of assorted kinds. Civic education cannot be left entirely to the daily press. Its city hall or court house stories are too brief, contain too little interpretation and verification, and are too likely to be missed by the reader in the many columns of other printed matter. This imposes on the civic journal a responsibility for presenting a panorama of the year's transactions of public bodies, condensed and clearly interpreted with sharp emphasis given to important episodes.

These stories should be described not like clods of earth but like interesting rock specimens seen for the first time. Put a little "glitter" in each, to pass along a term used by magazine editors who actually pay for words people write.

Interest Stories

Our secretary-editor is not required to stick abjectly to the sometimes dreary "per capita" type of stories. Occasionally, he can open up interesting side lights of the dramatic city hall stage. Tell about the health department's rat extermination program, leading into it with reference to the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Recall Paul Bunyan in a description of the logging program on the city's watershed. Write a "black hand" story kidding your city janitor service if it is slothful about dusting off filing cabinets. Once in awhile go afield in the area of human interest in city hall. Tell about the faithful old custodian of 35 years' tenure who served in the French Foreign Legion in his youth and still has his sword. Be as alert to extoll city hall good deeds and doers as to condemn its shortcomings.

Try to insert a smile in each issue of your journal. There are more funny incidents and first-class jokers around city hall than most any other place in town.

Don't forget to print an occasional article about a successful practice in another city which yours might adopt.

Toss in anything — quiz games, satirical doggerel and any appropriate item to interest and enlighten your reader-members.

Don't forget to reward your own members who have performed some outstanding committee service with publicity items — their only reward.

Use different sizes and arrangements of type to enhance the emphasis or mood of your stories. Jazz up your headings as bait. Print in bold face phrases you wish to be remembered. Use statistical tables sparingly unless they describe some current problem which is jarring the community. In such case present them with open throttle. If your format and finances permit, occasionally use half-tone pictures or graphs which add interest.

As to the literary style, bear in mind that it falls in the read-in-a-hurry class. If the secretary-editor thinks as clearly as his job demands, he will be able to write with clarity. If he has a knack for a snappy phrase, he can use this to good advantage in enlivening this sometimes inert material. The quickest way to squelch reader interest is to use obscure "research" vocabulary.

As to its mood, it should have more of the warmth of militancy and not too much of the cold objective feeling which afflicts so many publications. When a scandal breaks in city hall or the court house — preferably one unearthed by your civic agency — write about it with high indignation.

This must be qualified, of course. The secretary's own judgment plays a part. He should be smart enough to get mad at the right time and not too frequently, or he will find himself encircled by a committee from his board which has instructions to censor his bulletin. Give plenty of printed heave-ho to recommendations or condemnations by your board. When in doubt about the possible reaction to your article or editorial, be sure to try it on your president to establish your own clearance.

Above all, have a care not to fill your paper with warmed-over items from the dailies. If you must reprint a story, try for a new angle. Even try to be ahead of the dailies. It is fun to make stories so "hot" that the papers will pick them up without urging.

Here is an important by-product from your periodical.

Your civic messages frequently are too valuable to be confined to the notice of a few hundred members. Send out weekly releases to all the daily and weekly papers in your city or county. But limit these items to a paragraph or two which give the highlights. Don't send your paper itself as a press release because editors won't take the trouble to rewrite its contents. You'll have fun watching your press clippings to see how right your guesses were as to reprintable news.

What are the rewards for this journalistic effort? First, receiving a breezy and enlightening journal with regularity will bind your members stronger to your central office and help get new ones. They will feel they are getting something for their money besides a .7689 of a mill tax reduction this year which they never notice in their pocketbooks. Take heart when a member calls up and howls about an item in last week's issue. Someone actually read something you wrote. When with increasing frequency, your members comment about the "newsiness" of your little paper, you can take satisfaction that you are making progress in this important arm of your work.

C. A. Crosser, *Secretary*
Municipal League of Seattle
and King County

College Students and Practical Politics

The Ben A. Arneson Institute of Practical Politics at Ohio Wesleyan University had the largest group of students in its history participating in political activity during the 1952 campaigns for nomination and election to public office, reports the *Bulletin* of the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University. Two staff members travelled throughout Ohio enlisting the interest and support of party and government officials to make effective use of the volunteer assistance of students whom the institute placed in the field. Prominent officials and party officers discussed practical politics with selected students.

The university held meetings in two of Ohio's largest counties to encourage some 900 alumni to become interested in the political affairs of their communities.

The *CCH Bulletin* also reports four statewide weekend conferences, sponsored by Amherst College and the Universities of Pittsburgh, California and Kansas, on college training for politics.

The Committee on Citizen Participation in Politics of the American Political Science Association met March 27-28 in New York. The four areas which the committee will study include: (1) Teaching and extracurricular methods of stimulating student interest in participation in political activity; (2) status of university rules and regulations governing faculty-student participation in politics; (3) evaluation techniques to measure effectiveness of existing programs of education in politics; (4) ways of bridging the gaps in political education between secondary school and college and in the adult period after graduation from college.

State Citizenship Clearing Houses have been established in four states: That in Maine is headed by Lawrence Pelletier of Bowdoin College; in Connecticut by Elmer E. Schattschneider of Wesleyan University; in Southern New York by Ray Harvey of New York University; and in Oregon by A. Freeman Holmer of Willamette University.

Gilbert and Sullivan at N. Y. Citizens Union Dinner

A feature of the 56th annual dinner of the Citizens Union of New York City was the presentation by Martyn Green, star of Gilbert and Sullivan opera, of parodies prepared by Miss Eleanor C.

Tanzer, assistant secretary of the union, to songs from the *Mikado* and *Iolanthe.* To the tune of "I've Got a Little List," from the *Mikado,* Mr. Green sang:

As some day it may happen that the budget must be sliced
We've got a little list, we've got a little list
Of budget-padding workers who might well be sacrificed
And who never would be missed, who never would be missed.
There's the judge who goes to Florida, when calendars are full,
Inspectors who won't pass you if you haven't any pull. . . .

There's the lawyer on the payroll and a faithful party man,
The traffic specialist, we've got him on the list,
A treasurer's assistant, we imp-ly a loyal fan,
He never would be missed, he never would be missed.
There's the man whose shady dealings are about to come to light
Who retires on a pension when they're ready to indict;

The generous commissioner, who serves as volunteer,
But must have lots of deputies, at seven grand a year;
And tut-tut-tut—such lots of names—we hope you don't insist
On having them—but take our word—they never would be missed.
We've got em on the list, we've got em on the list
On this you all may take our word they'd none of them be missed.

Theme of the dinner was "New York —Showcase of Democracy." New York State's Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore was the principal speaker. Others were Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the union, who appraised Mayor Impelliterri's administration, and Buell G. Gallagher, president of City College. Four leading staff members of the New York State Crime Commission were presented with awards for their public service.

New Organizations

Some 30 organizations, including large trade and civic associations, have formed the Joint Conference for Better Government in New York City. Chairman of the conference is Harold W. McGraw, chairman of the board of the West Side Association of Commerce. The group is nonpartisan, says Mr McGraw, but it hopes that its program will receive so much public support that political candidates will adopt it. Among the group's objectives is "an end to waste in city government and the institution of efficient management."

Voters of Tucson have recently established the Tucson Citizens' League and elected Raphael Brandes as president.

METROPOLITAN AREA MERGES

(Continued from page 330)

no government has succeeded in getting it approved.

The present federation has resulted from extended investigations and much debate and study. Even so, the Ontario Municipal Board, whose recommendations set the form of the present legislation, admitted that its members had had no opportunity to consider "the types of metropolitan organization which have been adopted in other places."

Toronto's action is not the prized product of the political scientist but, rather, a victory in practical politics. Even within the solidly built-up area there has been strong opposition to amalgamation, particularly among suburban people. The province has been acutely aware of this situation. It has resorted to federation, and avoided legislative commitments beyond this, as an acceptable means of progress.

Metropolitan Areas Demand Attention

State Inactivity May Bring Federal Action

Editor's Note.—This is the second section of an article on metropolitan area problems. The first appeared in the Review for June.

SOONER or later, every study in the problems of metropolitan areas highlights, explicitly or otherwise, the pressing need for much further study throughout the field. This look at one year's work has uncovered some of the more serious unanswered questions.

A great amount of basic data is missing. Donald J. Bogue is one of the few writers who have used census data to explore population characteristics throughout the "metropolitan community," as he terms the wider metropolitan region. For example, he pointed out the correlation between density of population and distance from the central city.[12] What exactly has caused the "relative stagnation" of population beyond the fringes, in the area 45 to 64 miles out? Bogue also measured the influence of the metropolitan center on its hinterland in terms of wholesale and retail sales, manufacturing, and receipts from services, and these indexes should be further tested and used.

Thomas H. Reed, for years a researcher and adviser on metropolitan problems, recently wrote: "We do not know too much about the effects of urban expansion. . . . We have not produced careful measurement of the economic effects of encirclement on a central city, or the actual and potential government costs which the suburbanite must face if his little unit retains its independence."[13]

By nature, research in American metropolitan government is research in relationships. Functional interrelationships, however, among adjacent units of government are relatively untouched except in discrete areas. The thorough examination of urban redevelopment Coleman Woodbury has edited can only cause a greater demand for such studies of every function carried on by governments in metropolitan areas. Police, fire, assessing, health, welfare, parks, all need to be treated in the same manner. In this way the areal requirements for separate functions and the reconciliation of those areal requirements when the same unit performs various functions can be further understood.

Many metropolitan areas have not been probed adequately. Why should not local groups in every metropolis grasp the need for comprehensive studies of their peculiar problems, such as have been made in Los Angeles, Nashville and Indianapolis in the past year and have been completed since World War II for Atlanta, Birmingham, Baton Rouge and a few other places? Funds are usually available, provided responsible agencies undertake to make or sponsor the research.

Even where proposed remedies for a problem or problems have been effected, we still know little about the results. Annexation, the special district and recourse to county government as metropolitan solutions need examination by responsible scholars in specific areas; and their work needs to be drawn together for over-all comparisons and evaluations.[14] What has been the most successful annexation procedure? Does annexation become more palatable to the outlying area if central city government is strengthened and made more efficient and responsible? Can the people of central city or suburbs ever be expected to take a balanced view of annexation, or should some state instrumentality play a greater role? What effect does creation of a special district have on other local governments? The literature expresses great doubt about the advisability of creating further special districts, but the trend toward far wider use continues. More study of this device, therefore, is doubly warranted.

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[12] *Metropolitan Decentralization: A Study of Differential Growth,* Miami, Ohio, Scripps Foundation, August 1950, page 5. See also *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community,* University of Michigan, 1949.

[13] "Changes Needed in Governmental Structure of Metropolitan Areas," *The American City,* February 1953.

State Responsibilities

Many writers and critics have devoted energy and space to proving the uniqueness of metropolitan problems and have tried to contrast them with what are often termed "simpler" problems in outlying or rural localities. Actually there is little or no evidence that the "metropolitan problem" is other than the general problem of American local government in a more obvious and critical form. The question in the metropolis, as elsewhere, is "How can we provide the needed services to every one at a fair cost and in a democratic fashion?" The interrelated enigmas of too many units of government, poorly drawn boundaries, clumsily organized governments and disparate levels of services and financial resources belong to rural areas as they do to metropolitan.

In arguing about difference in kind as well as in size, writers too often miss the point that the methods provided by state governments to attack these riddles and the causes for their existence are roughly the same for every part of the state. And no one has yet proved that the climate of opinion about these governmental problems differs in the rural area from the metropolitan area.

Underlying the continuing frustrations of all American local government is this constant: in the value systems of American individuals, the need to solve metropolitan local governmental problems does not rank high. What steps should be taken to increase voter awareness of this need?

Even were these value judgments radically changed, however, the constitutional and legal structures for expressing them are terribly faulty. Without running through the list of barriers to more effective expression of local sentiment, the two blocks of bad election machinery and malapportionment in representative bodies can be mentioned as standing head and shoulders above the rest.

Is home rule a means of circumventing the chaos of state legislation? Home rule is perhaps the best temporary procedural solution to some metropolitan problems where the state legislature is unrepresentative and has otherwise abdicated its responsibilities. In many states there is room under the broad terms of home rule for individual cities and counties to move ahead. Yet all too often it is the easy way out for the state legislature. The intergovernmental character of so many questions, for instance, sanitation or planning and zoning — the diffusion of interrelated questions throughout entire areas which have no legal boundaries and thus cannot act as units — makes it impossible for traditional home rule to cope with them effectively. Legal mechanisms, other than state government, for expressing judgments about matters of metropolitan interest are almost nonexistent. In certain states that condition may be entirely proper, if the influence of the metropolis is as widespread as many studies, such as those by Bogue, seem to indicate.

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[14] See Victor Jones, "Metropolitan Studies," *Public Administration Review*, Winter 1953. He says: "We need a good study of the urban county as a functioning, and as a potential, urban government. . . . There is no satisfactory study of special districts. . . . Most important would be a study of the formal and informal organization of the major political parties in the metropolis."

A recent report by the Public Administration Service, *Government of the Kansas City Metropolitan Area* (Chicago, 1953), appeared too late to be considered in this article. Chief recommendations of the report include city-county consolidation in Missouri and Kansas and creation by the two cities of an area-wide authority or authorities "to perform area-wide functions on an area-wide basis."

There is little reason to expect broad action on American metropolitan problems before state legislatures are made more representative and responsive and thus the statutory mechanisms for attacking those problems are untangled and democratized. But men in public life and scholars have paid too little heed to this obvious fact.

Take the question of action through political parties as the first alternative channel for producing changes in state as well as metropolitan area government. Certainly part of what is known about political parties in individual cities applies to their operations in metropolitan areas, but special metropolitan studies need to be made. Where and when does the influence of the central city machine extend into the suburbs? What relationships are there between elections of the different units of government in the metropolitan area? When an individual moves to the suburbs, do his political opinions change? For example, a party worker from Levittown, Long Island, recently said, "When these Manhattan Democrats move to Levittown and get their own property, they turn into Republicans overnight." Is suburban opinion favorably disposed toward rural domination of state legislatures?

There have been no studies of the citizen groups organized metropoliswide in Chicago, Cleveland, Seattle, Minneapolis, Miami and other places for combined attack on metropoliswide problems. What are they accomplishing?

These questions only illustrate the virgin character of this field of "metropolitics." There has been a wealth of experience, but it has not been gathered and analyzed.[15]

Coleman Woodbury insists that no men on horseback can give much assistance toward overcoming the sweeping and fundamental problems of urban America. He warns local groups against continuing "to hope for superbly equipped, spectacularly able leaders or even a series of them who will be able to attract and organize great sections of the urban citizenry and with this support to force through reforms and far-reaching constructive programs that will remake our urban plant, institutions and life." There must be "prosaic groundwork laid through years of hard, patient education, communication and organization" at national and state as well as local levels.[16]

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[15] Hugh A. Bone's brief study of 423 Republican precinct committeemen in the Seattle metropolitan area, *Grass Roots Party Leadership*, University of Washington, 1952, suggests some of the possibilities mentioned here.

See also a research proposal, "Political Participation in a Metropolitan District: A Study of Group Influence on Political Activity," one of five proposals by the Social Science Research Council Interuniversity Summer Seminar on Political Behavior, *American Political Science Review*, December 1952, pages 1015-24.

The comment about seeking remedies through party channels is not intended to disregard the possibilities of nonpartisan movements for local purposes. A large proportion of the successful and constructive moves toward better local government in recent years have been led by nonpartisan citizens organizations. The party system in metropolitan areas and in the states does, however, strongly condition the efforts of nonpartisan groups.

Further studies will certainly affirm that state government and state action or lack of action are key faults. For example, Mayor Frank P. Zeidler of Milwaukee stated in February that: "City planning is in the middle of the political arena. . . . It seems incumbent now upon every state legislature to recognize appropriately under new law the critical metropolitan areas of the state. The boundaries of these areas should be broadly defined. . . . The multiplicity of governments in these areas should be reduced and simplified. . . . New powers of planning and zoning, extending into as yet sparsely settled regions surrounding these areas, should be granted. . . . Sufficient sources of revenue should be diverted into the metropolitan areas to enable them to take out their slums and to rebuild in fireproof construction."[17] Mayor Zeidler is asking the states to take strong, positive steps toward solving these questions, steps such as Ontario's legislature recently took with regard to Toronto and its suburbs (see page 326, this issue).

Strong, positive state legislation, however, is evidently unthinkable in the United States today.

A few state administrative agencies are beginning to offer "technical assistance" in the direction of local intergovernmental cooperation. In Tennessee, a state with four metropolitan areas, the State Planning Commission and the Municipal Technical Advisory Service are good examples. Yet these are only bare beginnings. For instance, Hebden and Smith report that what cooperation on highway problems between states and their metropolitan units has been accomplished thus far "has been simply 'bulled through'."[18]

National Action Demanded

Mayor Zeidler goes further: "The Congress should provide incentives to state governments to get busy on this problem of metropolitan planning and development or face the loss of jurisdiction over these areas."

For years there has been vague recognition of the effects of federal operations on highways, housing, transport and other problems in the metropolis. Yet these effects remain largely unstudied.

The 1952 report of Project East River on civil defense underlines the need for national leadership in solving metropolitan difficulties. The threat of atomic attack has made plain the stark urgency of decentralizing urban centers. To reduce the vulnerability of potential A-bomb targets, Project East River[19] calls for specific national leadership and action in four significant areas:

(1) Direct federal construction of public facilities;

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[16] *Op. cit.,* page 737. Mr. Woodbury's Part V, "The Background and Prospects of Urban Redevelopment in the United States," contains many wide-ranging and provocative observations on numerous aspects of metropolitan problems.

[17] "Don't Fence Me In," address before National Planning Conference, October 8, 1952, *The American City,* December 1952.

[18] Norman Hebden and Wilbur S. Smith, *State-City Relationships in Highway Affairs,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, pages 193, *ff.*

[19] *Report of Project East River,* Part II-B, *Federal Leadership to Reduce Urban Vulnerability.* New York, Associated Universities, June 1952, page 30.

(2) Federal assistance to defense installations in the form of tax amortizations, loans and procurement awards;

(3) Federal grants-in-aid and assistance program;

(4) Guidance to state and local governments and private groups to obtain wider application of the urban defense standards.

They suggest that intensified state efforts might include:[20]

(1) The establishment of a civil defense organizational echelon (such as a state region or section) that would embrace a metropolitan area and possibly supporting areas;

(2) The development of interstate compacts affecting metropolitan areas with proper and continuing participation of federal officials;

(3) The establishment and financing of metropolitan-area planning commissions for each metropolitan area.

If these and other recommendations of Project East River were followed, urban vulnerability could be reduced:[21]

(1) By checking further central city growth;

(2) By encouraging the emerging trends toward deconcentrated (more widespread) metropolitan growth;

(3) By building in accordance with minimum defense construction standards, which in fact accord with the best building practices today.

And many other advantages might accrue to make American cities better places in which to live.

Will the real emergency envisioned by military and civil defense authorities produce tangible national and state leadership in solving our metropolitan problems? As America becomes more and more a nation of metropolitan regions, the need for large-scale study and responsible, democratic action becomes more and more urgent.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Expenditure Council Scans Connecticut Welfare Picture

Assisted by a number of authorities in the welfare field, the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council has concluded a lengthy study of that state's welfare activities—*The State Welfare Survey* (report to the Governor of Connecticut and the Commissioner of Finance and Control. Hartford, 1952. 79 pages). Findings are specified and recommendations are made with respect to the State Welfare Agency, the Division of Public Assistance, the Division of Child Welfare and the Division of State Aid and Collections. The report calls for a thorough reorganization and redevelopment of staff, policies and procedures within a new State Welfare Department.

"Operating costs . . . declined steadily during the survey, which will accumulate to an estimated reduction of approximately $3,000,000 by the end of the present biennium. The survey group has recommended a further reduction of $5,060,000 in the budget for the coming biennium in the firm conclusion that, with economic conditions maintaining at the current level, such saving is entirely feasible by the more efficient organization and operation of the department resulting from the proposed reorganization."

Prison Riots Investigated

The Michigan Prison Riots (Detroit, 1953, 111 pages), a report of the Special Committee to Study the Michigan Department of Corrections, has been issued in the wake of the April 1952 riot at Jackson Prison. This study and its recommendations consider Michigan's penological problem as one that is "enormous" and "has far-reaching social and financial repercussions." The committee calls for "facing up" to the problem by immediate action.

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[20] *Ibid.*, Part I, *General Report*, New York, October 1952, page 35.

[21] *Ibid.*, Part II-B, page 3.

These recommendations are emphasized: (1) establishment of a new reformatory for youthful offenders; (2) placing greater emphasis at every penal institution upon individual treatment of prisoners, with more diverse and expanded counselling, work and educational programs; (3) increased stature for an enlarged parole board and staff; and (4) a few organizational changes, such as creation of a corrections council "with greater power and potential influence than any corrections commission ever has enjoyed."

Retirement Plans Studied

Eighty-four per cent of 95,931 state, county and municipal employees in North Carolina are covered either by one of 39 state or local retirement plans or by federal old age and survivor's insurance. Donald B. Hayman has studied this situation in *Social Security and State and Local Retirement in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, Institute of Government, 1953, 194 pages; $2.). He addresses himself to three major questions: (1) Can North Carolina public employees be brought under social security? (2) Should North Carolina public employees be brought under social security? (3) What steps might be taken to improve and strengthen existing retirement systems?

New Hampshire Selectmen Studied

Selected Duties of New Hampshire Selectmen, by George H. Deming and Gilbert M. Cantor, (Durham, University of New Hampshire, Bureau of Government Research, December 1952, 95 pages) is a study of one of the oldest municipal offices in the United States. It is intended to "serve as a useful guide to selectmen and citizens alike." Choosing of selectmen and many aspects of town administration are described, along with discussion of town functions such as health, highways, contracting and budgeting. Taxation is not covered since agencies like the New Hampshire Tax Commission are working in that field.

Bureau Notes

The Texas Research League has accepted the request of the Board of Texas State Hospitals and Special Schools to survey the administration of the 21 hospitals and other institutions under that board's jurisdiction.

The *Thirty-ninth Annual Report* of the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research (1953) states that the recent federation of Toronto and twelve suburbs is "the most fundamental metropolitan legislation since the creation of the administrative district of Greater Berlin in 1920." The bureau expresses its continuing interest in "amalgamation," however, agreeing with Prime Minister St. Laurent that "federation is not necessarily the final form of government for greater Toronto."

The Citizens Research Institute of Canada, which shares staff and accommodations with the Toronto Bureau, has issued its *Annual Report and Year Book* (Toronto, 1953) also. President J. T. Bryden expresses his amazement that "so much could be accomplished in these times" on the 1952 combined budget of slightly less than $30,000 for these two organizations.

Bureau Reports

39th Annual Meeting—January 30, 1953: Report by the Director, Norman N. Gill. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., *Bulletin,* January 30, 1953. 5 pp.

We Are the Lake County Civic League. Waukegan (Illinois), Lake County Civic League, *The Civic League Reporter,* March 12, 1953. 2 pp.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Building Codes

What Building Code (or Codes) May Be Adopted? By Joshua H. Vogel, Alfred L. Miller and George D. Smith. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* March 23, 1953. 35 pp.

Charter Revision

The New Orleans Story. A Case History in Charter Revision. By Val C. Mogensen. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, Inc., *GRA Reporter,* March-April 1953. 4 pp.

Debt

New Debt Control. Financing Policies Point Way to Better Debt Management. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 6, 1953. 4 pp.

A Summary of the Bonded Debt in Indianapolis. Indianapolis, Chamber of Commerce, Bureau of Governmental Research, April 1953. 13 pp.

Education

An Analysis of the Illinois Foundation Program of Public School Support. By William P. McLure. Urbana, University of Illinois, Bureau of Research and Service, College of Education, *University of Illinois Bulletin,* May 1952. 59 pp.

Kentucky's Schools: Past, Present and Future. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, February 1953. 15 pp.

Schools Ask Extra Millage. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, *Council Comments,* March 30, 1953. 3 pp.

Federal-state Relations

Will Centralized Government Deflate? Centralization 'Trend' Can Be Halted Now By Better Allocation of Federal-state Functions, Tax Sources. By Herbert J. Miller. New York 20, Tax Foundation, Inc., *Tax Review,* April 1953. 6 pp.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in Tennessee. Their Number, Use, Yield, Successful Practices and Model Meter Ordinance. By E. W. Meisenhelder III. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, Division of University Extension, April 1953. 72 pp.

Planning

City Planning—Where Do We Go From Here? Lincoln 8 (Nebraska), Governmental Research Institute, Inc., *Bulletin,* April 1953. 4 pp.

Public Safety

State Coordination of Safety Programs. By Edward F. Staniford. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, March 1953. 27 pp. $1.00.

Reapportionment

Reapportionment Referendum: Questions and Answers to Help Voters Decide on April 7 Referendum. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* April 1953. 8 pp.

Refuse Disposal

Composting Organic Refuse from Municipalities. By Bradley Card and Harold B. Gotaas. Los Angeles 17, League of California Cities, *Western City,* March 1953. 5 pp.

Objectives of Waste Collection and Disposal. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* April 1953. 2 pp.

Salaries

How Much Salary for Teachers? Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* April 1953. 6 pp.

Teachers Salaries. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* April 9, 1953. 2 pp.

Teachers Salary Schedules. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* April 10, 1953. 1 pp.

Sewage Disposal

Down the Drain with Food Wastes. By Lee A. Gilman. Nashville, Tennessee Municipal League, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town & City,* March 1953. 5 pp.

Sewer Charges

Sewer Service Charges in California Cities. Los Angeles 17, *Western City,* February 1953. 7 pp.

State Reorganization

The State Government Survey Committee Report. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Government Survey Committee, 1953. xi, 94 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Pertinent Financial Data City of Baltimore As At January 1, 1953. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., 1953. 16 pp.

Problems of Government and Finance in Marion Township. Columbus 15 (Ohio), Citizens Research, Inc., 1953. 14 pp.

Property Tax Trends in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* April 1953. 4 pp.

A Review of Urban Fiscal Development. By Paul Malone. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* April 15, 1953. 4 pp.

Tax Debaters' Handbook: Outline of Arguments For and Against Certain Major Tax Measures. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 27, 1953. 6 pp.

Total 1952 Taxes. Collections by Federal, State and Local Governments Establish New Record. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* May 1953. 6 pp.

Television

Television Ordinances. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities, in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* February 26, 1953. 20 pp.

Traffic

Transportation and Traffic. Bureau Report Recommends Creation of Urban Transportation and Traffic Board. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 13, 1953. 6 pp.

Urban Traffic Forum: 13 Answers to How Big Cities Can Save Their Downtown Districts from Strangling in Their Own Congestion. *Architectural Forum,* February 1953. 8 pp.

Trailer Camps

The Problem of Trailer Camps. Vermillion, League of South Dakota Municipalities, *South Dakota Municipalities,* March 1953. 2 pp.

Unemployment Compensation

Financing Unemployment Compensation. New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1953. 40 pp.

Utah's Unemployment Compensation Program—1953. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* March 1953. 4 pp.

Units of Government

Units of Local Government in Connecticut. By Max R. White. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1953. 27 pp. 25 cents.

Zoning

Report on Proposed Zoning Ordinance for Portland. Portland (Oregon), City Club, *City Club Bulletin.* March 20, 1953. 10 pp.

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1953. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and David S. Arnold. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1953. x, 602 pp. $10.

Among the many useful contributions of the International City Managers' Association, by no means the least is the annual publication of *The Municipal Yearbook.* It is one of the best of the many yearbooks now being published in the United States. The local official, researcher or citizen leader who does not have each successive year's edition near at hand is handicapped indeed. Special articles and tables on specific subjects frequently appear in a volume, and they are not reprinted later because the original text remains useful for several years. As usual, the current edition carries references in the index to such items in the past.

Some valuable additions mark this 1953 version. A chapter on economic classification of cities and metropolitan areas compares selected data on employment and residence ratios, manufacturing, retail and wholesale trade, education, government, transportation and so on. It is good to see more emphasis on the metropolitan aspects of urban problems appearing each year.

For the first time the *Yearbook* shows management and financing data for more than 300 city and city-county hospitals. There are statistics on city use of special assessments to finance public improvements, the types of improvements financed, use of advance payments, temporary loans, allocation of costs to property owners, and the extent to which cities share in financing.

New material appears on the subject of off-street parking, subdivision regulation, airport zoning, and sewer and water service outside city limits.

The continuing sections of the *Yearbook—e.g.,* city manager directory, governmental data on cities, etc.—have been brought up to date from information gathered by the ICMA, the Bureau of the Census and other recognized sources. And there are reviews of the past twelve months' activity in most of the fields of municipal concern.

Investment in one of these volumes will be amply repaid.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Government by the People — The Dynamics of American State and Local Government. By James M. Burns and Jack W. Peltason. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. iv, 158 pp.

This small book is the state and local section of *Government by the People,* published by the same authors earlier in 1952. The combined volumes are intended for use as a text in college beginning courses on government. By the use of a popular style of writing, cartoons and other graphic materials, however, the authors may appeal to a wider audience. A national book club recently chose the volume on the national government as one of its offerings.

Community Power Structure — A Study of Decision Makers. By Floyd Hunter. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1953. xiv, 297 pp. $5.00.

Asserting that there "appears to be a tenuous line of communication between the governors of our society and the governed" and that "the line of communication between the leaders and the people needs to be broadened and strengthened," Professor Hunter has studied the political, social and economic power in a city of half a million population, which he gives the fictitious name of "Regional City."

He explains in sociological terms the nature of the leadership exercised by business and labor leaders, socialites and politicians in his laboratory city. The conclusion deals at length with problems people face in living in the overpowering modern city and in taking part in all kinds of public decisions affecting themselves.

Governments in the United States in 1952. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953. 49 pp. 30 cents.

Once again the Census Bureau has issued this highly useful compilation of statistics on types, number and location of units of government. The total of units continues to decline, now having dropped 24.7 per cent since 1942. The consolidation of small school districts, however, is chiefly responsible for this change: the total of school districts has gone down 38 per cent in the past decade. Perhaps more significant is a fact hidden by the over-all figures: the number of special districts has increased by 48.4 per cent during the same period.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Civil Service

Is There a Job for Me in New York State Government? Albany, New York State Department of Civil Service, 1953. 16 pp.

Courts

Judicial Administration and the Common Man. Edited by Benjamin Kaplan and Livingston Hall. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* May 1953. 179 pp. $2.

Criminal Law

Administration of Criminal Law. By Ernst W. Puttkammer. Chicago 37, University of Chicago Press, 1953. 249 pp. $5.

Debt

Delaware Port Authority $100,000,000 Bridge Bonds. By John K. Costello. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, The Forum, 1953. (Apply E. Joseph Scherer, c/o B. J. Van Ingen & Company, 57 William Street, New York 5.)

Highways

Progress of the Federal Aid Urban Highway Program. By C. D. Curtiss and R. W. Kruser. Chicago 37, The American Municipal Association, 1953. 8 pp. 50 cents.

Report of the United States Conference of Mayors for Submission to the Subcommittee on Roads of the House Committee on Public Works Hearings on the Federal Aid Highway Program. Washington, D. C., the Conference, 1953. 20 pp.

Housing

Residential Development in Baltimore City and Baltimore County. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1953. 45 pp.

Industry

Industries for Small Communities. With Cases from Yellow Springs. By Arthur E. Morgan. Yellow Springs, Ohio, Community Service, Inc., 1953. 108 pp. Clothbound, $2; Paperbound, $1.50.

Intergovernmental Relations

The Crossword Puzzle of Government Relations. By Carl H. Chatters. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, The Forum, 1953. 8 pp. (Apply E. Joseph Scherer, c/o B. J. Van Ingen & Company, 57 William Street, New York 5).

Municipal Government

Modern Management for the City of New York. Report of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey (In Two Volumes). New York, Mayor's Committee, 1953. 307 and 876 pp.

Parking

The Big Squeeze. A Report on The Chamber of Commerce Parking Clinic, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, February 20, 1953. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1953. 59 pp. Illus.

Public Employment

City Employment in 1952. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 32 pp. 25 cents.

Pupil Transportation

Public School Pupil Transportation. A Report of the Joint State Government Commission to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, the Commission, 1953. 44 pp.

Selected References on Pupil Transportation. By E. Glenn Featherston. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 16 pp.

Recreation

Service Fees and Charges. By William Miller. Madison, Wisconsin Park and Recreation Society (a Section of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities), *News Bulletin,* May 1953. 3 pp.

Refuse Disposal

Swine Feeding Method of Garbage Disposal. By John R. Kerstetter and Robert Bugher. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1953. 12 pp. $1.00.

Retirement Systems

Retirement Systems for State Employees. A Summary of Principal Provisions of State Retirement Laws As They Pertain to General State Employee Personnel. Madison 1, Wisconsin, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Civil Service Department, November 1952. 16 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Cigarette Taxes in the United States. A Brief Digest of Important Statistics with Interpretive Comments. Richmond, Virginia, National Tobacco Tax Research Council, 1953. 42 pp.

Economy in the National Government. By Paul H. Douglas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952. vii, 277 pp. $3.75.

Excess Profits Taxation. A Symposium. By Alfred G. Buehler, E. Gordon Keith, etc. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, Inc., 1953. viii, 183 pp. $5.

Federal Grants and Controls Affecting Municipalities. A Brief Review with a Statistical and Financial Summary of Their Current Status. By Carl H. Chatters and Randy H. Hamilton. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, December 1952. 12 pp. $1.00.

Should the Excess Profits Tax Be Re-enacted. By Robert S. Ford, Joseph H. Crown, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Merryle Stanley Rukeyser and Emerson P. Schmidt. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, Inc. 1953. 32 pp. 50 cents.

State Tax Legislation. Two Decades of Federal Tax Legislation. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* November-December, 1952, and January-February, 1953. 20 and 16 pages respectively. 50 cents each.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1952. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 21 pp. 15 cents.

Town Government

Digest of 1953 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1953. 48 pp.

scussing League business at the June 4 meeting of the executive committee are, left to right, Cecil organ, council member; Richard S. Childs, executive committee chairman; Alfred Willoughby, ecutive director; George S. Van Schaick and John S. Linen, NML vice presidents; and Former vernor Charles Edison, chairman of the League's Council.

ebout Appointed harter Consultant

John E. Bebout, assistant director of e League, has been chosen as a con- ltant to the Newark (New Jersey) harter Commission. Establishment of e commission was authorized by the ters at the municipal election in May.

Other consultants named were Dr. uther H. Gulick, president, Institute of ublic Administration; Bennett M. ch, director, Bureau of Government search, Rutgers University; Henry . Connor, director, Bureau of Munici- l Research, Newark; and Dr. William iller, research director, Princeton urveys.

Mr. Bebout, a resident of New Jer- y, served several years ago as con- ltant to the New Jersey Commission Municipal Government (Faulkner mmission) of which Bayard H. ulkner, a member of the League's uncil, was chairman, and which onsored the law under which Newark proceeding. Former head of the De- rtment of Government at the Univer- y of Newark, Mr. Bebout also taught story and political science at Rutgers iversity.

50 LOCAL GROUPS

(Continued from page 318)

Legion Auxiliary; Bessie Sheffield, president, Railway Business Women's Club; Emily Pleasants, president, Know Your Government Club; Mabel E. Montgomery, president, Richmond Altrusa Club; William R. Gardner, vice president, Hampton Gardens Association; Mrs. Thelma L. Downey, president, Pilot Club; Wilmer L. O'Flaherty, Richmond Rotary Club; S. H. Barner, vice president, Forest Hills and Westover Men's Club; Edmond H. Brill, Jr., Richmond Chamber of Commerce.

Also, John C. Hildebrand, president, Oakwood-Chimborazo Civic Association; Johnson C. Moss, vice president, Richmond Lions Club; R. Pierce Lumpkin, Richmond First Club; Dr. E. W. Gregory, Jr., president, Richmond Area Community Council; Hilton J. Herrmann, vice president, Westham Civic Association; Mrs. Robert R. Reese, president, Quota Club of Richmond; Paul E. Spivey, president, Richmond Lions Club; Martin B. Williams, president, Sherwood Park Association; Earle Minton, vice president, Manchester Lions Club; Mrs. St. George T. Lee, president, Richmond Junior League; R. H. Hardesty, Jr., and Claude R. Davenport.

Historic Richmond — Tourist's Paradise

The 1953 Conference city, Richmond, is much more than the statistics you'll find in a fact book. It is a thriving, progressive community looking to the future but not without pride in the part it played in the early development of the country.

The booklet, *Richmond—Her Story and Her Spirit,* provides the following description of the character of the city: "No one can long live in the mellowness of Richmond without feeling that here is a calm that is not dead but gay, an ease and a friendliness that is real and not assumed, a determination to build always for the future but never to forget the heritage of the past, a will to be of such a quality that it cannot fail to give strength to the nation."

St. John's Episcopal Church, Richmond, built in 1741.

Richmond is a blend of the old and the new, a city mellow yet modern. Among its twentieth century office buildings shrines abound to remind the visitor of its role in the history of America, among them General Lee's home, now the home of the Virginia Historical Society; the Edgar Allen Poe shrine; St. John's Episcopal Church, built in 1741; the Confederate Museum, which was the White House of the Confederacy from 1861 to 1865; the John Marshall House; Capitol Square, with its equestrian statue of George Washington; the Capitol Building, designed by Thomas Jefferson, in the rotunda of which is the only life-size statue of Washington posed from life which exists today; the Governor's Mansion; St. Paul's Church, where General Lee and President Jefferson Davis worshipped during the Civil War; and Monument Avenue, along which are statues of many Confederate leaders, including Lee, Davis, "Stonewall" Jackson and J. E. B. Stuart, the cavalry general.

Richmond has many other cultural attractions, including the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, the Valentine Museum and the University of Richmond with its Richmond College for men and Westhampton College for women.

Bebout Speaks on Home Rule

"Home Rule — Its Impact on Local Self-Government" was the title of an address made by John E. Bebout, assistant director of the League, at the second annual Conference on Home Rule Problems May 23 sponsored by the Rhode Island Home Rule Association. Sessions were held at Bryant College, Providence.

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ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
MASON GOULD, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation

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NEWS for League Members

Timely Topics Set for Conference

An imposing array of panel discussions of more than twenty timely public affairs topics, headed up by some of the nation's foremost authorities, will feature the League's 59th annual National Conference on Government at the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, November 8-11.

Businessmen, leaders of civic organizations, public officials, political scientists, students and many others interested in good government will come to the Conference from all over the United States and from foreign countries as well to exchange ideas and experiences in an effort to bring about improvement of local, county and state government in their localities.

Educational TV

Several new subjects will be among those discussed this year. Mass civic education will be one of them—a panel on the coming of educational television and the use of educational films as a means of improving the citizenry and its government. Another will be on the newspaper and citizen action, covering the relationship between newspapers and civic organizations. The session on governing the nation's capital will consider the question of home rule and getting the vote for residents of Washington, as well as the area's metropolitan problems. Another new panel will be that on ethics for legislators, in which a code of ethics will be discussed.

Other sessions will explore such subjects as annexation, relationships of council and manager, women in public affairs, cities and the national government, civic education in the schools, business and professional men in public office, state planning and resource development, more responsible states, effective citizens' associations, municipal public relations, the model fiscal program, youth in civic affairs, technical assistance to public officials, state and local responsibility in law enforcement

(*Continued on page 432*)

Bird Named Chairman of State Fiscal Body

Frederick L. Bird of New York, a member of the League's Council, is chairman of an eleven-member commission appointed in July by Governor Thomas E. Dewey to conduct an analysis of the state's financial operations and to prepare for possible revision of overlapping federal, state and local taxes.

Frederick L. Bird

Dr. Bird is director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York, and a specialist in public finance.

The 1953 legislature appropriated $575,000 for the group, named the Temporary Commission on Fiscal Affairs of the State Government.

The Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, Virginia

Tour of Williamsburg Arranged

Visitors to this year's National Conference on Government at Richmond have a real treat in store for them.

To give Conference-goers the feel of the rich tradition of colonial Virginia, the local arrangements committee will sponsor a tour of historic Williamsburg on Sunday, November 8, the day before the sessions get under way. Those who plan to come to the Conference are urged to arrive in time to take advantage of this pilgrimage.

Here's the plan:

Buses will pick up passengers at the Jefferson Hotel, Conference headquarters, at 10:30 A.M. and drive them to Williamsburg, 50 miles away, in time for lunch at the beautiful Williamsburg Inn.

After lunch, visitors will be taken to the colonial Capitol, Raleigh Tavern, Brush House, Governor's Palace and Bruton Church. Each busload will be accompanied by an escort who will relate the history of the buildings. At the Capitol, special emphasis will be placed on local governmental procedures of the Eighteenth Century.

The buses will leave Williamsburg for Richmond at 4:30 P.M.

Only expense involved for the sightseers will be $2.25 for the buffet luncheon at the Inn.

Rooms for the Asking

Make your hotel reservations early for this year's National Conference on Government in Richmond!

Reservation cards will be sent soon to all members of the League. Merely fill them out, indicating the dates and type of room you want, and mail to the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia.

Or, you may write directly to the Jefferson, but be sure to mention that you will be attending the National Conference on Government. The earlier you act, the better the chance of obtaining exactly the kind of accommodations you want.

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Editorial Comment

Suburbia: Its Taxes Ache

For many years we have been getting approximately nowhere in finding a workable solution for the so-called metropolitan area problem.

Why?

The experts have lots of answers, or at least ideas. Maybe the trouble has been that the experts have spent too much time talking to each other about it. Neither this problem nor any other problem is solved until the people at large understand it and want to do something about it.

People in general still know little or nothing about the metropolitan problem. Most of them do not even know there is such a problem. Plain, understandable, direct talk to lots of people, to all the people, without such professional gobbledegook as "conurbation," is what's needed.

Talk, for example, like the following from the July 18 issue of *Business Week:*

SINCE the war, U.S. cities have been bursting at the seams into dormitory-type suburbs. The swarming newcomers have found fresh air and homes—but they have created a very sticky problem in municipal finance.

The trouble is that the new suburbs, especially the fastest-growing ones, have tended largely to small houses on inadequately improved new lots. The little new houses pay very small taxes, but they force the municipalities to heavy spending for new sewers and schools, for more police and fire protection. A case in point: A survey in California's San Mateo County shows that the average subdivision home pays $90 in school taxes, though it costs $204 per child just to keep the schools running.

Civic fathers, their heads splitting with these troubles, have tried all sorts of ways to screen newcomers, holding down the ratio of low-tax, high-service developments. Here are some of the gimmicks tried in the New York metropolitan area:

Bedminster, New Jersey, set a five-acre lot minimum that ended low-cost developments. Wayne Township reached the same goal with a minimum size for houses. Mountain Lakes bought up all land parcels large enough to be subdivided; now the town sells a dozen or so lots a year to selected buyers. Livingston tried the harsher method of issuing no residential building permits at all but the courts vetoed that.

In New York State, Scarsdale requires that every new house differ in six important design characteristics from its five nearest neighbors. Sands Point classes large-scale home development as a business, which automatically bars it from residential zones unless an exception is granted. Several other Long Island communities require that builders install paving, sidewalks, water and sewer lines; the rules can be relaxed for "desirable" developments. In one Westchester town a committee named to study the problem threw up its hands with the comment that birth control was the only out.

This last item apart, all these solutions have the common fault of being negative. At best they shove the problem out of one community into another. Looking for a more positive approach, more and more towns are trying to balance low-tax, high-cost homes with high-tax, low-cost industry.

Many a community has had its fiscal problems solved by the advent of an industrial research laboratory or a headquarters building for a large company. But industrialization cannot be the best answer in the long run, for it has two major drawbacks:

In residential towns, householders often violently oppose any industry—even when it is "clean." The opposition may be ill-founded and short-sighted, but the householders have the votes.

Town - by - town industrialization may be no answer at all for an entire area. Obviously, some sections will be better adapted to industry, notably in transportation and water supply. Industry will follow this geographical course; trying to fit it into an artificial political pattern will just make the whole problem worse in the long run.

If the old solutions won't work, there are two new ones—still very much in the experimental stage—that may:

Fiscal equalization. A uniform tax rate would be set for an entire area; the revenue would be distributed on the basis of need. This principle is well established at the federal and state levels. Its advocates say it can work just as well locally—apart from entrenched municipal politics.

Amalgamation. Small suburbs can be merged with each other politically, or lumped in with the central city. Or special area-wide districts can be set up for specific purposes—centralized school districts, for instance, or regional sewage or water districts.

The City That Saved Itself

Newburgh, New York, selected as an "All-America City," snapped out of its doldrums by action of its citizens.

By JOSEPH PHILLIPS*

NEWBURGH, NEW YORK, did the impossible. It raised the salaries of city employees, improved all services, rid itself of a slum area and got its strangulating traffic problem under control.

On top of that, it wound up its first year under a new efficiency-minded leadership with money left over in the municipal till. Yet taxes were less than before.

This may sound like magic, but it wasn't. "What happened here is so simple," says City Manager Robert P. Aex (pronounced "ax"), "that no one will believe it. You run the city like an efficient business. You forget about patronage and politics."

Newburgh, 250 years old, situated on the Hudson River 67 miles north of Manhattan, was no better or worse than most other cities. It had floundered along with token improvements. The administration couldn't seem to cope with problems.

Newburgh's 32,000 people were governed by a city manager and five-man council, one member being the mayor. Since 1915 the city saw fifteen managers pass through office. The first one was an outsider who lasted only five months. All others were local businessmen.

"By 1950 we were at a complete standstill," businessman Robert Hinsdale asserted. "Traffic congestion was awful. People weren't paying the proper attention to their homes and stores. There was a feeling that something was wrong, but no one knew what to do."

As Newburgh slid downhill, the cost of running the city spiraled upwards. The budget rose a third between 1948 and 1951. To help finance a high budget in 1950 and an even higher one of $2,100,000 in 1951, the council slapped the city with a 2 per cent sales tax, figured to bring in $500,000 a year.

The sales tax alarmed Newburgh and jolted it toward the "Big Change." Nothing spectacular occurred at first—just a mild murmur of discontent. One evening in 1950 a few businessmen met to chat about local conditions. They groused about the tax. Soon, twenty of the city's more influential citizens began meeting regularly. Then they formed a Tax Commission, each member of which pledged that he would not seek political office. The commission wanted only facts, not partisan ammunition.

The facts were hard to come by. The city records turned out to be a confusion of unenlightening, disorganized statistics. "We just couldn't get the answers," said Edward G. O'Neill, counsel for the Tax Commission. "It wasn't a case of public officials hiding the facts. Nobody knew the facts."

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*This is the sometime pen name of Joseph P. Blank, who also writes for *Reader's Digest*, *Collier's*, *Nation's Business* and other magazines. Mr. Blank has been a feature writer for newspapers, associate editor at the Funk and Wagnalls Publishing Company, and a historical editor for the Air Force.

As the members of the commission groped for information, the sales tax worked its toll. Business dropped. People from neighboring towns, who used to shop in Newburgh, switched to other cities. Panicky businessmen attempted to beat competition by breaking the law and selling goods without the tax.

"We finally realized that we couldn't change conditions merely by asking questions," said Sam Schoonmaker, a member of the commission and owner of the largest department store in town. "We had to get into politics. We didn't want to, but there was no other way to straighten out the city."

Citizen's Committee Formed

Out of that decision grew a new political party, the Independent Citizen's Committee for Good Local Government. It decided to run a candidate in the council election of November 1950. Frank P. Mahler, war veteran and owner of a busy filling station, agreed to fight the local political machine. Campaigning as an independent, Mahler won a seat on the council. Almost with surprise the Independent Committee realized that the professional politicians could be beaten.

Although Mahler and Mayor Herbert A. Warden didn't have the majority power to make changes, they could ask questions that made other officials uncomfortable. They made an issue out of every expenditure.

Mahler visited other cities to compare appropriations and expenditures. The findings then were given the public. Standing on the stage of a school auditorium, Mahler pounded home the fact that the Newburgh City Home and Infirmary operated on a budget of nearly $200,000 while a comparable institution in a city of larger population cost less than $90,000. Why? Other cities collected and disposed of a ton of garbage for $2.00 while the same job cost Newburgh $4.09. Why? Newburgh was spending $300,000 a year more than other cities of its size and not getting the same improvements. Why? No answers came from responsible officials.

In 1951, the Independent Committee asked Joseph M. Gaynor, Jr., an insurance agent, to run for the office that would give the efficiency movement majority power in the council.

"I asked friends, business associates and my family what they thought of the offer," Joe Gaynor recalls, "and they were all against it. They said politics would hurt my business and lose me friends. I thought it over and decided I had no choice. If I wasn't satisfied with the way the city was managed, I had to take on some responsibility to see that it changed. So I campaigned and got elected."

The three-man majority in the council ended the sales tax. They went from city department to department and asked each director how much money he needed to do a good job. If the answers to "Why?" were vague, the appropriation was arbitrarily reduced. After this pruning job, the 1952 budget totaled 10 per cent less than the year before.

Then the new administration went out to find a man to carry out its policies. It heard about Bob Aex, then 39 years old, who had been successively the youngest auditor, treasurer, then comptroller of Rochester, New York. He had a reputation for catching costly errors and locating little items of waste that gradually build up to big losses. The three councilmen asked him to take over the city manager's office in Newburgh.

Aex hesitated; another city had offered him the same post at a higher salary. One day he quietly slipped into Newburgh and spent three days looking around, talking to residents and businessmen.

"I was convinced," he says, "that if ever there was an opportunity to make good government work, it was here." He accepted the job with the understanding that he would have a completely free hand.

New Manager Appointed

On January 2, 1952, Bob Aex took office. He was supported by the council majority and a large group of intelligent, public-spirited citizens. He was opposed by a still active political machine. Rumors had already spread through Newburgh that "outsiders were taking over the city." Residents feared that "efficiency" meant a curtailment of services, while city employees translated it into lay-offs and pay-cuts. Morale suddenly dropped. The three pro-Aex councilmen were cold-shouldered by acquaintances. The so-called smart money in town was laying three to one that Aex wouldn't last 90 days.

Even those who voted for the change viewed the new city manager with suspicion. They didn't know what he might do to their city. They soon found out. Working fifteen hours a day, sometimes seven days a week, Aex explored each department. He wasn't after economy for the sake of economy. Rather than reduce services, he wanted to improve them, even if it meant spending more money. But he insisted on knowing where the money was going and how efficiently it was being used.

In revising the city's outmoded accounting system, he examined the books and found a $225,000 surplus from the previous administration and $300,000 that nobody knew existed. This money, left idle in commercial banks, had incredibly been "lost" by slipshod bookkeeping. Aex invested the surplus in short-term government securities, which netted the city $4,000 in interest during 1952.

He moved into the police department, sloughed away a lot of nonessential duties, raised pay and shortened work time to 40 hours a week. He told the force to forget politicians. Nobody fixes a traffic ticket. Organized gambling must be stamped out. If any patrolman neglected to report gambling on his beat, he was dismissed.

Aex reorganized the water department, put operations under one supervisor, raised salaries of key people and, by cutting away waste and duplicating jobs, still saved $3,000 in 1952.

Next, he reviewed the fire department. He raised salaries, shortened working hours and eliminated much of the paper work that took seasoned firemen off essential duties. Convinced that the acting fire chief wasn't the best man for the job, he dismissed him and appointed a deputy in his place. Politicians indignantly cried "politics." But Aex's judgment was sound. In a civil service examination given later, the new appointee scored first on the written tests while the deposed chief flunked.

He tackled Newburgh's bad traffic congestion and parking problem. To Newburghers, prospects for unsnarling traffic congestion seemed hopeless. Anyway, wasn't it tough in other cities? Members of the Tax Commission told Aex: "We thought about recommending a survey by traffic engineers, but that would cost $10,000. Do you want to spend that?"

Aex didn't. He discovered that the Automobile Club of New York maintained a free engineering staff for traffic problems.

Armed with the recommendations of its survey, Aex swung into action. He prohibited parking on some streets, ordered one-way traffic for others, began a ten-year program to brighten the city with 700 additional street lights and picketed numerous streets with parking meters. Many businessmen yelled about the meters in front of their premises, but Aex never wavered. "Actually, the meters meant more business because it promoted more turnover in a parking space," he explained.

Safer streets and more meters, however, couldn't relieve traffic congestion. "Streets should be used to move traffic, not park cars," Aex pointed out. "The only solution was off-street parking."

The city already had two off-street parking lots, but they were literally empty, uninviting lots. Muggings, vandalism and thefts had given them bad reputations. Men were afraid to risk their cars in them and women feared personal injury.

Aex revamped the two lots and built two more parking areas. Within a few months the people of Newburgh had four of the most modern parking areas in the state. These were no mere lots. They were graded, black-topped, metered, brilliantly-lit parking zones, police-patrolled 24 hours a day. Before long, these areas were turning over 5,000 cars on a busy day—and that means 5,000 cars off the streets. Not only did the vacant lots materially eliminate traffic congestion but the meters brought the city an additional $70,000 in revenue.

City Home Improved

In scanning the welfare department from ground-keepers to top administrators Aex discovered that "some food was walking out of the city home, and if all the aspirins purchased were used, it would mean that every patient in the home and infirmary was taking three a day. The situation was rectified," he commented dryly. He saved $3,835 in the first 90 days' operations. He also ordered that the director be chosen through the merit plan of civil service, making Newburgh the only city in the state to turn this political plum into a civil service appointment.

A brief visit to the city home and infirmary appalled Aex. More than 80 of the 110 residents appeared to have such poor eyes that they could do nothing but sit in a chair all day. He requested eye examinations for them. The report revealed scandalous negligence. Glasses and medical attention enabled most of these people to leave the fog of poor eyesight and one woman, who had been classified as "blind," now reads, watches television and paints. People who previously sat waiting for the next day are busily engaged in recreational and occupational activities.

Aex put the home and infirmary through a hurricane of improvements. He added four registered nurses to the staff, arranged for a dietician to prepare better meals, spent more money on food and raised salaries of key staff members. He ordered a ramp built from the infirmary that enabled wheelchair cases to be moved for the first time into fresh air. He installed curtains in the wards to give patients more privacy.

And what did all these improvements add to the tax burden? The home and infirmary, minus waste and corruption, cost the city $65,000 less than it did in the previous year.

On every level of city administration Aex buttressed big efficiency changes with little savings. After learning that city purchases had been made by the individual departments, he organized a central agency that opened all purchases to competitive bids. The change-over saved $1,500 on coal, $284 on milk for the home and infirmary, $2,000 on automobiles for the police and fire departments. He also found that the city had been paying high prices for gasoline, oil, tires and other automotive supplies while it could have bought these items under the "wholesale" terms of a state contract. The switch to state prices saved several more thousand dollars. Although he generally raised the pay of people working for the city, he still saved $90,000 on the payroll by not filling non-essential vacancies.

Aex created a central janitorial service for municipal buildings, where before each building had its own janitor. That reduced expenses by $2,359. On a hunch, he called in an expert to check on the method of brewing coffee at the city home. The advice saved $400 while enabling the home to use a better grade of coffee. Empty office space in municipal buildings was rented for $1,800. Leaves collected by the department of sanitation were sold to nurserymen for $2.00 a truck load.

Taxes Reduced

At the beginning of 1953 the city totted up accounts under the new administration. Although Aex and the council had cut all the fat away from the budget, they had improved the city, expanded all services, slightly reduced the real estate tax rate and still came out of the year with $85,000 in unspent money.

In recognition of the part that intelligent citizen action played in bringing about these reforms, the National Municipal League named Newburgh as one of eleven municipalities to receive the citation of "All-America City" for 1952.

As inefficiency and waste disappeared, a new spirit overtook the city. Under Aex's example and encouragement, department heads realized they could concentrate on their assignments and not worry about pressure from politicians. Em-

(Continued on page 409)

Cities Resent Stepchild Lot

Survey shows many officials feel urban areas are under-represented and discriminated against in legislatures.

By GORDON E. BAKER*

THE fact that urban areas in all but a handful of states are under-represented in their legislatures is hardly a novel discovery. In 1948 the United States Conference of Mayors estimated that while urbanites comprised 59 per cent of the nation's population and paid 90 per cent of the taxes, they received but 25 per cent of state legislative representation.[1] The only significant change in the intervening five years is that the degree of urbanism has grown to approximately 65 per cent. Clearly, with the passing of time, state legislatures become increasingly unrepresentative.

While certain aspects of state-local relations have in recent years been the object of careful study and publication, little investigation has apparently been made into the effects of a pattern of representation so out of step with the growth of urbanism. Some have suggested that the impact on the operation of municipal government has been distinctly unfavorable.[2] More specific research, however, seems needed in this vital but neglected field of general concern.

In an attempt to gain a closer insight into municipal problems arising from a lack of proper representation in the legislatures, the author formulated a short questionnaire and sent copies to mayors and city managers in 200 cities.[3] Of the cities polled, 64 answered, though only 58 questionnaires were returned—a fairly good percentage for this type of survey. City executives in 32 states participated.[4]

It must be emphasized that this survey does not attempt to prove too much and that the results should be used with caution. Intensive research in specific fields of state-local relations is needed in a number of states in order to trace the full impact of urban under-representation upon municipalities. However, there are some advantages to a cursory but at the same time more comprehensive survey. By sampling the more important municipalities on a national basis, certain generalizations emerge which are useful for further and more exhaustive study in any particular area.

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*Dr. Baker, who secured his Ph.D. at Princeton University a year ago, is an instructor in the Department of Political Science at Santa Barbara College, University of California.

[1] *Government of the People, by the People, for the People?* Washington, D. C., 1948.

[2] For instance, see *Ibid.;* Charles M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States,* New York, Harper, 1947, page 128; Richard L. Neuberger, "Our Rotten Borough Legislatures," *Survey,* February, 1950, page 54.

[3] The survey was undertaken between December 1951 and February 1952. At least one city in each of the 48 states was contacted. The distribution included all municipalities of over 100,000 population (104 cities); the remainder were sent on a flexible standard, varying from state to state according to the degree of urbanism in each. Thus in a highly urbanized state, such as New Jersey, smaller cities (under 100,000) were not generally included. In rural states, such as North Dakota, most cities of consequence were contacted, even though not large by national standards.

[4] No replies were received from any city in these sixteen states: Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming, Indiana and Maryland. One reason why more replies were not received is probably because a number of individual cities are not under-represented, even in states where that condition exists for other areas.

Results of the survey are as follows:

Equitable Treatment?

Question 1. Do you feel that your city receives equitable treatment from the legislature as compared with small communities and rural areas of your state?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
13	43	1	1

Aside from financial matters, which will be treated under later categories, the attitudes on this point emphasized the following:

(a) Home rule is either lacking or severely limited. This was a frequent complaint.

(b) The legislature tends to pass special laws affecting adversely the more populous cities.

(c) The legislature takes a negative attitude on such matters as city building codes and traffic safety legislation.

(d) Legislation favors agricultural sellers to the disadvantage of urban consumers. The oleomargarine tax is a common instance. One city manager complained that state regulation of dairy products stressed the farmer's convenience rather than safety for the urban consumer.

(e) The legislature requires cities to provide additional services but will allot no funds to help carry them out properly.

(f) Rural legislators resist all municipal legislation in general.

(g) The legislature makes it virtually impossible for cities to annex adjoining unincorporated property.

(h) The legislature restricts city expenditure of city revenues.

Question 2. Do rural areas in your state receive a disproportionate share of legislative strength as compared with cities?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
48	8	1	1

Question 3. Do you note any unsympathetic or hostile attitudes from rural legislators toward city problems?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
47	8	2	1

Some replies to this question included short comments that are worth mentioning. A point of special emphasis was summed up by one mayor's answer that rural legislators are "uninterested rather than unsympathetic or hostile, except when rural and urban interests clash." While legislators from the country and small towns may be completely honest and able, it is obviously difficult for many of them to comprehend the magnitude and complexity of some urban functions. "Representatives of rural areas," Mayor Frank Zeidler pointed out, "either fail to understand city problems or are suspicious of the motives of Milwaukee and other urban areas." Whether the causes of friction stem from lack of understanding and interest or from outright hostility, the fact remains that rural legislators in many instances wield a powerful influence upon municipal problems with which they do not have an intimate acquaintance.

Question 4. Does the attitude of the state governor toward cities differ noticeably from that of the legislature?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
32	20	3	3

More Sympathetic	*Less Sympathetic*
32	0

Question 5. Does the attitude of other state administrative officials differ noticeably from that of the legislature?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
28	24	3	3

More Sympathetic	*Less Sympathetic*
26	2

Attitudes of Officials

Answers to questions four and five tend to confirm the frequent observation that an official responsible to the whole of any given public takes a broader view than a body representing unequally various segments of that public. Thus, most city executives replying felt that the governor and, to a somewhat lesser extent, state administrative officials were more sympathetic to urban problems than was the legislature. The obvious reason, as one city manager expressed it, is that "the executive branch of the government has to be elected by the city vote as well as the rural while the majority of the legislature, by not redistricting, is still elected by the rural vote."

Question 6. Have any unsatisfactory relations with the state government been circumvented or moderated by your city's working directly with agencies of the federal government?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
7	43	1	7

In view of the rapid development in the past two decades of direct municipal-federal relations, affirmative answers to this question comprise a surprisingly low percentage. Several additional answers indicated such relationships, but did not trace these to unsatisfactory state policies. It must be kept in mind, of course, that a number of municipal-federal relations have become institutionalized to such an extent that their origins may be obscured. Thus some city officials may have no actual insight into the reasons why certain city-federal ties arose. The paucity of affirmative responses to this question may also be explained partly by the fact that executives in a number of the largest cities, where relations with federal agencies are most frequent, did not return the questionnaire. Among these are New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

The most important fields of city-federal relations cited by the affirmative responses are: health and welfare, advance planning for public works, road and expressway construction, civil defense, public housing, rent control. A direct connection between a rural-dominated, unsympathetic state legislature and the necessity for municipal-federal relations was emphasized by Mayor Charles Henderson of Youngstown, Ohio, in these words: "In old age pensions, assistance to hospitals and aid to the local health departments the federal government has aided cities where the state had failed. This is a bad and dangerous tendency, but one brought about entirely by the slowness of the state of Ohio."

Question 7. Do you feel that your municipality receives a fair share of state-distributed services and grants-in-aid?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
15	41	0	2

The main points emphasized here were:

(a) The state does not maintain the portions of its highways which run through cities.

(b) State aid for education and highways greatly favors rural sections.

(c) State aid bears no relationship to need.

(d) There is an inequitable distribution of state health and welfare funds.

(e) State and county services generally are on a higher level in unincorporated areas than in cities.

The greatly under-represented city of Hartford, Connecticut, is a good example of two main causes of complaint in this category—education and highway grants. City Manager Carleton F. Sharpe described in detail the formula for distribution of the general state grant for education, which is specifically designed to favor small towns. As a result, Hartford had been receiving annually about $31 per pupil as compared with up to $110 per pupil for small communities. Mr. Sharpe added that the highway grants are designed in such a way that some small towns have occasionally found it unnecessary to levy a local property tax, since state aids completely covered their requirements.

W. R. Kellogg, city manager of Cincinnati, Ohio, the largest council-manager city in the nation, concisely summarized the attitudes of most replies in these words: "In the apportionment of all state-shared taxes and allowance of grants-in-aid, the rurally dominated legislature invariably allows the lion's share to the rural communities."

Tax Structure Unfair

Question 8. Do you feel that your state's tax structure discriminates against urban areas in any fashion?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
42	12	2	2

As might be expected this subject was of more concern to city executives than any other covered by the questionnaire. The instances of discrimination and inequality cited were many. Those receiving the most emphasis are as follows:

(a) Distribution of highway funds from gasoline and auto license fees heavily favors rural areas.

(b) State property tax is not equalized. Assessments are done by local officials; rural assessors place much lower valuations on property in their districts.

(c) County property tax structure is extremely inequitable. Municipal areas in the county contribute most of the taxes because of higher assessments; yet the bulk of county services in many instances go to unincorporated areas.

(d) The state allows either no rebate or an unfairly low share of the sales tax to urban areas, which contribute the most.

(e) State income tax is derived mainly from cities, but distribution of benefits is inequitable. One executive pointed out that his state distributes some income tax money on the basis of residence rather than location of earnings. This favors rich suburban areas whose residents earn incomes in the cities.

(f) Assessments on utilities and railroads within cities are inequitable. These businesses are generally exempt from local taxation, yet municipalities receive little or no share of state-collected gross-earnings taxes.

(g) State cigarette and liquor taxes yield small benefits to cities. Most liquor taxes are collected in urban areas, where enforcement of liquor license laws and other policing problems are also far greater.

(h) The state preempts the most lucrative tax sources; thus cities are limited in their fields of revenue, while receiving a small share of locally collected state taxes.

(i) Farm buildings and equipment are exempt from taxation, while no similar privilege is allowed for urban property.

(j) The state legislature refuses to alleviate financial burdens imposed on cities by services they must render to suburban areas.

Several executives gave information on tax policy which would seem to support their contentions that the state discriminates against cities. Here are sample comments:

City Manager in Texas: Municipalities receive no part of the motor vehicle fees and gasoline tax collected by the state, of which 65 per cent is paid by urban owners whose travel mileage is 90 per cent within the corporate limits of the larger cities. Legislature refuses to allocate any portion of this tax to municipalities.

City Official in Minnesota: There is no adequate or effective equalization of tax base as between city and rural areas. Special laws provide lower per cent of valuations for tax purposes in rural than in city areas.

City Attorney in Georgia: We find that the state tax structure discriminates against urban areas, particularly in the matter of ad valorem taxes on real property. The state currently levies a five-mill tax on real property. In the rural areas, it is frequently the custom for tax authorities to assess the valuation of real estate at a very nominal figure, and to impose a high tax rate, thus assuring the local governments of income while paying little to the state. The urban areas have been more consistent in assessing property at its true value, or at least at a higher proportion of its true value, thus increasing the dollars returned to the state.

Mayor Charles Henderson, Youngstown, Ohio: Our local government fund, composed chiefly of sales tax receipts, originally was designed to return 40 per cent to local governments on the basis of municipal tax duplicate and 60 per cent to the schools on the basis of pupil attendance. However, since then the formula has deteriorated so that small counties, by having worked into the law a minimum distribution to each county, obtain much more than they would have received under the original formula which seemed to be fair. The schools and rural areas now obtain the lion's share of the sales tax. The cities in the current biennium are to receive $18,000,000 instead of the original 40 per cent, or $50,000,000, annually.

Strength in Union

Question 9. Do you maintain active contacts with executives of other urban areas in your state in dealing with the legislature?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
52	5	0	1

While all but a few respondents answered in the affirmative here, the degree of effectiveness from such contacts apparently varies from state to state. All answers from California mentioned effective work by the League of California Cities. Mayor William F. Devin of Seattle felt that the Association of Washington Cities had largely eliminated the usual rivalry between large and small cities, with the result that they "usually work out their own programs and go before the legislature with a united front." In the absence of adequate urban representation in state legislatures, this movement may be the most promising recent development for surmounting at least some of the adverse effects of rural dominance.

Question 10. Do state legislators representing your city tend to vote as a bloc in regard to legislation affecting the city?

Yes	*No*	*Qualified*	*No Answer*
33	21	1	3

The large number of negative answers here is of special interest. From New Hampshire came the comment that the "main weakness of urban representation is that the city legislators do not usually vote as a bloc, while more conservative (Republican) rural legislators do." A Rhode Island mayor stated that his city's delegates sometimes "forget they represent the city altogether." The frequency of this complaint should help to discount fears often expressed by rural groups that equitable representation in the legislature would result in urban control of the state for a specific, narrow city interest.

Some of the affirmative replies to this question stressed the futility of urban solidarity when their share of the legislature is especially small. Mayor L. A. Touchae, of Waterloo, Iowa, commented: "Our legislators who represent the larger cities tend to vote as a bloc on legislation affecting the cities, but they are so badly outnumbered, despite the fact that they represent a large section of our state population, that they have been virtually unable to get much done."

Cities Discriminated Against

In conclusion, it is clear that the great majority of city executives participating in this survey felt that urban areas are inadequately represented in state legislatures and that municipalities receive the brunt of discrimination in state policy generally, and in services, grants-in-aid and taxation policy particularly. It should be emphasized once more that information based on the survey is necessarily partial and scattered, and the conclusions must therefore be tentative.

The avenues of approach suggested by the replies, however, can provide a useful starting point for more intensive analysis and research within individual states. The factual information and data supplied by the executives polled, though incomplete, would certainly seem to give strong support to their assertions of discrimination. Taken collectively, the ideas expressed by these city officials add more voices to the chorus of "taxation without representation."

Sixteen Years of Progress

Monroe County (Rochester), New York, largest having the manager plan, sets high fiscal and management standards.

By W. EARL WELLER and CRAIG M. SMITH*

THIS is the story of an urban county, organized on modern lines with the manager plan. Over the last sixteen years, by efficient administration and a pay-as-you-go policy, it has held down the costs of government—except for greatly enlarged expenditures for welfare—to an increase of only 18.6 per cent despite the pressures of inflation and expanding public service.

Monroe County, with over two-thirds of its nearly half million people concentrated in the city of Rochester, became interested in a new charter in 1934, when the county board of supervisors, acting under a state law passed that year, authorized appointment of a commission to draft a special county charter. This commission filed a proposed charter with the clerk of the board on December 29, 1934. While it was under discussion, however, the state legislature adopted the Buckley law (Chapter 948 of the Laws of 1935), the first of a series of optional county government laws.

The Buckley law[1] authorized any county to adopt one of two alternate plans: one providing an elective county president and the other a county manager appointed by the board of supervisors for a fixed term of four years.

Since a majority of the votes cast in the city and a majority of the votes cast in the towns were required to enact the special charter, while only a majority of all the votes cast were required to accept the provisions of the Buckley law, it was decided to proceed under the county manager provisions of this statute. The referendum was held in November 1935 and the manager plan was adopted by a vote of 33,133 to 19,095. Had the law provided for a majority vote in the city and a majority vote in the towns, the proposition would have been defeated by 113 votes, since the vote in the nineteen towns was 10,224 for county manager government and 10,337 against.

Since the Buckley law could make no change in the status of county officers named in the state constitution, Monroe County still elects its sheriff, district attorney and county clerk. Although this is admittedly an invasion of the manager's domain, particularly in the field of fiscal control, it has caused no friction as yet. In spite of this disunity, operation under the manager plan has led to notable improvements in the structure and operation of the county government.

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*Mr. Weller, with the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research since 1923, became its director in 1928; Mr. Smith, who joined the bureau's staff in 1940, was made assistant director in June of this year.

[1] The Buckley law will not be available for adoption after January 1954, having been superseded by the alternate county law adopted in 1952, but it will remain the basis of Monroe County's manager government. See "New County Plans Offered," by Richard A. Atkins, the REVIEW, June 1952, page 288.

Except for creation of the position of county manager and the accompanying realignment of executive authority, adoption of the plan made few immediate changes in administrative organization or in personnel. The incumbents in the formerly elective positions of county treasurer, county purchasing agent and commissioner of public welfare retained office until the end of their terms. Upon the expiration of these terms the positions of purchasing agent and commissioner of public welfare became appointive by the county manager and the county treasurer's duties were taken over by the director of finance. While the dearth of changes detracted from the spectacular features of the new government, the result was to give the incoming manager the opportunity of working with the board of supervisors to devise an organization tailored to the county's specific needs.

Manager Begins Duties

On January 2, 1936, the board of supervisors selected Clarence A. Smith as the first manager and director of finance. Mr. Smith had served the county for almost 35 years, principally as deputy clerk and clerk of the board of supervisors. Inasmuch as the board was the county's acting executive body, its clerk held a position most comparable to a coordinating executive before the advent of the manager plan. In 1934 Mr. Smith had been appointed the first county auditor. His familiarity with county affairs and his experience and tact in coordinating independent county offices have been of immeasurable value to the success of the manager plan. Mr. Smith has held the position of county manager continuously since his first appointment and is now approaching the mid-point of his fifth term in office.

The first task of the new manager was to reorganize the county administrative machinery in conformance with the provisions of the Buckley law. On January 2, 1936, he proposed to the board that a department of finance be created, incorporating the then independent agencies of audit, purchase and treasury. The department was divided into a division of the treasury, division of budgets and accounts, purchasing division and division of personnel. The auditor's office was abolished and its duties assumed by the division of budgets and accounts. The duties of the county treasurer were assumed eventually by the director of finance.

The new division of personnel was attached to the finance department merely as a staff function of the manager, who also had been appointed director of finance. Opposition to the abolition of the auditor's office and to the reduction of the county treasurer's authority led the board of supervisors to shelve the plan of reorganization until its legality could be determined in the courts. The plan was later put into effect May 2, 1936.

Another change in organization took place at the beginning of the year, when the office of legal advisor was created to replace the county attorney. Later, on April 9, 1936, the park commission and its secretary were replaced by a parks foreman who functioned under the director of public welfare.

The next major departmental reorganization was proposed by the county manager in August 1936 and adopted by the board of supervisors in September. A department of public works, headed by a director, was created to include three separate agencies—division of highways, department of maintenance and construction and the regional planning board. The reorganization was mainly a realignment of responsibility; changes of personnel were few. The former superintendent of highways became the director of public works, while the regional planning board was supplanted by a director of planning, who previously had served as executive secretary to the planning board.

Courts Favorable

Numerous difficulties impeded the operation of the county manager administration in its initial year. The county auditor, holding a position formerly appointive by the board of supervisors, contested the legality of the manager's proposal to abolish his office. It was agreed to submit this and other conflicts to the courts for decision. Pending court action, however, county activity more or less rested in a confused state. Questions of authority arose between the new manager and previously elected officers who were filling out the remainder of their terms. These differences were accentuated by the change in political control which had taken place in the 1935 election. As an example, in order to insure the legality of financial transactions, both the elected county treasurer and the county manager, acting as director of finance, co-signed all checks and financial documents.

In all cases submitted for court review, including one to settle the constitutionality of the Buckley law and thus prevent further legal disputes, the State Supreme Court, affirmed by the State Court of Appeals, gave complete endorsement to the county manager plan and the provisions of the law.

Probably the most notable progress under county manager government has been in the field of financial administration.

Some of the groundwork had already been completed for a county budget system in 1933, when a uniform expenditure classification was made. The first classified budget was adopted at the end of 1933 for the budget year of 1934. From this point the county manager administration has developed an effective budgetary control of county expenditures. Probably a large share of the effectiveness of this system lies in the time and care devoted to determining the manager's budget estimates.

Control of expenditures is based on detailed quarterly allotment schedules within which the departments must operate. Revised fourth-quarter estimates submitted by department heads enable the manager to predetermine any surpluses available at the end of the year.

Another progressive feature of the manager budget has been adoption of the pay-as-you-go principle with the elimination of borrowing.

A forward step in financial administration was the installation of machine accounting in the treasury division early in 1937. The electric accounting machine automatically tabulates, computes and prints all assessment and tax rolls, prepares tax bills on all property, and is used for tax collection accounting and many other special needs. Its advantages lie in the neatness, accuracy and speed of its work and in the efficiency obtained by using the same master property cards year after year.

Debt Decreases

Under the county manager, debt has shown an orderly decrease. On December 31, 1937, outstanding debt amounted to $15,030,000. On December 31, 1952, it was $2,875,000. In 1960 Monroe County will be free of debt.

One of the thorniest problems faced by the county manager administration was the problem of delinquent taxes in over-developed suburban areas. In 1936 the county was forced to advance approximately $755,000 to four delinquent towns to cover deficits in tax collection for their own purposes. At the same time these towns could pay nothing toward their share of the county tax. The manager's first budget for 1937 included an estimate of unpaid taxes for one and one-half million dollars on a levy which without tax delinquency would have totaled approximately five million dollars. In 1953, because of the county tax foreclosure program, the estimate for unpaid taxes has been reduced to $225,000.

To meet the problem, the manager in 1936 appointed a citizen advisory committee on tax foreclosure and assigned a counsel and staff to assist. Tax foreclosure proceedings on delinquent property were begun by the committee in October 1936. From that time until July 1, 1953, a total of 11,170 lots and parcels were foreclosed. Of these, 9,379 were sold for $4,286,792. In addition, the buyers assumed $996,756 in future obligations against the property. Tax productivity of this property was increased by the provision in the sale contracts that the buyer must erect a suitable building within a specified period. A total of 5,289 buildings were erected under these contracts, having an estimated tax value of $30,137,080.

In the department of public welfare, services, following a nationwide trend, have greatly expanded. This is especially true in the categories of old age assistance and child welfare. In March 1938, child placing was moved from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, a private agency acting in a contractual capacity, to the welfare department. In 1941 a county medical unit was established in the welfare department to provide medical care for old-age and dependent children cases. This step eliminated the fee system for payment of physicians and provided a salaried staff of doctors to furnish medical service.

In 1942 a veterans' service bureau was established as part of the welfare department to assist veterans and their families to obtain their federal and state benefits. Finally, in 1947, the county department took over the administration of all welfare work in the county except home relief in the towns.

Definite progress has also been made in personnel administration. In July 1942, the board of supervisors created a county civil service commission in conformance with state civil service laws. The manager, with approval of the board, appointed

County Appropriations, 1937-1953

	Current Operation	*Welfare*	*Debt Service*	*Total*
1937	$4,910,285	$ 3,247,238	$2,446,302	$10,603,825
1938	4,448,350	3,541,659	2,553,035	10,583,044
1939	4,235,228	4,556,263	2,273,955	11,065,446
1944	4,433,638	4,605,270	1,184,198	10,223,106
1949	6,533,972	11,344,696	595,978	18,474,646
1953	8,344,033	12,582,132	381,200	21,307,365

three members to the commission with overlapping terms. A competent executive secretary was selected by the commission. The commission and staff have prepared and adopted a set of rules and regulations and have extended civil service, as required by law, to cover the employees of towns, villages and special districts.

New Classification Plan

In 1944 the Civil Service Commission developed a comprehensive classification and compensation plan for all county personnel. This was adopted by the board of supervisors and became effective January 1, 1945. The compensation plan established minimum and maximum levels of salaries for each group of similar positions and provided for annual increments to be awarded on the basis of merit. The merit of individual employees is determined by service ratings computed from reports submitted by department heads. The classification and compensation plan smoothed out many inequities and provided an equitable basis for granting salary increments.

The trend of county expenditures since the manager plan was adopted has been upward. This is because of general conditions and the fact that the county has taken over the administration of welfare and the city airport. The accompanying table shows current appropriations for various years from 1937 to 1953. Figures for 1936, the first year of manager government, have been omitted since the 1936 budget was adopted before the manager plan was effective; was not drawn on a pay-as-you-go basis; and required many adjustments to make it conform to the state law under which the county had elected to operate.

The over-all expense of the county has about doubled in seventeen years. It should, however, be noted that welfare expenditures were less than 31 per cent of appropriations in 1937 and over 59 per cent in 1953. Current operation has increased from $4,910,285 to $8,344,033, about 70 per cent. This is in spite of the fact that personal services, following well established trends, have increased from $1,862,173 to $6,775,600. The decrease in debt service and the decrease in the appropriation for unpaid taxes (not shown separately in the table) have held the over-all increase in county appropriations, exclusive of welfare, to an unbelievable 18.6 per cent.

In summary, it may be said that Monroe County, with its efficient administrative structure and sound financial status, is well equipped to meet the additional burdens which will inevitably be imposed upon it by its spreading population and the centralization in the county government of several functions now performed by the city and towns.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Manager Communities Now Number 1190

45 Cities Added to List During the Current Year

WITH the addition of the twelve cities listed below, the number of cities, towns, villages and counties now using the manager plan has grown to 1,190. The number of adoptions thus far in 1953 is 45.

Ottumwa, Iowa, (1950 population 33,631) voted 4,472 to 3,185 on July 25 to adopt the council-manager plan. A special election was called as a result of a petition circulated by the Citizens League for Council-Manager Government. The question was submitted in accordance with the form established by the last state legislature, effective July 1. Ottumwa has had the commission plan. A new council of five will be elected at large on November 3.

El Centro (12,749), county seat of Imperial County, California, approved a council-manager ordinance 993 to 712 at a special election on June 23. The manager will appoint all employees except the city attorney and the elected clerk and treasurer.

The International City Managers' Association announces the following council-manager plan adoptions since April 1, not previously noted in the REVIEW: **Inkster, Michigan,** (16,728); **Athens, Tennessee,** (8,618); **Emporia, Virginia,** (5,664); **Downington, Pennsylvania,** (4,948); **Otsego, Michigan,** (3,990); **Mexico, Maine,** (3,821); **Jackson, Alabama,** (3,072); **Irving, Texas,** (2,621); **Gaylord, Michigan,** (2,271); and **Warren, Maine,** (1,576).

Springfield, Massachusetts, will vote in November on adoption of council-manager Plan D, as a result of a petition of nearly 13,000 names, with 9,200 valid signatures needed to insure an election; 10,000 were certified by the election commission, with 2,500 not checked. If the plan is adopted, a council of nine will be elected at large in November 1955. Springfield is one of the few remaining cities with a bicameral legislative body. It has eight aldermen and eighteen councilmen.

In **Haverhill, Massachusetts,** a vote on retention of the manager plan, which became effective in 1952, is expected in November as a result of a petition of 5,209 names filed by Mayor J. L. Willett. If 2,605 valid signatures are certified by the city clerk, the question of changing from the council-manager Plan D to the mayor-commission Plan C will go on the ballot.

The **Massachusetts** legislature has passed and Governor Herter has signed a bill authorizing **Shrewsbury** to adopt the representative form of town government, with a town manager. Introduction of the bill was authorized at a special town meeting.

A proposed council-manager charter for the town of **Wethersfield, Connecticut,** has been approved by the state legislature and is to be placed before the local voters in a referendum.

In **Fulton, New York,** on July 1 the charter commission, appointed in 1951, filed a proposed council-manager charter with the city clerk, as a prerequisite to a referendum on the matter at the November election. If the charter is adopted, a mayor and a council of six will be elected, the mayor to act as seventh member of the council and to preside over it. The council would appoint the manager and certain other officers. The

Oswego *Palladium-Times* commends the action of Fulton to the people of **Oswego.**

In **Geneva, New York,** a proposed council-manager charter was defeated 2,213 to 1,102 at a special election on July 29. The charter was submitted in May by a commission, which approved it seven to two. It was actively opposed by the two dissenting commissioners, the mayor and various other officials, and was supported by a citizens committee. It sought to provide for the election of a mayor, six councilmen from wards and two at large (each voter to vote for one of the latter). The mayor would be a member of the council, which would appoint a city manager.

The **Waverly, New York,** Community Council has established a council-manager fact-finding committee.

In **Lockport, New York,** the Lock City Republican Club has adopted a resolution asking the common council to call a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan.

In **Ridgewood, New Jersey,** a residential village which has had the commission plan since 1911 and has grown to nearly 20,000 population, the three commissioners have hired a director of village operations, who is also village clerk, tax collector and custodian of school funds. He appoints employees and lets contracts up to $1000, subject to approval of the commission. He has no contract or tenure.

Fayetteville, North Carolina, a manager city since 1949, has voted to elect its mayor directly as such, beginning in 1955. At present the mayor is chosen by the city council from its membership, as recommended by the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League.

West Palm Beach, Florida, will vote in October on adoption of a council-manager charter as authorized by the state legislature in June.

A council-manager charter and a civil service act for **Opa-Locka, Florida,** have been approved by the state legislature and will be submitted to local referendum.

The **Pennsylvania** legislature has again failed to authorize the council-manager plan for the 47 third-class cities of that state. A bill to permit any such city to adopt the manager plan died in committee, although backed by the State Chamber of Commerce and various other groups. Another bill to permit a city council to create (and abolish) the office of city manager, without other change and without provision for referendum, also failed. It is reported to have been introduced to draw support from the first-named bill, which was opposed by the officials of the League of Third Class Cities. A separate proposal to authorize a council-manager plan for the city of **Erie** passed the House of Representatives unanimously but was defeated in the Senate.

In **Sidney, Ohio,** the Junior Chamber of Commerce advocates the manager plan.

The charter commission of **Ferguson, Missouri,** has announced that it will recommend the council-manager plan.

According to a survey by the **Joplin, Missouri,** *Southwestern,* 22 out of 31 candidates for the thirteen memberships on that city's charter commission expressed themselves as favoring the council-manager plan. Joplin voted 2,681 to 308 on July 14 in favor of drafting a new charter.

Cape Girardeau, Missouri, defeated a proposed council-manager plan on July 14 by a vote of 2,834 to 2,050.

A Citizens Committee on Better Government of **Missoula, Montana,** is seeking a referendum on the question of adopting the council-manager plan at the fall election.

In **Cheyenne, Wyoming,** Mayor R.

E. Cheever favors a vote on adoption of the manager plan at the fall primaries rather than at a special election.

In **San Anselmo, California,** Mayor Fraser Cudworth favors employment of a city manager or administrator and has appointed a committee of three councilmen to study the proposal.

In **Sanger, California,** Mayor L. N. Petersen has appointed a committee of 36 citizens to investigate various forms of city government, as a result of council discussion of the possible need for a city manager.

A referendum election in **Seward, Alaska,** is expected soon on the question of adoption of an ordinance establishing council-manager government. The ordinance was drafted as a result of a petition.

Indianapolis Expansion Aided by Buffer Zone

The Indiana legislature has enacted a law designed to allow Indianapolis to adopt an orderly annexation program and to prevent the growth and development of small incorporated areas around the city. It provides for a three-mile buffer area around Indianapolis in which no new city or town may be incorporated. The status of existing incorporated towns and cities is not affected. In addition, no town or city except Indianapolis within the buffer area may annex any additional territory unless the annexation is approved both by the Indianapolis planning commission and by the county planning commission.

Legislative Councils Increase to 33

With establishment of legislative councils by the 1953 legislatures of four states, the number of these agencies for legislative research, bill-drafting, etc., becomes 33, among the 48 states. In addition, a legislative council for Alaska was established this year.

The creation of the Arizona and Colorado councils was noted in the May REVIEW (page 239). Montana and Tennessee have followed suit. In addition to setting up a legislative council of eleven members, Tennessee also established a permanent code commission and a state judicial conference.

As examples of duties of legislative councils *State Government* reports that Nebraska's unicameral legislature in 1953 assigned thirteen studies to its council, including care of the aged and mentally ill, school redistricting, expenditures and enrollment at the state teachers colleges, coverage of teachers by federal social security, property tax assessments and stream pollution; and the Nevada legislature assigned the following topics to its Legislative Commission: reorganization and consolidation of school districts, the state's libraries, the rules of both legislative houses, uniform hearing procedure for state agencies, sex crimes and operation of the state health department.

Home Rule Made More Feasible in Connecticut

A 1951 requirement that local government charter changes be approved by 51 per cent of a town's qualified voters has been modified to 26 per cent by the Connecticut legislature this year. The former requirement made home rule largely ineffective except at times when a state or national election coincided with a local election.

A requirement that elections on changes initiated by petition be called within 90 days was added.

Connecticut Facilitates Registration and Voting

The Connecticut legislature has passed two acts which ease residence requirements for voting.

One new law is in accord with a recommendation adopted by a recent conference of the National Institute of Municipal Clerks, which expressed concern over the restrictive provisions of voting residence requirements in many states, especially in regard to presidential and congressional elections. Connecticut will now permit a voter who moves to another state to cast a vote for presidential and vice presidential electors by absentee ballot in Connecticut for a period of fifteen months following his removal from the state, if, in the meantime, he has not been admitted as a voter in the state to which he moved. This provides sufficient time for establishment of eligibility to vote in all but five of the 47 other states. Neighboring Rhode Island and Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina require two years' residence. Other states require residence of one year or less.

Connecticut will also permit a voter who moves from one town to another within the state to retain his voting privilege for municipal elections in the town from which he moved, for a period of six months less a day, in cases in which a municipal election is held at the same time as a state election. Previously, a voter in this category could vote only for state officers. It was therefore necessary, when city and state officers were to be elected at the same election, to set up a separate voting machine in each polling place for use by those who were limited to voting for state officers.

New York State Votes on Nine Amendments

Nine proposed amendments to the constitution of New York State will be submitted to popular vote at the November election. Their subjects are, in brief:

1. Election of governor and lieutenant governor by a single vote, thus insuring that both will be of the same political party. Vacancies in the elective offices of controller and attorney general would be filled by the legislature until expiration of their regular terms.

2. Increase in the governor's salary from $25,000 to not more than $50,000, the amount to be set by joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly (not requiring approval by the governor).

3. Increase in the lieutenant governor's salary from $10,000 to not more than $20,000, the legislature to set the amount.

4. Prohibition of construction of reservoirs in the Adirondack and Catskill forest preserves except for municipal water supply.

5. Permission for lower court judges in New York City to be temporarily assigned to higher courts to relieve court congestion.

6. Increase in the civil jurisdiction of county courts (outside New York City) from cases involving up to $3,000 to those up to $6,000. This is the same limit as now holds for the City Court in New York City.

7. Increase in the real estate tax limit in New York City from 2 per cent to 2½ per cent of average total full valuation for five years.

8. Authorization of the legislature to permit counties, towns, villages and cities to issue bonds outside present constitutional debt limits, for joint community water-supply purposes.

9. Making minor changes of a liberalizing character as to debt and tax limits.

The Citizens Union of the City of New York favors all amendments except the first, which it asserts would unduly limit the choice of voters as to the lieutenant governor and tend to lower the caliber of candidates for that office.

Florida Legislature Submits Amendments to Vote

The legislature of the state of Florida has submitted proposed constitutional amendments to the voters, at the next general election, which would prohibit use of state funds in the construction and maintenance of toll roads, increase the salaries of legislators to $1,200 per annum, extend the biennial legislative session from 60 to 90 days and give the governor twenty instead of ten days to sign or veto bills after a legislature adjourns.

Missouri Creates Commission to Study State Government

The Missouri legislature has provided for the appointment of a commission of twelve members to study the government of the state and make recommendations for its improvement. The governor appoints four members and each house of the legislature furnishes four.

Connecticut Approves Two Amendments in Light Vote

With only about 3 per cent of the electorate participating, two constitutional amendments were adopted in Connecticut on June 22, approximately ten to one. Both major political parties favored the amendments, which were of non-controversial character.

The first constitutes a revision of the constitution by incorporating 47 prior amendments into the main body of the document, without other revision. The constitution as revamped had been approved by the legislature.

The second provides that the state treasurer, secretary and controller count the votes for state officers and announce the results prior to December 15 of election years. Heretofore the legislature announced the results upon convening in January; but delay in organizing the legislature meant delay in validating the election of state officers.

Michigan Redistricts for Its Lower House

The 1953 Michigan legislature made a reapportionment for the House of Representatives under a 1952 constitutional amendment.[1]

Wayne County (containing Detroit) receives its full allotment of 38 under this measure, or 34.6 per cent of the 110-member House as compared with 27 per cent in the previous House of 100 members, based on the 1940 census.

Twelve other counties have 35 seats, making a total of 73 members from the thirteen more populous counties. Another group of fourteen counties receive single members; this places 87 seats among 27 of Michigan's 83 counties. Eleven two-county districts are established, accounting for eleven more members. Four three-county combinations are provided while three four-county districts are also necessary; each of these areas has a single member. One unit of five counties was created. In two instances districts of several counties were erected from each of which two members are to be chosen at large.

The county boards of supervisors retain the function of internally districting those units which are entitled individually to two or more members. The task of the voter in Detroit is eased materially by the requirement that all members allotted to that city must be chosen from specially created districts to which two or three members only may be assigned by the Wayne County board.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 562. The amendment sets up a so-called "balanced legislature" with 34 Senate districts permanently established, largely on an area basis. The House was to be districted on a population formula.—Editor.

The districts which are to choose the two members at large from a unit of two or three counties respectively are under attack as violating the principle of single-member districting when each could have been avoided by another adjustment of the district pattern, which in turn would have reduced the number of seats to 108. One more seat was channelled into the Upper Peninsula counties by a peculiarly arranged district which depends upon the almost forgotten doctrine of common water boundaries for its justification; this action of the 1953 legislature seems almost sure to be challenged judicially.

Politically, there is an element of over-all gerrymandering in the new setup since at the outset the Democrats will lose seats, particularly in Wayne County and in Detroit. Over the long run this could work to the advantage of both political parties, paradoxical as this may seem. The present Democratic pre-occupation with Detroit is not necessarily good from the standpoint of ultimate party success. There will be a tendency towards a more urban leavening of the Republican organization as metropolitan residents begin to have some influence in state policy as a collateral result of the abolition of the city-wide election of all representatives within Detroit.

There are those who think that a "balanced legislature" is a do-nothing legislature. Should that prove the case interest in a single chamber will surely rise.

Charles W. Shull
Wayne University, Detroit

Ohio Legislature Submits Amendments; Other Acts

One of the final actions of Ohio's 100th General Assembly,[1] which adjourned on July 14 after six months of law-making, was to submit for voter approval constitutional amendments calling for four-year terms for members of the legislature and for those executive officers, including the governor, heretofore elected every two years.

For political reasons having to do with the popularity of the present Democratic Governor Frank Lausche, the submission by the Republican-controlled legislature will be made in November 1954. First elections under the change would come in 1958. In political circles it is generally believed that Lausche will be a candidate to succeed himself next year—and if so his reelection is almost a certainty. If reelected he is expected to retire at the end of the term, whether it be two years or four.

The effect of the time schedule thus set up, if approved by the voters, will be to separate state elections, previously held biennially, from the quadrennial presidential campaign. The state auditor, long on a four-year shift, would revert to a two-year term in 1961-62 and back to four years thereafter, so that his election in 1962 would coincide with that of the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general and treasurer.

The legislature submitted to a vote, in November 1953, four proposed amendments: a $500,000,000 highway bond issue; elimination of the word "white" from a requirement that all males are eligible for militia duty; deletion of obsolete material from the constitution; and creation of a state board of education, to appoint the state school superintendent.

It failed to act on a request by Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) for submission of a constitutional amendment to allow election of Cuyahoga legislators from subdistricts conforming to congressional district lines. It also failed to act on a bill, eagerly sought by Cincinnati, to permit annexation of unincorporated areas to a municipality without annexing its school districts, and on another bill to grant gas companies the right to condemn land for underground storage of gas.

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[1] For financial measures see page 417, this issue.

It adopted bills authorizing the state health department to set up minimum health standards for county institutions, providing a thousand $500 scholarships to train would-be teachers to relieve the teacher shortage, creating county citizens' committees to reorganize school districts through consolidation, and increasing maximum monthly benefits in aid to the aged from $60 to $65 and unemployment insurance maximum weekly benefits from $28 to $30.

The House of Representatives also voted to install an automatic roll-call system for use at the next session—an action advocated some twenty years ago.

Forest Frank, *Executive Director*
City Charter Committee
Cincinnati, Ohio

Nevada Establishes Merit System

The legislature of Nevada has recently adopted the merit system by creating a state department of personnel, with an advisory personnel commission of five, appointed by the governor.

The act setting up the system contains a section which directs the governor to designate a firm skilled in public administration, finance and personnel management to conduct a survey and furnish recommendations for a classification and pay plan, a rating plan, a system of testing and certification, a set of rules and an examination for use in selecting a personnel director. He has chosen J. L. Jacobs and Company.

All state employees have been placed in the classified civil service except elective officers, department heads, members of boards and commissions, teachers, employees in the office of the governor and certain part-time employees.

The director of personnel is in the classified service excepting that he serves at the pleasure of the governor. A special examining committee appointed by the personnel commission submits nominations and the commission certifies to the governor the three leading names given it by the committee.

Massachusetts Reorganization Affects Three Departments

The 158th Massachusetts General Court (legislature), which adjourned early in July, made several changes in state governmental organization. These included reorganization of two existing departments and of the Port of Boston Authority, and establishment of a new department of commerce and an industrial development corporation. A tendency toward control by commissions instead of single executives was shown.

The Department of Corporations and Taxation is to be generally reorganized, with a three-member commission superseding Commissioner Henry F. Long, head of the department for a generation, upon his reaching the mandatory retirement age of 70 on September 30, 1953.

The Conservation Department has been changed to the Department of Natural Resources, with an unpaid commission of five members having charge of three divisions—forests and parks, marine fisheries and law enforcement. There is also an autonomous division of fisheries and game.

The Port of Boston Authority, heretofore appointed by the governor, will be superseded by an unpaid five-member commission to be appointed by the governor from a list of nominees submitted by organizations interested in port development.

The former Planning and Development Commission will be absorbed into the new Department of Commerce, which will have divisions of research, planning and development. A Business Development Corporation has also been established to aid in expansion of industry, especially small business, and to attract new enterprises, with a fund of $10,000,000 provided from private sources for loans not feasible through normal banking channels.

The Public Buildings Commission is superseded by a division of building construction in the Commission on Administration and Finance.

The Milk Control Board is abolished and a milk control commission is established in the Department of Agriculture.

Some 35 special commissions were set up to make recess studies, including one to redistrict the state for congressional purposes on the basis of the 1950 census, and one to study the state retirement system. The Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government (the "Baby Hoover Commission") will continue its study of state operations. A study of the district court system will also be made, proposals of Governor Herter for its reorganization having failed of adoption.

Legislative Service Conference to Hold Sixth Annual Meeting

Officers of state legislatures and staff directors of legislative councils and similar agencies will attend the sixth annual meeting of the Legislative Service Conference in New Orleans (Roosevelt Hotel) and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, September 28 to October 1.

Congress of Local Authorities Meets

The Eleventh International Congress of Local Authorities, held in Vienna June 15-20, 1953, was the most successful conducted by the International Union of Local Authorities since the Second World War. Over 550 delegates registered from more than 25 countries, with about 250 accompanying persons. Twenty mayors, councilmen and other city officials from the United States attended.

Main theme of the Congress was the large city vs. the small community, their strengths and weaknesses. Reports had been received from more than twenty constituent national unions, which were synthesized and distributed in English, French and German editions, as a printed monograph of 120 pages, prior to the Congress.

Other topics discussed were: municipal finance, led by Mayor Elmer Robinson of San Francisco; the work of national unions of cities, for which the general reporter was Kjell Evers of the Norwegian Union of Cities; and the program of the United Nations and its agencies concerning local government, led by Charles S. Ascher, representative of the Union at the UN, and M. G. deLacharriere of the Social Sciences Department of UNESCO.

Dr. Oud, retiring burgomeister of Rotterdam, was re-elected president; other officers were re-elected, including Colonel Paul Betters, executive director of the U. S. Conference of Mayors. M. Spiney, mayor of Mechlin, Belgium, and Mr. Evers of Norway were added to the executive committee.

CHARLES S. ASCHER

Brooklyn College
New York City

Prince Georges County Given New Authority

But Legislature Removes Power to Appoint Manager

PRINCE Georges County, Maryland, commissioners are operating with a new set of unprecedented powers granted to them by the 1953 legislature.

The act broadens the board's power to an extent its sponsors hope will choke off threatened resurgence of last year's home rule drive. However, a clause in the old law, giving the commissioners the right to appoint a county manager, was eliminated.

Power to enact ordinances covering several specific subjects, as well as to "enact any other ordinance for the safeguard of life, health and property and for the promotion of public safety and moral welfare," is given to the county heads.

The new set of rules gives the commissioners authority somewhat comparable to that vested in the Montgomery County council. In Montgomery County, however, law-making powers are limited to a single one-month session each year whereas in Prince Georges County, the commissioners may pass or rescind ordinances at any time. Also, in Montgomery County the council may repeal or modify existing local laws. No power of this kind is mentioned in the Prince Georges statute.

Among the specific powers granted to Prince Georges heads are the right to establish building, electrical and plumbing codes, and to inspect and license hotels, rooming houses, convalescent homes, day nurseries and trailer camps outside the boundaries of municipalities; also, the right to set up an insurance fund, designate and control types and kinds of public amusements, control construction and erection of billboards on all roads, provide for trash and garbage removal, establish a ban on use of air rifles or firearms by minors, restrain dogs from running at large, dispose of unlicensed animals, establish a dog pound, appoint dog-tax collectors and fix license fees.

County Administrator Bill Dies in Ohio Senate

A bill permitting the commissioners of any Ohio county of 125,000 or more to appoint a county administrative officer was approved by the state House of Representatives this year, 114 to 6. In the Senate, however, where the bill was amended to apply to Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) only, the proposition died in the Rules Committee.

The proposal was prepared by Cleveland citizen groups, whose previous efforts to secure a home rule charter for Cuyahoga County had been defeated by the villages and towns in the county. A state-approved administrative officer plan was thought the next best solution to the problem of more than a hundred governments in a single county.

The bill was intended to give the position of administrative officer in Cuyahoga County, an office created in 1952 by the county commissioners, the permanence and dignity necessary to its continued success. It was also intended to preclude any possibility of a successful taxpayer suit against the commissioners and to allow other counties to adopt the plan without qualms about legality.

Miami-Dade County Merger Study Group Formed

A board to study consolidation and form a plan for merging city and county governments was created in July by the Miami city commission. The board was authorized to spend up to $50,000 to conduct the study.

Action of the commission followed by less than a month the rejection by Miami voters of the proposal to abolish the city and consolidate its government with Dade County.[1]

The new twenty-man board will have power to call witnesses and take testimony. Whatever plan the board comes up with, according to the resolution adopted by the commission, there must be provision for a referendum to submit the proposal to voters living in the county and in each of the municipalities that may be affected.

The resolution states that a "thorough study" should be made of county government, including the port authority and schools, and of all municipal governments in Dade County, "to determine what consolidation, merger, federation or reorganization" would be desirable.

Cities and Counties Merge Functions

The Shawano, Wisconsin, city and county libraries have been merged and will be operated as a single system under a joint library board.

Hospitals jointly financed and maintained by a county and a city of at least 10,000 population or by a county and two or more cities are authorized under a bill passed by the Texas legislature.

Attracting Industry Seen Aid to School Tax Problem

Commercial and industrial developments in suburban residential areas are being favored as a means of helping carry the tax burden in supporting public schools, the Municipal Finance Officers Association reports.

A study group in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, has recommended that additional industries be brought into the area to prevent a continuous increase in property tax levies for public education. County services required by industrial or commercial developments are low in cost compared with those required by residential areas, and taxes on these developments could be used to offset the cost of services for a residential area, the study revealed.

In San Mateo County, California, a study showed that the average home in a new subdivision yields less than $50 annually in taxes for education. The county must spend $204 to maintain a child in school for a year, excluding capital expenditures or bond costs. A campaign to bring additional industries into the county to help alleviate this problem has been organized by a citizens' association.

City-county Law Enforcement Plan Proposed in Nashville

A city hall reporter of the *Nashville* (Tennessee) *Banner*, Dick Battle, has come up with a proposal to coordinate city and county law enforcement.

He suggests the following:

1. Uniformed, well selected county patrolmen under civil service; minimum entrance standards matching those of the Nashville police department; Davidson County salaries to match city pay scales.

2. Joint city-county recruit and in-service training programs on a continuous basis, utilizing best trained personnel of both as instructors.

3. A jointly financed local crime laboratory and complete interchange of records, daily bulletins and all essential police information.

4. Coordination of communications so that county and city police may

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[1] See, the REVIEW, July 1953, page 347.

maintain cooperative efforts without wasteful duplication.

5. Practical definition of jurisdiction and authority and complete elimination of fee-paid law enforcement officers.

6. Staff level conferences monthly including the chief of police, the sheriff, and other top officials of both enforcement agencies.

Consolidated Health Service Favored by Phoenix Group

Consolidation of city and county health services is advisable, according to a preliminary report made by the Phoenix, Arizona, Community Council at the request of city and county officials.

The committee recommends that any consolidated health service be supplied by the county, since the county is charged with the responsibility under state law and there would be conflict between the civil service system of the city and the state merit system used by the county if the city provided the services. Also, the report states, county operation would provide a better basis for other cities in the county to participate in the health service.

The report points out that there would be no immediate dollar savings because of the continued growth of the area and that there seems to be a minimum of duplication of services as now provided by the city and county. However, unification at this time would prevent duplication in the future as the demand for health services increases, says the report.

City-county Building Approved for Augusta

A new city-county government building will be erected soon in Augusta, Georgia. The building will replace antiquated city and county structures now in use.

Financing of the new building will be met jointly by the city and county, but the state and federal governments will be asked to join the project and combine their offices in the same building. The present federal building (with postoffice) has been overcrowded for some time and cannot be expanded because of lack of ground space.

Texas Counties May Pay for Jurors' Meals, Lodging

Many Texas counties have been unwittingly violating the law by paying for jurors' meals and lodging in capital cases, but a bill authorizing them to do so has been passed by the House.

After a recent murder trial in Wichita Falls, the county received a $544 bill for feeding the jurors. Investigation revealed that an old law, on the books at least since 1920, prohibits counties from paying any more than the regular $4 daily fee to jurors.

To avoid further complications, Representative J. B. Walling of Wichita Falls introduced the new bill. The issue would arise only in capital cases, in which juries are kept together until conclusion of the trial, often lasting many days.

Westchester County Resumes Interneship Program

Westchester County, New York, has resumed the practice of conducting an intensive one-year on-the-job training program in county public administration, previously tried in 1949 and 1950.

This year's two internes were recruited from college students displaying interest in a public administration career. Their salaries will be paid out of budget savings accrued from existing job vacancies in the county.

After a two-week top level course, in which they are given "an over-all picture of relationships between the various county departments," the trainees began actual work on various assignments in different departments. They will be rotated during the year to tasks designed to test their administrative abilities while adding to their experience.

Says Denton Pearsall, county personnel officer, of the course: "It's an opportunity to interest students in government. At the same time, the county gets the benefit of work they do while in training."

Maryland County Speeds Up Handling of Inquiries

Montgomery County, Maryland, has taken steps to make it easier for citizens to get the information they want at the county offices.

A concise compilation of the functions carried on by each department has been prepared and distributed to all departments. Also, a "keyman" has been designated in each department—one who knows the exact functions being carried on in his department and who is able to tell the citizen "whom to see for what." Each keyman will be known as such to other members of his department, so that queries from citizens can be quickly referred to him.

Three Texas Counties May Increase Officials' Pay

The Texas legislature has passed a bill giving the commissioners court power to increase the pay of officials of Harris, Bexar and Dallas Counties as follows:

District judges, from $12,000 a year to $13,500; county judge, from $10,800 to $13,500; tax assessor-collector, from unlimited amount (including fees) to $15,000 maximum; sheriff, district attorney, district and county clerks, from $10,800 to $11,800; probate judge, from $9,600 to $10,800; judge county courts at law, from $9,600 to $10,600; constables and justices of the peace, from $8,000 to $8,600; and auditor, from $10,800 to $11,800.

North Carolina Tables Plan for Medical Examiner System

Proposed legislation in North Carolina to set up a state medical examiner system failed to be reported out of committee during the 1953 session of the legislature. The bill was sponsored by Dr. Wiley D. Forbus of the Duke University Medical School.

A substitute bill empowering the governor to set up a special committee to study the problem was defeated in the House by a narrow margin.

In Ohio, a bill, sponsored by Coroner S. R. Gerber of Cleveland, to put coroners on a nonpartisan ballot also died in committee.

THE CITY THAT SAVED ITSELF

(Continued from page 386)

ployees lost the attitude that a rise in pay depended on whom they knew. It depended on how well they did their jobs.

The selfish attitude of "what's in it for me?" gave way to the conviction that what's good for the city is good for everybody. Merchants put money into renovations and expansion. They formed a committee to persuade industry to move to the Newburgh area. When Aex proposed a heavy expenditure for a fifth off-street parking zone to benefit the water-front business area, the idea was endorsed by the rival business district of the city.

The transformation in Newburgh's spirit has touched every city official. "The city is alive. It wants to grow," said Councilman Mahler. "People are convinced that we have a future. Those who were once indifferent are trying to do something for the city. They've learned that progress is no brass band going up the main street. It takes people behind the band."

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cumulative Voting in Illinois

System's Results Compared with Usual District Plan

EDITOR'S NOTE.—One of the simplest forms of election for which any claim to proportionality can be made is cumulative voting. This plan will give strictly proportional representation to organized groups if they estimate their strength with approximate accuracy and divide their votes accordingly by prearrangement. Otherwise a particular group may elect either more or less than it deserves.

Unlike the Hare System of P. R., the plan makes no pretense of giving the voters a free selection among individual candidates without danger of throwing their votes away.

This paper examines the experience of Illinois with cumulative voting to see how far it has actually given proportional results. Since each district elects only three members to the Illinois House of Representatives, representation is more likely to be confined to the two largest parties than if a larger number of seats were to be distributed in each district. Also, the ease of estimating party strength with sufficient accuracy to get the best results for a party is much greater.

ONE American state has had long experience with one of the electoral remedies proposed to do away with inadequate minority representation. Cumulative voting was adopted in Illinois in 1870 to remedy the sectional representation which appeared in its lower legislative body under the constitution of 1848. Some 100,000 Democratic party voters living north of the capital city of Springfield were excluded from all voice in making laws through representatives of their own party, while some 55,000 Republican voters living south of this line were similarly excluded from a voice in the legislative assembly.[1]

In theory, cumulative voting seemed the answer to this problem of minority representation, for its principal characteristics aim to achieve a fair representation of the minority. Under this system, Illinois was divided into 51 electoral districts, each serving as the basis for the election of one senator and three representatives. Each voter is given three votes which he may distribute in equal or unequal portions among one to three candidates for the House seats in his district. That is, the voter may: (1) cast all three of his votes for a single candidate, (2) give one vote to each of three candidates, (3) divide his votes equally between two candidates giving each a vote and a half, or (4) divide his votes unequally between two candidates giving one vote to one and two votes to a second.[2]

Under cumulative voting it is numerically possible for an organized minority to win some representation in any district in which it casts 25 per cent plus one of the vote. As an example in round numbers, let us as-

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[1] This condition of sectional representation is discussed more fully in Chapter I of an unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled *Cumulative Voting in Illinois,* submitted by the author to the Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, in August 1951.

[2] This division of votes was upheld by the majority decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in the case of *Allen* v. *Fuller,* 322 Illinois, 304 (1929).

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF POPULAR VOTE AND PARTY REPRESENTATION IN THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1940-1952

Year	*Party*	*Total Vote for Representatives*	*Per cent of Total Vote*	*Number Elected*	*Proportional Number*
1940	Republican	5,837,953	50.1	79	77
	Democratic	5,817,080	49.9	74	76
1942	Republican	4,565,806	54.1	84	83
	Democratic	3,877,956	45.9	69	70
1944	Republican	5,594,380	50.05	79	77
	Democratic	5,575,769	49.9	74	76
	Independent	4,380	0.05	—	—
1946	Republican	5,719,200	56.6	88	87
	Democratic	4,382,078	43.3	65	66
	Independent	14,009	0.1	—	—
1948	Republican	5,400,876	47.7	72	73
	Democratic	5,711,105	51.5	81	79
	Progressive	88,863	0.8	—	1
1950	Republican	5,673,724	54.8	84	84
	Democratic	4,673,992	45.13	69	69
	Independent	4,164	0.04	—	—
	Progressive	2,929	0.03	—	—
1952	Republican	6,845,269	54.06	86	83
	Democratic	5,817,946	45.94	67	70

sume an electoral district of 80,001 voters which split along party lines into two groups of 60,000 voters and 20,001 voters. The larger party can be expected to nominate three candidates for the three representative seats while the minority party will be content to support one candidate. With each voter casting three votes, the majority party would cast a total of 180,000 votes for its three candidates and the minority party would cumulate 60,003 votes for its one candidate. This latter total is sufficiently high to assure the minority of winning one of the three representative seats regardless of how majority party voters distribute their votes among its three candidates.

Under the constitution of 1848, Illinois was apportioned into 61 House districts. Four of these districts returned three representatives each, sixteen returned two representatives each, and 41 districts were single-member districts. This made a total of 85 members in the House of Representatives. The party alignment in the 25th session of the House in 1867 was 60 Republicans and 25 Democrats. No district was represented by members of both parties and the Democrats won only five seats in the 35 districts lying north of the state capital with the Republicans winning only seven seats in the 25 districts lying south of Springfield. With the popular vote cast for a United States congressman-at-large in the same election as a standard of relative party strengths, the proportional party breakdown would have been a 49 to 36 division in the Republicans' favor. Thus, the Republicans with 60 members had an actual representation of 122 per cent of their proportional number of lawmakers in the lower chamber.

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF ACTUAL REPRESENTATION WITH PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ON THE BASIS OF POPULAR VOTE CAST FOR OFFICE OF STATE TREASURER IN SELECTED SESSIONS OF THE LOWER LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER IN FIVE STATES

		Actual House Strengths			*Proportional House Strengths*		
Year	*State*	*Republican*	*Democratic*	*Other*	*Republican*	*Democratic*	*Other*
1929	Illinois	91	62	—	88	65	—
	Indiana	80	20	—	56	44	—
	Iowa	95	13	—	72	36	—
	Michigan	98	2	—	72	28	—
	Wisconsin	89	5	6	70	25	5
1939	Illinois	79	72	—	74	77	—
	Indiana	51	49	—	50	50	—
	Iowa	89	19	—	58	50	—
	Michigan	73	27	—	51	49	—
	Wisconsin	53	15	32	48	17	35
1949	Illinois	72	81	—	73	79	1
	Indiana	40	60	—	48	52	—
	Iowa	79	29	—	57	51	—
	Michigan	61	39	—	50.5	49.5	—
	Wisconsin	74	26	—	55	45	—

Representation for Minority

The results of the election of 1872 reflect the immediate effect of cumulative voting on minority representation with the Republican party gaining an 86 to 67 advantage in the lower assembly. Only two of the 51 districts returned three representatives of the same party, 31 districts elected two Republicans and one Democrat, and eighteen districts elected two Democrats and one Republican representative. In the contest for governor in the same election, the Republican vote totaled 237,774 to 197,084 for the Democrats. On the basis of this vote, the proportional party strengths in the House would have been 83 to 70 in the Republican favor—a difference of only three seats from the actual division. Thus, the representation of the Republican party in the 1873 House was only 104 per cent of its proportional strength as compared to 122 per cent in the session of 1867. In addition, the Democrats elected 36 representatives from districts north of the state capital as compared to five in the 1867 House, while the Republicans gained 23 seats in southern districts as compared to only seven in the earlier session.

A detailed study of the last seven sessions of the Illinois House reveals that cumulative voting has resulted in a close approach to true proportional representation of the two major parties. As shown in Table I, the composition of this chamber is an accurate reflection of relative party strengths as evidenced in total popular votes cast for candidates for these offices in the general election. In this table, the actual number of representatives elected by each of the two major parties is compared with the proportional number that the parties should have elected on the basis of the percentage of total votes cast. The leading party has won only one more seat than it would have gained under a true proportional distribution of the seats in two sessions, two more seats in three sessions, three more seats in one session and, in the 1951 session, the actual and proportional numbers were exactly the same.

This is a much more accurate reflection of party strengths than has resulted in the composition of the lower assemblies in four nearby states under the single-member district system with plurality voting. Comparative information for the sessions of 1929, 1939 and 1949 in the five states is given in Table II. With the 1949 session as the basis for comparison, this difference is convincingly evident. The actual split in the Illinois House was 81 to 72 in the Democratic favor while the proportional split would have been a 79 to 73 advantage for the Democrats with one seat for the Progressives. In the other selected states, the actual and proportional splits would have been: from a 60 to 40 split in favor of the Democratic party to a 52 to 48 Democratic advantage in the Indiana House; from a 79 to 29 Republican advantage in Iowa to a 57 to 51 split in the Republican favor; in Michigan the 61 to 39 Republican edge would have been a close 50½ to 49½ Republican advantage under a proportional distribution; and the 74 to 26 Republican advantage in Wisconsin would have been a 55 to 45 edge for the Republicans.

With the strength of the leading party as the basis of comparison, the average deflection for the three sessions in the five states is: Illinois, 3.3 members; Indiana, 11 members; Wisconsin, 14.3 members; Michigan, 19.5 members; and Iowa, 25.3 members.

Since adoption of cumulative voting, at least two parties have been represented in every district in every election for members of the lower house in Illinois with but few exceptions. Prior to 1920, there were only six instances in which the three elected representatives were the nominees of one party. Since 1920, a sweep of the three seats by one party has been attempted 62 times, 45 by the Republicans and seventeen by the Democrats. Successful attempts have occurred on 26 occasions with the Republican party electing the three representatives in nineteen district elections and Democrats in seven district elections. All the occasions of such Republican success occurred in the six elections between 1920 and 1930. Since 1942, the only district returning three members of the same party has been the 27th district in Chicago, in which the Democrats have elected all the representatives in each of the last six biennial elections.

Since 1922 there have been no members of third parties in the Illinois House of Representatives. Prior to that year, however, it was not unusual for third parties to elect an occasional representative. In fact, minor parties had some representation in seventeen of the first 26 sessions of the House of Representatives elected under cumulative voting.

Minor Parties

Opponents of the cumulative voting system point out this absence of representation of minor parties in the House as a weakness of the system in achieving minority representation. An examination of the number of votes cast by minor parties, however, fails to support this criticism. In 1948, eleven candidates of the Progressive party polled 88,863 votes, the highest third party vote since the election of 1920. This was only 0.8 per cent of the total vote cast for state representatives that year, so it cannot be claimed that this party was grossly underrepresented even though its candidates won no representative seats. This non-representation of minor parties helps to establish the authenticity of the assertion already made that cumulative voting does not claim to be a means of proportional representation, but a system to achieve a just representation of the two big parties.

Neither is non-representation of minor parties limited to Illinois and the system of cumulative voting. In the 1948 election, minor parties were also active in the other four midwestern states selected for comparison in this study but failed to win a single seat in any of them.

The effectiveness of cumulative voting in securing a fair degree of minority representation in the Illinois House of Representatives is convincing upon the basis of this study. The party composition in the first House elected under cumulative voting was far more reflective of relative party strengths than was the composition of this chamber before its adoption. The composition in the House has continued to be much more reflective of relative party strengths than has the party membership in the Senate, and the composition in the last seven House sessions has closely approached a true proportional distribution of seats in this assembly. Likewise, the Illinois House is more reflective of party strengths than are the lower assemblies in four selected midwestern states not using this electoral device. Thus, cumulative voting has functioned to achieve its purpose of a fair representation of the minority party in the lower legislative assembly in Illinois.

George S. Blair
University of Pennsylvania

New Danish Constitution in Effect

The new Danish constitution, ratified by referendum on May 28 and signed by King Frederick IX on June 5, Denmark's Constitution Day, provides for a single-house parliament to be named the Folketing. Its membership will be elected by a list system of P.R., as has been the lower house of previous parliaments since 1915. The upper house has been elected by the single transferable vote form of P.R. by electors chosen popularly by the list system.

The 179 members of the new body will be elected shortly, probably September 22, according to a report from the Danish Information Office in New York.

The new constitution changes the rule of succession to the throne of Denmark by making women eligible, lowers the voting age from 25 to 23 years (an alternative proposal to make it 21 years was rejected), formalizes the rule requiring resignation of government ministers upon no-confidence votes and permitting a dismissed government to cause the holding of a parliamentary election, and provides also for submission of bills passed by Parliament to a referendum vote upon request of one-third of the membership of Parliament, with the result that the bill may be defeated if a majority of the votes cast, constituting at least 30 per cent of those eligible to vote, are opposed to the measure.

J. Henry Scattergood, P. R. League Trustee

The Proportional Representation League lost one of its oldest and most devoted and helpful members in the death of J. Henry Scattergood of Philadelphia and Villa Nova, Pennsylvania, on June 19. He had been one of the League's seven trustees since its incorporation in 1921 and before that a council member of the unincorporated American Proportional Representation League at least since 1914.

Mr. Scattergood was a prominent Quaker and industrialist and P.R. was only one of many public interests to which he gave attention and leader-

(Continued on page 430)

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Tight Money Policy Hits Local Borrowers

Rising Interest Costs Delay Some Projects

LOCAL officials charged with the responsibility of handling financing of improvement programs found conditions in the summer of 1953 to be the most chaotic they had faced since the period of financial unsettlement in the depression of the 1930s. Local borrowing costs, caught between the millstones of mounting state-local borrowing and a federal "tight money" policy, reached a twenty-year high late in June.

Communities with well established and satisfactory credit reputations contracted to pay interest rates higher than they had been forced to accept for nearly a generation. Many others rejected bids on bond offerings and a few temporarily abandoned plans to proceed with construction. Late in June, the Federal Reserve Board took action reversing, at least temporarily, the upward trend of borrowing costs, and in July and early August cities and other local units found borrowing conditions slightly easier.

State and local borrowing costs had begun to rise gradually late in the spring of 1952, it will be recalled, when it became evident that new bond sales of the local units were headed for record levels. The index of yield on twenty representative municipal bonds, compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* after dipping from 2.11 per cent in January 1952 to 2.03 per cent in early May, rose gradually to 2.37 per cent by mid-December.

With the inauguration of the new federal administration and the announcement by the new secretary of the treasury of a policy of funding the federal debt into long-term bonds at a "going" interest rate, the municipal market became more unsettled and, by the latter part of March 1953, the twenty-bond index of yield was up to 2.65 per cent. On April 8, 1953, the U.S. treasury formally announced the terms of the first bond offering of the new administration, to refund part of the large maturity due April 15. The new bonds were 3¼s, due in 1983.

Not only was the rate on the new 30-year federal bonds the highest in twenty years, but the offering also was accompanied by restrictions on trading and on the allocation of bonds to subscribers, which had the immediate effect of carrying the new issue below par in the government bond market. The consequent readjustment in yields on outstanding federal bond and note issues kept the money market in a turmoil for more than two months. Losses on outstanding federal bonds were enormous; corporate financing for a time came nearly to a halt; and the market for municipal bonds staggered under one of the sharpest price readjustments since the panic of the early 1930s. By the beginning of the last week in June, the twenty-bond index of municipals was up to 3.09 per cent—a rise of 50 per cent from the May 1952 level.

As the federal fiscal year, which ends June 30, drew to a close, it became evident that the federal government's 1952-53 deficit would greatly exceed earlier forecasts and that there would be a continuing need for new borrowing by the treasury, rendering inopportune for some months a continuation of the "tight money" policy of refunding federal debt into long-term, high coupon bonds.

The sign that the realities of the situation had been accepted in Washington was given June 24, when the Federal Reserve Board announced a reduction in reserve requirements for all member banks. The reduction in reserves, which became effective on staggered dates early in July, had the effect of increasing bank credit by nearly six billions of dollars, or just enough to absorb the July treasury calls on banks for payments of federal funds held on deposit. With notice served that the "tight money" policy was not to be further pursued, for a time at least, order was gradually restored in the money market and the cost of municipal borrowing eased off somewhat. The twenty-bond index of yield went down to 3.04 per cent the first week in July and by early August was down to 2.92 per cent.

The trend of the index fails to reveal the full severity of conditions faced by the majority of local units which came into the market with new bond issues in June, however. The index is based on well known state and local borrowers for whose bonds a reasonably active market exists, and whose credit ranks generally at the upper level. Infrequent borrowers and lesser known communities, which even under normal conditions must expect to pay more for the use of money than the well regarded communities, had rough sledding. In the week or two prior to the Federal Reserve Board announcement, net interest costs above 4 per cent became numerous, and in one two-day period at least twenty local units are known to have either rejected the bids they received or to have received no bids at all on their offerings.

New York City Gets Fifteen-cent Transit Fare

New York City transit riders, whose subway and municipal bus system was taken over by a semi-autonomous authority in June pursuant to state legislation which made new revenues contingent on such an arrangement, took a fare increase in stride in mid-July, paying a flat 15 cents per trip compared with the ten cents formerly extracted. Transfer privileges were unchanged.

Subway turnstiles had to be altered to accept tokens instead of dimes, to effect the change-over to the new fare, and millions of new tokens had to be manufactured and delivered before riders on the subways could pass through the turnstiles. (Buses accepted dimes and nickels rather than tokens.) The tokens poured into Transit Authority warehouses on what was expected to be a tight schedule, and were placed on sale the week before the fare rise, first on a two-to-a-customer basis, and then on a five-to-a-customer basis. Advance sales lagged behind expectations, and by the end of the first week unlimited sales were being made. The necessity of buying "tickets" for the subways resulted in long lines at change booths in a few stations, but by and large passengers had adapted themselves to the new routine within a few days. For the first two weeks, the decline in traffic reportedly was considerably less than the 11 per cent or so anticipated on the basis of the traffic drop following abolition of the five-cent fare in 1948.

West Virginia Court Voids State Budget

A legislative conflict over the 1953-54 West Virginia state budget resulted in the budget's being declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court and the calling of a special legislative session in June to reenact the budget, before July 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year.

At the regular session the legislature had refused to accept the budgetary recommendations of the Board of Public Works, including its revenue estimates, and passed a budget bill with larger appropriations. The board is charged by the state constitution with the formulation of the budget, based upon its estimate of receipts, and the legislature is prohibited from amending "the budget bill so as to create a deficit, but may amend the bill by increasing or diminishing the items therein relating to the legislature, and by increasing the items therein relating to the judiciary but, except as hereinbefore specified, may not alter the said bill except to strike out or reduce items therein." (Constitution, Article VI, Section 51, Sub-section B.)

When the bill was challenged in the State Supreme Court (*West Virginia ex rel. Trent* v. *Sims,* May 18, 1953) the opinion referred to the clause quoted above as the "heart" of the budget provision. The entire budget act was declared unconstitutional not only because it created a deficit when judged by the board's estimate of receipts rather than the legislature's estimate but also because of numerous increases made by the legislature in specific items. Such increases were held possible only with the approval of the board.

The legislature was called in special session June 4 to enact a budget before the beginning of the new fiscal year. A compromise budget prepared by legislative leaders and the board was accepted in a one-day session. Some legislative leaders acknowledged that they knew the earlier bill was unconstitutional at the time of passage, but the desire to adjourn before the end of the 60-day limitation on the session was responsible for their action.

Paul D. Stewart

Marshall College
Huntington, West Virginia

Court Voids Arizona Revenue Department Act

An act of the state legislature creating a new Department of Finance for Arizona was ruled unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in an oral decision handed down in July. The decision was rendered on a petition for a writ of mandamus to compel the state treasurer to issue his warrant in payment of a vendor's bill. The state treasurer had refused payment, on the ground the claim had not been approved by the new commissioner of finance.

The court held the entire finance department act was "unconstitutional and void in its entirety." While the written decision has not yet been filed, it appears possible that the act's defect lay in its attempt to subordinate the state auditor and state treasurer—both constitutional officers—to the new department.

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

Ohio Legislature Adopts Highway Financing Program

To most Ohioans the most important—and certainly the most controversial—action taken by the 1953 legislature[1] was adoption of a highway financing program. This provides for a one-cent increase in the state gasoline tax (raising the total tax to seven cents) and a new highway use tax to be collected from truckers. Bases for the new tax are the number of axles in each vehicle and the number of miles of state highways used for trucking purposes.

The axle tax represents a compromise from the original ton-mile tax on trucks proposed by the governor last January. Inasmuch as the ton-

(Continued on page 422)

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[1] For information on further action, see page 403, this issue.

Greater Boston Council Studies Area Problems

Seeks to Appraise Needs of Metropolitan Community

THE Greater Boston Area Council is a voluntary organization whose aim and object is to study the needs of the community of 43 municipalities, of which Boston proper is the center, and to seek solutions for the common problems of this community. It is composed of representative citizens from each municipality in numbers roughly proportionate to population. Boston, however, is not allowed more than 10 per cent of the total number.

The council is actively engaged in research and study, through the agency of several very strong committees. Already the Committee on Regional Planning has submitted a report which has been received and studied by the governor and has met with his approval.

The council is studying the structure and usefulness of the present Metropolitan District Commission, bearing on possible future development of this body into an agency of government deriving the authority from the people whom it serves rather than, as now, from the state.

It is not the purpose nor the philosophy of the council to seek annexation of any suburb to Boston. On the contrary, it seems wiser that each town and city should preserve and maintain its own independence in matters pertaining to it, but that it should, nevertheless, join with its neighbors to set up a common agency to take care of those governmental activities that lie outside the jurisdiction of any single municipality.

The character of the problems which face any such metropolitan community is various; included are such common concerns as water supply, sewage and drainage, refuse disposal, inter-municipal traffic arteries and transportation of all kinds, fire-fighting cooperation, police cooperation, regional educational and cultural facilities, such as public library service, parks, and symphonic and operatic entertainment.

The council asks for no powers of any kind. When it has adequately appraised the needs of the metropolitan community it will present its findings with recommendations for procedure to achieve the solution of the problems. It will choose an issue tha seems vital at the time, and work hard to have it receive legislative action. If successful in promoting one such improvement, it will select another and make a drive to secure its approval and execution. Eventually it may quite naturally reach the poin where it has won the confidence o the citizens and has come to be regarded as the most useful agen through which the many individua towns and cities can accomplish thei common projects.

The council is already breaking down barriers that have existed between town and town, and helping th delegates to become acquainted no only with each other but with th ways in which they need each other' assistance.

At present the 2,000,000 inhabitant of this community are divided into 4 separate governmental compartments with no method of cooperating. Chao may be said to reign. The unfortunat citizens may be and usually are pulling in 45 different directions. Each is trying to get the advantage of its neighbor. The council proposes to help these groups to work in parallel instead of at cross purposes.

The whole idea is very simple, very fundamental, and very much in order at the present time.

W. R. Greeley, *Chairman*
Greater Boston Area Council

Oklahoma, Alabama First to Get Educational TV

Oklahoma is the first state to pass a law providing an educational television system, reports *Educational Television News,* of the National Citizens Committee for Educational Television, Washington, D. C. "Oklahoma, often called the Sooner State," according to the *News,* "preceded this nation-wide first with two others in the same field. It was the first to petition the FCC to set aside educational channels. Mr. Murray was the first governor to call a statewide conference on educational television."

The second state to act is Alabama, where the legislature has passed a bill providing $500,000 to put the state's first educational television station into operation and to help establish a statewide educational TV network. The state has educational TV channel reservations at Auburn, Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery and at the University of Alabama.

As of June 2, 47 communities had applied for noncommercial licenses and many more were in the final stages of preparation, reports the Citizens Committee. Seventeen applications had been granted, 30 were under consideration. The committee emphasizes the fact that while June 2 marked the end of a period during which the FCC would not entertain petitions to change educational channels to commercials, according to the FCC, "reservations of TV channels for noncommercial use . . . continue indefinitely. . . . The significance of the June 2 date is that the commission will thereafter give consideration to any petitions which it may receive to make changes in channel assignments in individual localities. This applies to commercial as well as educational assignments."

A number of cities expect to have their educational television plans in operation by fall, including St. Louis, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle. Houston is already operating—the first city to get started.

Recent publications on educational TV include:

Television in Our Schools (34 pages), by Franklin Dunham and Ronald R. Lowdermilk, published by the Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Pros and Cons of Proposed California Educational Television—Desirable? Financially Feasible? Control? Protection Against Propaganda and Subversion? (32 pages). Report of the Radio and Television Section of the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco.

A Program for Educational Television in New Jersey (15 pages), issued by the New Jersey Commission on Educational Television, Trenton.

Educational TV—A Special Report (eight pages), published by the Washington State Taxpayers Association, Olympia.

Rhode Island Group Holds Second Home Rule Conference

At its second annual conference this spring, the Rhode Island Home Rule Association went on record, unanimously, for a constitutional convention to clarify the powers of Rhode Island cities and towns under the home rule amendment adopted in 1951. Also adopted was a resolution urging passage of:

"1. Specific legislation validating the charters of the four cities—Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Central Falls and Newport—which already have adopted home rule charters. [Doubt had been cast on the validity of the election provisions of these charters by an advisory opinion of the Supreme Court. In this connection the Home Rule Association issued a paper, *The Legal Aspects of Municipal Elections under Home Rule Charters.*]

"2. A general enabling act authorizing any city or town adopting a home rule charter to set up its own election procedures."

Governor Roberts, who addressed the conference, said he "heartily endorsed the idea of a constitutional convention." Others who spoke included Mrs. Martha Lindegren, then secretary of the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester; Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket; and John E. Bebout, assistant director of the National Municipal League.

Civic Awards

The first "Good Government" award presented by the Richmond First Club went to Sherwood Reeder, city manager of Richmond, Virginia. The Richmond First Club, created in 1919, is generally credited with having spearheaded the council-manager movement in its city. Its award is made "to that citizen of Richmond or vicinity who shall be adjudged as having made an outstanding contribution to the cause of good municipal government in Richmond during the previous calendar year." In speaking of the award in his broadcast of June 12, the day before he died, Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, editor of the Richmond *News-Leader,* commented: "We are very fortunate in having a man of Mr. Reeder's equipment and temperament in our city government. He has been here since 1948 and he has done magnificently."

Six articles on citizen action, appearing during 1952 in *The American Weekly,* a syndicated magazine distributed over the country with many Sunday newspapers, have been chosen for awards by The Freedom Foundation. They are: "What America Means to Me," by Samuel Goldwyn; "Don't Take Freedom for Granted," by Peter Pirogov; "Are You a Good Citizen," by former Governor of New Jersey Charles Edison; "Let's Stop Fooling Ourselves," by Captain Eddie Rickenbacker; "A Beacon for All to See," by Commander Walter G. Winslow, USN; and "You Are the Voice of America," by Kate Smith. The articles have been reproduced in a most attractive pamphlet, decorated in gold, with a cover of the same color.

Adult Education News

The Third National Conference of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. will meet October 26-29 at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City. Its theme is "Working Together in Performing the Responsibilities of Citizenship."

The Fund for Adult Education, an "independent organization established by the Ford Foundation," has announced its program of study grants in adult education. The fund is offering approximately a hundred awards for "academic study, supervised field experience, or combinations of the two for the improvement and advancement of persons concerned with the liberal or general education of adults." The awards will be made by a National Committee on Study Grants appointed by the fund to plan and administer the program. Its address is 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4.

The May issue of *Adult Leadership,* published by the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 743 North

Wabash Avenue, Chicago 11, is devoted to conferences that work; that for June discusses leadership training.

Culture in Canada, a Study of the Findings of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1949-1951), edited by Albert A. Shea, has been published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (143 Bloor Street West, Toronto).

Describes Local Governments

The *News Bulletin* of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis for June 23 is devoted in large part to a description of the city's new city council of thirteen members and their duties; that for July 24 does the same for the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners.

Managing New York

The League of Women Voters of the City of New York has published *Modern Management for the City of New York,* based on the Report of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, "as a public service." Twelve pages, it is priced at 25 cents.

The New York Chamber of Commerce has an eight-page folder, *We Face a Crisis,* which lists the serious problems the city has before it—financial, transit, schools, housing and many others.

Report on the Legislature

During the spring and early summer, the legislative committee of the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) made printed reports to members of the club on what it deemed important bills before the state legislature. Proposals were labelled "in the public interest" or "not in the public interest," as committee members decided.

Facts for Voter

A Connecticut Voter Needs These Facts is the title of a six-page folder published by the Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut. "Your lifeline to political freedom is your VOTE," comments the leaflet, which goes on to describe an eligible voter in a town, borough or city; what to do if you move; how to vote by voting machine; etc.

Gets 500 New Members

More than 500 persons joined the Citizens League of Cleveland during its 1953 annual membership campaign, reports *Greater Cleveland,* its bulletin. The combined membership of the League and its Bureau of Governmental Research was 3,701 on the final day of the campaign, the largest at any time since the mid-1920s.

Tax System for New Jersey

A Modern Tax System for New Jersey (eight pages) is a publication of the New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation which points out that although New Jersey "has grown into a major industrial and agricultural state there has been little basic change in its tax structure."

Citizens of Greater Chicago

The first annual meeting of this newly organized citizen group was held in February. Discussed were such subjects as Modernizing Chicago's Government, Problems of Senatorial Reapportionment, Crime and Law Enforcement, New Judicial Article, Criminal Code, Chicago's Finance Problems of the Future. The group has published its *By-laws* in a small, compact sixteen-page pamphlet, a small brochure on the *Significance of Senatorial District Reapportionment,* and a *Fact Book* of sixteen pages, citing the setup, objectives, possibilities, plan, method, responsibilities and history of the organization.

Citizens Win Bond Fight

"A knock-out, drag-out fight," is the apt description of the Citizens League of Pawtucket campaign to defeat the funding of a $1,000,000 tax note and some $375,000 in unpaid back bills, according to Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the league. The citizen group, backed by the Republican and Independent parties and the League of Women Voters, won, first by 505 votes. On a recount in four out of twelve polling places, however, the majority increased to 1,264 votes. Volunteeers for the organization distributed 15,000 handbills and more than 200 of them worked all day outside the polls.

Strictly Personal

Myron Law, a business official, has succeeded Ben B. Ehrlichman, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, as president of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.

L. E. "Duke" Marlowe, member of the League's Council and chairman of the local arrangements committee for this year's National Conference on Government in Richmond, Virginia, has been elected president of the Richmond First Club, a nonpartisan civic organization of business and professional men. Mr. Marlowe, as president of the Richmond Citizens Association, played an important role in the civic revival in that city a few years ago.

The Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut, has elected John C. Parsons, a member of the city's pension commission, as its chairman. Mr. Parsons succeeds Howard Goodwin, a vice president of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

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mile tax had been expected to raise $27,000,000 a year while the most optimistic estimates on the unknown axle-tax finally adopted are $20,000,000, trucking lobbyists are viewed as having salvaged an appreciable something for their clients.

From the standpoint of the urban areas, the results of the legislative debate still remain to be proved. Ohio's major highway need has been modern arterials between the cities where the heavy traffic flows. Existing revenue sources have been woefully insufficient for major interurban road purposes. By contrast, the state's secondary road system is immeasurably better than its primary highways, which throughout the state are studded with death traps and time-consuming bottle-necks.

Even so, the rural-dominated legislature, instead of devoting virtually all the prospective revenue from the new program to the building of arterials, took out $12,000,000 for the secondary roads—no doubt to assure that these would become better than ever!

Another result of the Assembly session disappointing to urban areas has been legislative unwillingness to return more of the city-originating sales tax revenue for municipal government purposes. Although officials from every city not as yet imposing a payroll or income tax pleaded with the legislators for an increase over the paltry sums previously returned by the state out of its sales tax collections, the actual increase voted amounted to an amazing $300,000 annually for the next two years. This, against $9,700,000 allotted last year, for example, represents not quite 3 per cent!

As a result, a city like Cincinnati, which has been paying into the state coffers $20,000,000 in sales tax receipts every year, next year will get back for its municipal government needs approximately $1,400,000—or about 7 per cent.

Forest Frank, *Executive Director*
City Charter Committee
Cincinnati, Ohio

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Study of Natural Resources Growing

Subject Needs Attention at All Levels of Government

INTEREST in problems of natural resources conservation and development, measured in terms of attention in the press and public discussion generally, reached its peak in this century during Theodore Roosevelt's terms in the White House and the days of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy. Another peak came during the early and mid-thirties with the drought and because of specific New Deal legislation. Otherwise, natural resources have been relegated to the back shelf as a national issue, except when catastrophes such as major floods have briefly jarred the nation.

Many social scientists and other students of public affairs, however, are becoming more concerned with resource problems, and study seems to be increasing. Professor Vincent Ostrom, of the University of Oregon, has written a thoughtful article, "The Social Scientist and the Control and Development of Natural Resources" (*Land Economics,* May 1953), in which he examines the intricate problems of policy-making in this field. He looks at the increasing amount of research by social scientists and concludes that they "have important contributions to make to research in problems of natural resources administration as efforts to control the physical environment to serve human needs and purposes."

In the states west of the hundredth meridian and in localized areas in the eastern half of the nation, natural resources are continuously "hot" issues. Official and public concern will increase everywhere if the mid- and southwestern drought continues and as shortages of oil, copper, power and other key resources are heightened by the maintenance of defense programs at a high pitch and by the general increase in population and standards of living. These problems will more and more be recognized as fields where all levels of government must work hand in hand.

The Bureau of Government Research (now the Government Research Center) of the University of Kansas, has prepared *A Comparative Study for Watershed Legislation* (Lawrence, 1952) for the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce as a background to a campaign for passage of flood control and land use legislation in that state. The report recognizes that the boundaries of any special water districts to be created should coincide with "natural drainage areas"—areas which in most cases can be closely demarcated by hydrological and surveying techniques.

The *Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Watershed Legislation* (Lincoln, August 1952) makes clear the difficulty established units of local government have in handling drainage and other conservation problems which run, willy-nilly, across their boundaries. "The watershed or drainage area is the natural unit to be used in seeking a solution, and no one of these units of government corresponds in area to any existing watershed or watersheds. . . . What is needed . . . is a new governmental subdivision, based upon the watershed or natural area of water control, with power to initiate a coordinated program which will attack all segments of the problem." Here, in the case of water is a crystal-clear example of the inadequacies of outmoded units of government to handle present-day problems.

The Nebraska and Kansas reports investigate fairly thoroughly the special district device as a means of giving local people a voice in resource management, but neither report shows much awareness of the problem of too many units of government, a problem any additional units complicate in some degree. A new watershed district only stretches wider the "span of attention" of the citizen there.

Little watersheds combine into big watersheds, of course, so that local units and some states are unable to finance or cope physically with mainstream problems. For twenty years the Tennessee Valley Authority has been the world's outstanding instance of an organization fitted exactly to a great drainage area. On the other hand, few Americans are enough aware of the intergovernmental negotiations that have been under way in the Missouri River and Columbia River basins in recent years.

Governmental Cooperation

Since 1945, in the case of the Missouri River Basin, a degree of cooperation has developed between local, state and national agencies which some critics believe holds interesting possibilities for the future of federalism in the field of resource development and conservation. There the terrible floods in the lower basin and the lack of water in the upper basin have produced more concern over these problems than exists in other parts of the nation.

The Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee, a joint enterprise of the ten Missouri Basin states and the five major national resource agencies, issues minutes of bi-monthly meetings where specific soil, mineral, water and power problems receive attention. Frequently these minutes contain data and commentary which are quite valuable, and subcommittees make periodic reports noteworthy for the light they throw on special problems.

For example, Appendix B to the *Minutes of the Sixty-Fifth Meeting of the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee* (Billings, Montana, U. S. Department of the Interior Field Committee, May 20, 1953) is a subcommittee report on "Power Requirements and Supply of the Missouri River Region." Seven appendices of the *Minutes of the Sixty-Second Meeting* (January 28, 1953) comprise a discussion of state-federal relations in the Basin program, while Appendix H in the same *Minutes* is a paper by John Muehlbeier, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, on "Watershed Districts for Local Participation in Resource Programs." These and many other papers appearing from time to time in the *Minutes* deserve more attention than they have had thus far from specialists in the field.

The fifth revision of the Inter-Agency Committee's *Program for Land and Water Resources Development of the Missouri River Basin*, a six-year proposal, was issued in October 1952. The joint state and federal program has an estimated cost of over $11,000,000,000, of which the states would contribute about $400,000,000. A popularized presentation of the program is available in pamphlet form, *The Missouri River Basin Development Program* (June 1952), from the Inter-Agency Committee at the Billings address above.

Other recent commentaries on resource problems include: *Eisenhower and Public Power*, by Judson King and Benton MacKaye of the National Popular Government League, Washington, D. C., December 15, 1952; *Our Water*

Resources, The Tax Foundation, New York City, 1953; *Federal Flood Control Operations in New York State*, by Ariel Klivaner, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, January 1953; *County Flood Control and Drainage Report*, Contra Costa County (Martinez, California) Taxpayers' Association, March 1953; and *Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Oil and Natural Gas*, Lincoln, July 1952.

Guthrie S. Birkhead

Women School Crossing Guards

The use of women and older men as school crossing guards to relieve the strain on police manpower has been adopted by more and more cities since the end of World War II. In *School Crossing Guards: a Major Police Development* (Institute of Public Administration, New York 21, 1953, 26 pages), Audrey M. Davies reports on a survey in which 196 major cities participated, 122 of which employ these guards on a part-time basis. Half of the police departments indicated specific financial savings. More than half reported no deaths or injuries since beginning their programs. Moreover, roughly 90 per cent of the police departments considered the programs an unqualified success.

The new crossing guard program for Newark, which will release 170 police for other duties, is described in *Employment of Women as School Crossing Guards* (Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, 1953, eight pages). Data is also presented on use of crossing guards in fifteen large cities, in all of which officials praised the idea highly.

Finally, a brief report of their survey of nine cities employing women crossing guards is given by the Civil Service Assembly, Chicago, in *Personnel News* for April 1953.

Home Rule Vote

The April 1953 issue of *Tennessee Town and City*, published by the Tennessee Municipal League at Nashville, contains several articles under the title, "Not in Chinese . . . But in Plain English, An Answer to: What Is Home Rule?" The articles were prepared in anticipation of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention which recently adjourned (see the Review, July 1953, page 339) after submitting for vote this fall two proposals dealing with home rule.

Bureau Reports

Informed, Organized Citizen Action. A Proven Force for Sound Government. 13th Annual Report 1952-1953. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, June 1953. 7 pp.

Thirty-Second Annual Report. Duluth 2 (Minnesota), Governmental Research Bureau, 1953. 4 pp.

Twentieth Annual Report. New Haven (Connecticut), Taxpayers Research Council, 1953, 14 pp.

Worcester Taxpayers Association 1952-53 Activities. Worcester 8, (Massachusetts), Worcester Taxpayers Association, Inc., *Bulletin*, June 1953. 4 pp.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Assessments

Assessed Valuations as a Measure for the Distribution of Business Replacement Taxes. Newark 2 (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., May 1953. 14 pp.

Auditing

A Councilmanic "Auditor"? Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, June 29, 1953. 4 pp.

Charters

The Government Corporation: Elements of a Model Charter. By Sidney D. Goldberg and Harold Seidman. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1953. vii, 83 pp. $2.50.

Problems of Organization and Operation Facing the Charter Commission. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., 1953. 13 pp.

Civil Defense

Civil Defense in the States—a Bibliography. By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. 59 pp. $1.25.

Drainage

Drainage Problems Induced by Roadside Development. By Arthur P. Miller. Albany, Board of Trustees of the Town and County Officers Training School of the State of New York, in cooperation with the Association of Towns and the County Officers Association, *Highway Topics,* July 1953. 4 pp.

Education

Financing Public Education in New Mexico. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* June 1953. 11 pp.

Major Administrative Problems of the Dade County School System. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Research Memo,* June 12, 1953. 6 pp.

Milwaukee Teachers' Retirement System Liberalized Again—But Without Increase in Milwaukee's Share of Surtax. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., *Bulletin,* May 29, 1953. 5 pp.

More State School Aid and New Taxes. Atlantic City (New Jersey), Tax Survey Commission, May 13, 1953. 5 pp.

Schools and Pensions. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Tax Digest,* June 1953. 34 pp. 25 cents.

Schools and the Modern Community. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, *Council Comments,* May 15, 1953. 2 pp.

Summary of Findings and Recommendations of the Utah Public School Survey Commission Relative to the Utah Public Elementary and Secondary School System. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1953. 48 pp. $1.00.

Utah's Public School Finance Problem—1953. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* June 1953. 6 pp.

Judiciary

The Essentials of a Sound Judicial System. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Evanston (Illinois), Northwestern University, *Law Review,* March-April 1953. 15 pp.

The Record of the New Jersey Courts in the Fourth Year Under the New Constitution. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New Brunswick (New Jersey), Rutgers University, *Rutgers Law Review,* Winter 1953. 12 pp.

Local Legislation

Summary of Georgia Laws Affecting Local Government. January-February 1953. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, *Bulletin,* May 1953. 30 pp. $1.00.

Metropolitan Areas

Structure of Governments in Metropolitan Areas. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, November 1952. v, 42 pp.

Municipal Government

Characteristics of Mayor-Council Plans (chart). New Brunswick (New Jersey), Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research. 1953. 1 p.

The Development of Newark Government. A history of changes in the form and structure of local government in Newark, New Jersey, from 1666 to the present. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1953. 24 pp.

Los Alamos—Boom Town Under Control. By Paul M. Sears. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Bureau of Business Research, *Business Backgrounds* (Reprint from Vol. 6, No. 5, *New Mexico Business*), May 1953. 8 pp. 20 cents.

Report on a General Reconnaissance of the Municipal Government of Kansas City, Missouri. Prepared for the Municipal Survey Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. xi, 50 pp.

Report of the Greater Ithaca Fact-Finding Committee. Ithaca (New York), the committee, 1952. viii, 347 pp., maps.

The Small Council-Manager City. A brief summary of governmental, financial, and planning data for council-manager cities under 5,000 population. By William C. Busby. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, *Public Management,* July 1953. 3 pp. (See also page 428, this issue.)

Official Expenses

Convention Expenses of Local Government Officials. By Harold W. Kennedy and Arvo Van Alstyne. Los Angeles 17, *Western City,* April 1953. 3 pp.

Parking

Parking Authority. Construction of Two Multi-Level Parking Garages Now under Way. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 18, 1953. 4 pp.

Pensions

A Study of Pensions for Policemen and Firemen in the City of New Haven, Connecticut. New Haven 10, Taxpayers Research Council, 1953. 27 pp.

Personnel

Appointing City Laborers Poses Real Problems. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 11, 1953. 4 pp.

Civil Service Provisions for Borough and Township Policemen and Firemen. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* June 1953. 2 pp.

Purchasing

City Purchasing—Houston Style. A Citizen Research Case History. By Gerald N. Hardy. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, Inc., *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1953. 3 pp.

Salaries

Detroit Teachers' Salaries. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, *Budget Backgrounds—4,* May 25, 1953. 2 pp.

Iowa Municipal Salaries—1953. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1953. 32 pp. $1.00.

Taxation and Finance

Annual Study of Debts—Taxes—Assessments. Summary of Twentieth Annual Study of Debts—Taxes—Assessments. Chicago 2, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* June 1953. 23 and 2 pp. respectively.

Arizona's Tax Structure—A Comparative Study. (For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1950.) By Philip G. Hudson. Tucson, University of Arizona, Bureau of Business Research, *Arizona Business and Economic Review,* April 1953. 5 pp.

Comparative Analysis of Arkansas State Expenditures. By Edward W. Reed. Fayetteville, University of Arkansas, College of Business Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1952. v, 287 pp.

Jersey City Business Tax Invalidated. Newark 2 (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Memo,* May 1953. 2 pp.

Transit

Mass Transit vs. the Automobile. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 25, 1953. 8 pp.

Books in Review

Let's Look at the Record. By Thomas R. Amlie. Madison 5 (Wisconsin), Capital City Press, 1950. 612 pp. $10.

The author, a member of the United States House of Representatives for three terms and with subsequent service (1944) in CIO-PAC research, has given us here a unique and important factual study of congressional voting on 666 key roll calls (75,000 votes) over twenty years. Congressmen shrink from roll calls, there may be as few as fifteen significant ones in a session, and evaluating a representative's performance, as contrasted with his speeches in his constituency, may, as the author says, require just such unusual long-term surveys as this. The record gets mixed by the fact that a conservative congressman may be very liberal in respect to a solitary "liberal" cause such as a great handout to his particular constituents.

The author, however, is not merely analyzing the voting behavior of congressmen by cool objective standards. His prodigious assemblage of facts should give high standing to his findings but, interlaced throughout this work, is his passionate and outspoken scorn of the basically conservative spirit of Congress and, who knows, of most constituencies.

The book abounds in reckless assumptions like these:

"Organized labor cannot avert the rapid drift toward dictatorship in the U. S. A. by fighting on a narrow trade union level" and "The total record of the Republican party . . . is one of complete and unswerving servility to the forces of economic monopoly."

The phrase "economic monopoly" recurs and its threat or current dominance is assumed as if it were simple fact and, we judge, believing it is necessary to make one a liberal. But the identification of what votes are liberal is very much that of the author, who finds himself lonely in the present state of the public mind and strikes out savagely at all those in Congress or out who, however honestly, remain unimpressed by the opportunity to follow his minority philosophy on all fronts.

Nevertheless the book is a massive and impressive performance.

R. S. C.

Post-Mortem Investigations in New Mexico. By Frederick C. Irion. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, 1953. 18 pp. 50 cents.

A factual study of the primitive service given, in determining the cause of unattended deaths in New Mexico, by justices of the peace under obsolete laws, and the various recent efforts to secure new legislation comparable to the National Municipal League's *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System.*

Tomorrow's Chicago. By Arthur Hillman and Robert J. Casey. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953. x, 182 pp. $3.50.

In this attractive and readable little book, the authors review the past, current and future things that really matter regarding the physical factors of Chicago as a place to live and work. For its lay citizens it sets forth the best thinking and programs of the orthodox specialists and displays them in a way that makes a broad and inspiring pattern.

Such a study for laymen would be useful in any city if there be such articulate and perceptive authors to write it and some scheme for its wide circulation.

Governmental and Financial Data for Small Council-manager Cities (revised). Chicago, International City

Managers' Association, 1953. 38 pp. $3.

Of the 17,053 urban communities under 5,000, about 500 have the council-manager plan. This sampling of financial, governmental organization, planning and zoning and personnel statistics covers 121 of them, tabulating data comparable in character and form to that which for larger cities has been a valued feature of the association's annual *Municipal Yearbook*.[1]

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Abatement Manual. Bibliography, Appendix 2. By George F. Jenkins. Washington 5, D. C., Manufacturing Chemists' Association, 1952. 20 pp. 35 cents.

Care of Aged

How Our Older Families Are Housed. By E. Everett Ashley. (Address before University of Michigan Conference on Aging.) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1952. 19 pp.

Foreign Government

Delegation of Services Within Counties. A Factual Survey. By J. R. Sampson. London, E.C.4., Hepburn & Sons, Ltd., 1953. 170 pp. 25s. (Apply Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1 Buckingham Place, Westminster, S. W. 1, London.)

Parliamentary Government in the [British] Commonwealth. A symposium. Edited by Sydney D. Bailey. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. v, 217 pp. $4.50.

A Survey of Unit Costing in Local Government. By Sydney Yates and R. E. Hervert. Uxbridge (England), King and Hutchings, Ltd., 1953. 103 pp. 20s. (Apply Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, Inc., 1 Buckingham Place, Westminster, S. W. 1, London.)

Housing

A Comparison of the Characteristics of Negro Applicant and Tenant Families, Low-Rent Public Housing, Baltimore, Maryland, 1951. Baltimore, Housing Authority of Baltimore City, 1952. 25 pp.

Proposed Housing Code for Philadelphia. Philadelphia 3, Philadelphia Housing Association, 1953. 42 pp. $3.00.

Report on Housing and Social Survey. Community Appraisal Study. Chicago, Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference and South Side Planning Board, 1952. vi, 63 pp. $1.50.

Industrial Dispersion

Industrial Dispersion Guidebook for Communities. A Technique for More Secure Location of New Defense-Supporting Plants. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Office of Industry and Commerce, Area Development Division. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. iii, 22 pp. 20 cents.

Legislation

New Iowa Laws Affecting Local Government—1953. Iowa City, University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs of the State, in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1953. 54 pp. $1.00.

Local Government

County and City Data Book 1952. Statistics included: For 1950, Agriculture, Area and Population, Banking, City Government Finances and Employment, Construction, Education, Family Income, Housing, Labor Force, Vital Statistics, and other subjects; for 1947 and 1950, Manufactures; for 1948, Trade and Services; and Climate. Washington 25, United States Government Printing Office, 1953. xxx, 608 pp. $4.25.

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[1] For a review of this volume see the REVIEW, July 1953, page 372.

Parking

Parking—How It Is Financed. By Automotive Safety Foundation. Washington 6, National Retail Dry Goods Association, 1952. 48 pp. 75 cents. (Discounts on Quantity Orders.)

Public Relations

Proceedings First Annual Minnesota Public Relations Forum. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1952. 53 pp $1.00.

Public Welfare

Intergovernmental Relations in Welfare Administration. Dealing Particularly with Relations Affecting the New York City Department of Welfare. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, 1952. 102 pp.

State Government

American State Government (fourth edition). By W. Brooke Graves. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1953. xi, 946 pp. $6.25.

The Book of the States—Supplement II. Chicago 37, The Council of State Governments, 1953. 165 pp. $2.00.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of State Government Finances in 1952. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1953. 65 pp. 35 cents.

The Finance Officer and Municipal Bonds. By James L. Beebe, Michael Borge, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* May 1953. 28 pp. 50 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for October 1953: **Night Traffic Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

You Can Help Reduce Traffic Accidents and Congestion. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. 21 pp.

Uniform State Laws

Handbook of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and Proceedings of the Annual Conference Meeting in Its Sixtieth Year, New York City, September 10-15, 1951. Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, 1951. 432 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 414)

ship. From 1929 to 1933 he was assistant commissioner of Indian Affairs. In that connection he proposed P.R. as a solution for dissension which had developed among the Indians on the Klamath reservation in Oregon and arranged for the writer of this note to explain it to some of the leaders there. The suggestion was courteously received but not adopted.

Mr. Scattergood also held state and city office, as a member of the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission under Governor Pinchot from 1924 to 1926 and a member of the Board of Registration Commissioners of Philadelphia from 1906 to 1912.

For many years he applied his extensive business experience to the service of notable educational and welfare enterprises. He was treasurer of Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges and of the Christiansburg Industrial Institute, trustee of Hampton Institute, first chief of the Friends' Reconstruction Unit in France in World War I, and member of the original Red Cross Commission to France. He was an original member of the Philadelphia Committee of 70, one of the outstanding civic reform organizations of the country.

At his death at the age of 76, Henry Scattergood left a host of friends and a record of unostentatious, unhurried, kindly and efficient usefulness to his fellow men that is seldom equaled.

G. H.

Reid Appointed to Federal Post

Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs for the Ford Motor Company and a member of the League's Council, was appointed director of defense mobilization for manpower in June for the balance of this year. He is dividing his time between Washington and his office in Detroit.

Thomas R. Reid

He served the federal government previously as chairman of the personnel policy board of the Department of Commerce and as assistant to industry members of the National War Labor Board in Washington.

Convention of 1775 to Be Re-enacted

"Give me liberty or give me death!" will ring out again Monday evening, November 9, when a group of Richmond actors re-enacts for visitors to the Conference the 1775 Virginia convention at which Patrick Henry uttered those famous words.

The presentation, in costume, will be made in St. John's Church where the convention was held more than 175 years ago. The actor impersonating Patrick Henry will speak from the identical pew from which the American patriot spoke.

In conjunction with the re-enactment, Dave Mays, noted story-teller and Pulitzer Prize winner, will talk on "The Beginning of Local Government."

Special buses will take Conference delegates to the event.

League Officers Testify at New York Hearing

Three League officers appeared before the New York State Commission to Study the Government of New York City at a public hearing July 14. They were Alfred Willoughby, executive director; George S. Van Schaick, vice president; and Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee.

The nine-member commission was set up by the state legislature last March at the request of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who had declared himself in favor of a city manager for New York. Representatives of New York civic organizations, political scientists, attorneys and former state and city officials also were among those invited to appear before the commission.

Purpose of the hearing was to delve into the method of appointment, term and powers of any proposed chief administrator for the city. Also discussed were alternative types of city government, budget-making, personnel management and allied subjects.

George McAneny, Veteran League Member, Dies

George McAneny, a civic leader in New York City and member of the National Municipal League for more than 50 years, died July 29 in Princeton, New Jersey. He was 83.

Mr. McAneny had served as president of the borough of Manhattan, president of the New York Board of Aldermen and chairman of the New York City Transit Commission. He also headed the National Civil Service Reform League and the City Club of New York.

Miller Named Assistant Labor Secretary

Spencer Miller, Jr., a member of the League's Council, has been appointed assistant secretary of labor in Washington.

Dr. Miller, former president of American International College, Springfield, Massachusetts, is in charge of the international aspects of Department of Labor activities.

Several years ago he was concurrently New Jersey state highway commissioner and a member of the faculty of the School of Commerce, New York University.

Dr. Miller has served as technical advisor to the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Conference, 1935; director, Workers Education Bureau of America, 1921-1942; and was associated with the Division of Research, U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915, and with the Industrial Department, U.S. Navy, 1917-1919. He has also served on the New Jersey Commission on State-Employee Relations and was a member of the labor committee, New York World's Fair, 1938-1939. In 1939 he was given the Rutgers University award for distinguished public service in industrial relations.

Collins Given Two State Assignments

William Collins, regional vice president of the League and chairman of its finance committee, received two appointments from Governor Thomas E Dewey of New York within three days last month.

William Collins

Mr. Collins was named to a five man committee to study the financial problems of the state's privately owned bus companies. He was also appointed a member of the board of the new Westchester County Community College at White Plains.

Governor Dewey, terming the transit industry "sick," proposed a comprehensive study of taxes, operating expenses, declining passenger volume traffic congestion and other factors contributing to lower earnings.

Timely Topics

(*Continued from page 377*)

and metropolitan area problems. Also scheduled is a City Charter Clinic, at which suggestions for the forthcoming revision of the League's *Model City Charter* will be considered.

The League and *Look* magazine will again co-sponsor the "All-America Cities" awards, the hearings for which have become a popular Conference feature. The awards are made to eleven cities for progress achieved by intelligent citizen action. A jury of distinguished Americans, headed by Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, wil hear the cases presented by spokesme for communities whose application have survived the earlier scrutiny of th League's Contest Committee.

A record number of applications i expected this year. A brochure prepared by *Look* has been sent to a larg list of public officials and civic organizations, informing them of the hearing and how to file an application.

Several noted speakers will delive addresses at the luncheon and dinne sessions of the Conference. Their name will be announced in a forthcomin issue of the REVIEW.

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REVIEW

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RICHARD S. CHILDS
EDWARD W. WEIDNER, County and Township
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NEWS for League Members

Citizen Responsibility Is Keynote

Spotlighted at the first luncheon meeting of the National Conference on Government, November 8-11, at the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Virginia, Monday, November 9, will be the keynote address by H. Bruce Palmer, president of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, Newark, New Jersey, who will speak on "Citizen Responsibility."

H. Bruce Palmer

Mr. Palmer, former president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, is chairman of the Committee for Young Men in Government. Short welcoming talks will be given by Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, Mayor Edward E. Haddock of Richmond, and Edwin Hyde, president of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce. L. E. Marlowe, League Council member and chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, will preside.

Former Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore of New York, president of the Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., will speak at the Tuesday luncheon. Wednesday's closing luncheon will feature a talk by former Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, chairman of the League's Council.

Henry Bruère, chairman of the board of the Bowery Savings Bank and president of the National Municipal League, and George Gallup, president of the American Institute of Public Opinion, will speak at the Tuesday night dinner.

As in previous years, Dr. Gallup will be foreman of the jury of the All-America Cities contest. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Bruère will also serve on the jury, in addition to Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor, *The American City;* Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee; Mrs. Hiram Houghton, assistant director of the Mutual Security Agency; Mrs. John G. Lee, president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Vernon C. Myers, publisher, LOOK magazine; Leo Perlis, national director, National CIO Community Services Committee, and Donald H. Webster, University of Washington.

Mrs. Hiram Houghton

Following preliminary activities on Sunday, the Conference will begin full-scale operations on Monday morning with a series of panel sessions on various topics. During the three working days of the Conference, there will be some 25 morning and afternoon sessions.

A committee of Richmond laymen and educators interested in civic education, under the chairmanship of Ed. P. Phillips, plans to make use of the Conference to stimulate civic education in Richmond schools. The committee

(Continued on next page)

Robinson Elected to Council

Philip K. Robinson, vice president of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, Milwaukee, has been elected to the League's Council. He succeeds Max E. Friedmann, also of Milwaukee.

Mr. Robinson, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, was formerly vice president of the Milwaukee Company and manager of the Municipal Bond Department of Morris Fox and Company.

He is a member of the executive committee of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau in Milwaukee; president, Milwaukee County Annuity and Pension Board; director, Milwaukee Art Institute; member, executive committee, Milwaukee County American Red Cross; member, board of governors, and vice chairman, American National Red Cross; and chairman, board of trustees, Milwaukee County War Memorial Center. He served two terms on the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors and was formerly general chairman, Milwaukee County Community Chest campaign, and director, Milwaukee County Community War Fund.

Conference

(Continued from page 433)

is organizing a special session Monday morning on "Youth in Civic Affairs" under the chairmanship of Mr. Phillips. Plans are also in the making to have Conference speakers appear at special assemblies in all Richmond high schools and colleges. The high point will be a meeting at John Marshall High School at which Governor Edison will speak following the Wednesday luncheon meeting. Richmond high school students will put on "Ballad for Americans," written by a John Marshall High School graduate. All persons attending the Conference are cordially invited to attend.

Philip K. Robinson

State Civil Service Law Model Now Available

A Model State Civil Service Law, prepared jointly by the National Municipal League and National Civil Service League, has just been published.

A 32-page booklet, this new publication is a guide for state legislatures, administrative officials, citizen organizations and others interested in adoption of sound principles of personnel administration. In addition to representing the composite views of the two organizations, the model law is a consensus of the opinion of many of the nation's outstanding authorities on civil service administration who have dealt with the practical aspects of recruiting, examining and managing public personnel and also with the technical and lega problems involved.

Price of the booklet is 75 cents. I may be obtained by writing either t the National Municipal League or to th National Civil Service League, 40 Eas 40th Street, New York.

National Municipal Review

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Who Killed Cock Robin?

AT THE recent convention of the American Political Science Association, a distinguished and thoughtful educator wondered out loud whether "reform" organizations were guilty of "sterilizing" and weakening the political parties at the community level.

If by sterilizing he means cleansing, it is to be hoped the answer is "Yes"; and there is a large mass of evidence to prove that the leadership, principles and morals of party organizations have improved vastly in hundreds of cities *after* citizens have acted in nonpartisan fashion to win fundamental progress or have insisted on nonpartisan local elections.

If, however, he means that reformers have destroyed people's confidence in politicians and political parties as they operate in communities, he gives these independent citizens more credit than they deserve.

Here, too, the evidence is overwhelming that the politicians and political parties have by their own conduct brought disrepute to the words "politics" and "politicians" to the end that a majority of United States communities have nonpartisan local elections and more of them are moving in that direction.

Old-style politics stands indicted on many counts. Voter apathy stems from the confusions and frustrations of trying to choose between two or more candidates, whose inadequacy causes voters to ask, "Why bother to vote?" Unwillingness to dirty their hands, resort to double talk or play the hypocrite discourages able, high grade persons from offering themselves for party nominations to public office. By far the major part of the progress in the conduct of local government has been achieved without partisan leadership and, indeed, in the face of the united opposition of political parties.

The growing disenchantment of people in general with politics and politicians is, as our educator believes, a serious and tragic thing. It is not good when seven out of ten parents abhor the idea of having a son or daughter go into politics, as the opinion polls show. The principles of self-government are not sterilized but emasculated when parties find it necessary to "perfume the ticket" by nominating an obvious amateur who can look as if he has never been inside the club house and is innocent of the facts of political life. Politics is a business of prime importance to all the people. It should command the respect and continuing participation, not the contempt and avoidance, of our best citizens.

One proven way to get more of the right people into the political act is to divorce municipal politics from the national parties. It often takes a person with a pretty dull conscience or insensitive nose to "go down the line" for the party hacks running for local office on a ticket with the statesman who may be the party candidate for governor or president. It is much easier for thoughtful people to be active in both local and national politics when they are not required to pretend that the same party is necessarily offering the public the best deal at all levels.

City and State

MORE than a century ago Alexis de Tocqueville wrote about the significance of the town in the development of the American democracy and about the difference between state and local governments. Today the mayors of American cities and the governors of American states appear to be reenacting the old conflict in their approaches to the President on the question of federal powers. The cities now, as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, seem to be closer to the people and more responsive to their social needs than the states. In this age of urbanization, the states have tended to remain more rural and more responsive to organized and conservative pressures. So the governors talk to the president about states' rights and the reduction of the federal power, while the mayors complain to him about the backwardness of the states and the need for full federal responsibility in the growing task of government.

Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta complained bluntly that the states are dominated by "rural thinking," yet the great majority of the people are urban dwellers. Many cities now have larger budgets than some states, and New York City has an annual budget second only to that of the federal government. One of the reasons, of course, for the expansion of the federal power in this century is that states refused to respond to the demands of an industrial society and cities lacked the means adequately to do so. Many state legislatures, moreover, are restricted in their activity by the power of special interest groups of one kind or another.

The problem is apparent in civilian defense now. This is an urban question that cannot be left to the states alone, especially those dominated by "rural thinking." It would be carrying the analogy much too far to suggest that the city today has the same role to play that the New England town had 150 or 200 years ago. But the city is regaining the importance in American life that the town possessed in the early days of this country. Governmental ideas again need to be thrashed out on the local level.

Some states are responding to the challenge. But it does little good, as the mayors have said, to talk states' rights when the power of the cities is undermined by inadequate representation in legislatures. Nowhere in America, said Tocqueville, do the people "exercise their power more immediately" than in the township. "The American Revolution broke out and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people came out of the townships and took possession of the state." If we wish to reduce the sweep of the federal government in the affairs of the people, we must give more attention specifically to the needs of the cities.

Reprinted with permission from the *Washington Post* for August 18, 1953.

Use and Abuse of Authorities

Rapid increase as cure-all for public problems called serious peril to preservation of democratic government.

By JOSEPH E. McLEAN*

THE great name of Sam Houston is presently attached to a toll road corporation that has been granted a charter to build privately financed toll roads in various parts of Texas. In Virginia three private companies have been chartered for the purpose of constructing toll roads. In other states, however, the highway function of general government has been abdicated to special public agencies or authorities established to construct and operate toll highways.[1] And the authority device is being used increasingly for the administration of a wide variety of governmental activities.

The trend toward a greater dependence upon special authorities, as compared with general government, has alarmed many students and statesmen who fear that large chunks of government operations and responsibilities are being removed from democratic controls; there is the threat that a quasi-public government quite remote and unresponsive is developing.

The trend is evidenced in the Census Bureau's count of governmental units. In the ten-year period 1942 to 1952 the number of governmental units in the United States declined from 155,116 to 116,743. This is obviously encouraging to civic reformers who have long advocated fewer, but better integrated, units of government as one way of reducing the citizen's "span of control" problem. The Census Bureau's figures, however, reveal one major disturbing exception to the over-all trend: the number of special districts increased by almost 50 per cent from 8,279 to 12,319. A significant addition to the special district category is the special authority as used at the state and local government levels. A recent comprehensive survey of public authorities covered 42 major authorities at the state level alone.[2]

Another tangible evidence of the authority trend lies in the sharply increased use of nonguaranteed bonds, which are not backed by the full faith and credit of the state or local government involved. This is a major element in the expansion of gross state and local debt since 1946. Although such bonds have been used frequently in the past to finance municipally owned utilities, their principal new uses are in connection with toll roads and toll bridges at the state level and with parking centers in the cities.[3]

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*Dr. McLean is associate professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University and a consultant to governmental and private agencies. He is author of *State and Local Government* (Rinehart and Company, New York, 1953) and *Politics Is What You Make It* (Public Affairs Pamphlets, New York, 1952).

[1] See "Toll Roads and Toll Authorities," *State Government,* June 1953.

[2] Council of State Governments, *Publi Authorities in the States,* Chicago, 1953

[3] See Karl O. Nygaard, "State an

Perhaps the most disturbing evidence of the trend is to be found almost daily in press and other reports of the most prevalent answer offered to any and every governmental problem: "Let's create an authority." Whether the problem be concerned with collecting garbage, operating an incinerator, supplying water, constructing an office building or controlling crime on the waterfront, and whether the problem be purely local, intrastate or intergovernmental in character, the magic solution of an "authority" is suggested by both public officials and private citizens.

'Authoritycin'

This new miracle drug—named here "authoritycin" (patent pending)—has not yet been officially approved by the medical and pharmaceutical fraternities, but it is advertised as a wondrous mixture of faith-healing, pain-killing and hair-restoring—or removing, if you prefer—remedies. In addition, it is guaranteed to overcome constitutional infirmities, such as debt limitations; to increase the leisure time of governors, legislators and other elected officials by delegating their worries to irresponsible parties; and, in general, to put the patient in such a state of well-being that even the medical bill can be taken painlessly. And miracles of miracles, "authoritycin" lifts the "thing"—whatever public service is concerned—right out of politics and places it in a new nonpolitical world in which the public interest is defined and decisions are made on a foolproof, slide-rule basis.

A brief look at the implications of the continued use of this miracle drug is the purpose of this article.

Luther Gulick has defined an authority as "a governmental business corporation set up outside of the normal structure of traditional government so that it can give continuity, business efficiency and elastic management to the construction or operation of a self-supporting or revenue-producing public enterprise." A similar definition appears in the Council of State Government's comprehensive survey of *Public Authorities in the States:*

"Public authorities generally are corporate bodies authorized by legislative action to function outside of the regular structure of state government in order to finance and construct and usually to operate revenue-producing public enterprises. Their organizational structures and powers are of the type usually associated with public corporations and, like the latter, they have relative administrative autonomy.

"Public authorities are authorized to issue their own revenue bonds, which ordinarily do not constitute debt within the meaning of constitutional debt limitations, since they are required to meet their obligations from their own resources. They lack the power to levy taxes, but are empowered to collect fees or other charges for use of their facilities, devoting the resulting revenue to payment of operational expenses and of interest and principal on their debts.

Local Government Receipt and Expenditure Programs," *Survey of Current Business,* January 1953.

"The characteristics of public authorities contrast with those of traditional state agencies in various ways. The latter ordinarily lack corporate status. Their activities generally are financed out of current tax revenues or through borrowing, in which case the bonds pledge the full faith and credit of the state. Their functions usually comprise services which, by general consent, should be paid for by the public as a whole—rather than administration of public business enterprises which sell services to consumers. Since they are supported directly out of tax revenues, their operations usually are subject to more direct supervision by the legislature, the governor and other executive agencies than is the case with authorities."

The Port of New York Authority is probably the outstanding example of the authority device at the state level. Its record of financial and technical success has had much to do with the present popularity of the authority device.

According to Frederick L. Bird, the Port of New York Authority is an "authority" in the fullest sense of the definition: "While it is a governmental agency, with immunity from taxation and from various regulatory restrictions imposed on private enterprise, it is able to operate like an efficient business corporation and to plan and conduct the functions delegated to it in an independent manner, without the uncertainties arising from frequently changing political controls and policies that affect the regular administrative divisions of government. Having its own revenues, from fully self-supporting enterprises, it is not dependent on the state legislatures for appropriations, but can adopt its own budgets and manage its own finances."[4]

Looking at the definition of authority and at the Port of New York Authority as a leading example, we may note: (1) emphasis upon the advantages of the corporate device —elasticity and continuity of management, presumed greater efficiency, etc.; (2) accent upon the revenue producing nature of the enterprise; (3) the desire to escape from the hazards of political life.

It should be noted, however, that the Port Authority is exceptional in these respects: (1) The bi-state character of the problems involved; (2) its tradition of success in the greatest and most complex metropolitan area in the nation—success as measured by its ability to attract able men to the commission, by its excellent personnel system, by its competence in many technical fields; and (3) a certain degree of public control is exercised over its operations, particularly through a veto power provided by law for the governors of New York and New Jersey.

All too frequently, authorities are being established that lack the bi state justification, that are not meeting even minimum standards of personnel administration and technica competence and that are virtuall exempt from any control by th elected governing powers responsibl to the people.

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[4] Frederick L. Bird, *A Study of th Port of New York Authority.* New Yor Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1949, page 33.

In his stimulating story *Civic Victories*[5]—which might also have been entitled *Civic Defeats*—Richard S. Childs laid down three rules for democracy: (1) Elective offices must be visible, (2) the constituency must be wieldy, (3) governments must be well integrated.

Integrated Government

These rules are directly or indirectly violated by the present proliferation of special authorities. Particular violence is done to the third rule, especially when the authorities are set up outside the framework of general government. The centrifugal or disintegrating impact of the independent authority trend—if this assumption be correct—should be disturbing to the civic reformer who, after laboring long in the civic vineyard, finds himself on a treadmill reaching futilely for his elusive goal of simplified, integrated, responsible government.

Most reformers have espoused the integrative principle as exemplified in diverse areas: the movement in the finance area toward the executive budget and against the dedicated fund principle; the movement in favor of the short ballot; the efforts to reduce the number of governmental units through consolidation and annexation; the attempts to concentrate executive authority and responsibility.

Civic efforts aimed at constitutional reform or toward attaining new municipal charters have stressed the advantages of an integrated administrative framework — streamlining government, reducing the number of agencies, eliminating independent boards and commissions. Hence, it is strange to find a state, New Jersey, achieving a modern, progressive constitution in 1947, combining scores of state agencies into fourteen major departments in 1948 and then, in the same year, reversing the field by establishing a fifteenth major agency—a second highway department—in the form of an independent turnpike authority. To a large extent, the governmental progress achieved after years of painful civic effort has been nullified by the tendency to take "normal" functions away from the normal agencies of government and turn them over to new autonomous agencies that are quasi-public, quasi-private and, if one may be facetious, just plain quasi-quasi.

Perhaps the ideal of simplified, integrated government is wrong. If it is, it is time we recognized that fact.

Authority Efficient?

It is assumed by its proponents that the authority has all the virtues—real or imagined—of private business management. Before we adopt the authority device wholesale, it would be wise to test this assumption. Obviously, efficiency standards vary from one private corporation to another. The same is true of public corporations. The Tennessee Valley Authority at the federal level and the Port of New York Authority at the state level have been justifiably proud of their merit personnel systems.

It is all too simple, however, to

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[5] Harper & Brothers, New York, 1952.

transfer this superior efficiency to all authorities. In one state authority with which this observer is familiar, personnel appointments are cleared with county party organizations; modern personnel methods are decidedly absent. Also, many contracts purportedly were cleared through political channels. And there is every indication that highways built by this authority cost substantially more per mile than those built by the highway department of the same state. Where then lies the superior efficiency of this authority? The major justification for establishing this authority seems to have been the "practical" necessity of evading a constitutional debt limitation, which would have necessitated a referendum vote by the people on any proposed bond issue.

Nonpolitical Myth

In the same state, the nonpolitical chairman of a nonpolitical turnpike authority is currently the candidate of his party for the high office of governor. As a candidate in a primary campaign, he refused to resign from his nonpolitical post. And, as the general election approaches, he is still serving as the chief executive of what his major primary opponent termed the "patronage pike."

In defense of this candidate it should be noted that, although doing a disservice to the nonpolitical concept of the authority, he is honestly reflecting the political character of his and every authority.

As Luther Gulick observed, "In some situations an authority created in a burst of high civic enthusiasm for efficient service and stuffed with men of strength and character can rise above the traditional politics and low morality of the government which set them up." But Gulick recognized that even such a high-minded climate does not put an end to politics:

"The vital political problems which arise in government are not the questions of patronage. They are the questions of basic social and economic policy which serve to give fundamental direction to social and economic forces. For example, a port authority has the power to determine whether a community as a whole will expand as a raw material center or as a manufacturing center by the priorities which it gives to port facilities, loading and unloading equipment, wharfage rates and rail and road connections.

"Toll rates on bridges will determine the rapidity of suburban development and the rise of real estate values as well as the time of obsolescence of prior investments in ferries and commuter rail services. The location of inland terminals, the creation of central bus facilities, the elimination of grade crossings, the arrangement of tunnel entrances and exits will determine the immediate and ultimate fate of entire neighborhoods, piling value increments here and destroying values there in spectacular fashion.

"Such a simple matter as the location of the express stops on the rapid transit system decided whether a street will be developed with high rental properties or with more modest shops and apartments. Similarly, zone fares on city transit systems and the system of water rates or electric power rates cannot fail to create their patterns of realty and housing developments and to influence the distribution of wealth and welfare for the people of the area.

"We have come to realize that freight rates can dominate the economic development of whole sections of the country. The same forces are at work wherever an authority makes its decisions on location of facilities, nature and distribution of services, rules and regulations for their use and rates for services. Because these decisions cannot be made without a weighing of the needs of the people and of their effects upon the distribution of wealth and welfare, they are political decisions of the most fundamental sort."[6]

And one is impelled to agree with Gulick when he says: "While authorities are designed in part to take their operation 'out of politics,' the nature of this insulation must not be misunderstood. Nor must it be thought that the creation of an authority puts an end to political discussions or transmutes matters of political and social policy into pure matters of fact soluble in engineering and business terms."[7]

The Basic Problem

All too frequently, the authority device is being used as a lazy official's approach to the problem of government. It is essentially an expedient to evade some constitutional debt limitation or be "practical," which may mean avoiding a basic approach to a basic problem. Thus, in defense of municipal authorities in Pennsylvania, Charles F. LeeDecker stated:

"Legal complications involved in the issuing of bonds by a municipality have helped to spur the growth of the authority. Borrowing capacity of a municipality is limited by assessments which in most cases have changed little in the past twenty years while operating expenses for municipalities have skyrocketed. The authority has proved a practical solution."[8]

It is a truism that assessment practices are exceedingly difficult to change, but in very real and practical terms we should recognize why we are turning to the authority device and we should weigh carefully the implications of expedient action. Indeed, the same release concerning Pennsylvania municipal authorities had this concluding note:

"While the authority makes possible flexible financing, independent operation, business-like management with greater continuity, and greater incentive to efficiency because of the lack of taxing power, LeeDecker points out that it also has the disadvantage of increasing the number of governments in a community, depriving the voter of direct responsibility and in many cases may be more costly to finance."

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[6] Luther Gulick, "'Authorities' and How to Use Them," *The Tax Review*, November 1947, pages 50-51.

[7] *Ibid.*, page 50.

[8] Press release, March 16, 1952, from Department of Public Information, Pennsylvania State College. The same release noted: "By the end of 1951 more than 400 authorities had been established and 232 were in operation in Pennsylvania. The most popular types are water works, public school buildings and sewage disposal authorities, in that order.

"By the end of 1951, authorities in Pennsylvania had issued more than $150,000,000 in bonds. In 1950 there were more than 48 issues totalling $52,000,000, as compared to 125 issues totalling $27,000,000 issued directly by local governments."

Danger of Default

A further danger has been suggested by Reuben A. Lazarus in his review of *The Law of Public Corporations* by Burton Andrews:[9]

"The statutes which establish them authorize authorities to issue bonds and to charge rates and fees for the use of the services they furnish under governmental aegis in order to redeem such bonds. Who of us, for instance, has considered the full import of the fact that upon default of principal or interest on such bonds, the service furnished by the authority can be taken over by the owner of the bonds—a bank, an individual or a group of individuals, *private* individuals—with power to operate the service and charge fees, *any* fees sufficient to pay the principal and interest on the bonds? Who of us realizes that the service so rendered is not subject to regulation by any other public body? Wasteful management could be condoned and the rates or charges for the service increased with impunity to any level. It will be rewarding to examine any of the authority acts and to read with care the section each such act contains entitled 'Remedies of Bondholders.' "

Without attempting to sermonize, this observer cannot help but point to the enervating effects of frequent uses of "authoritycin." We are trying to evade constitutional or statutory debt or taxing limitations; we are refusing to face up to government-wide problems of poor personnel, financial and administrative practices; we are advocating basic reorganizational efforts on the one hand and then nullifying them with a series of weak-brained efforts on the other; we avoid politics by playing a new and perhaps dirtier kind of "nonpolitics." We are promoting a new type of government that may prove to be not only nonprofit and nonpolitical, but nonsensical as well.

Roy V. Peel has observed that even Beard might agree that "simplicity may be the essence of tyranny. It is usually in complexity that we find liberty." Peel, however, added, "But . . . complexity need not be confusion."[10] An overdose of "authoritycin" may produce not only confusion but may serve as an embalming fluid in the body politic. General government is in danger of being superseded by a set of authority-type ganglia directed by a small, weak brain.

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[9] Matthew Bender and Company, 1951. Reviewed in *Albany Law Review,* January 1952.

[10] Roy V. Peel, *State Government Today,* University of New Mexico Press, 1948, page 147.

Coordinating Disaster Relief

Head of Federal Civil Defense Administration discusses national, state and local relations in a vital field.

By VAL PETERSON*

THE administration of disaster relief as a federally-coordinated government function emphasizes the need for a reexamination of federal-state-local relationships.

In our cooperative federal system there is some fusion and overlapping among the elements of government. The lines between the spheres of responsibility are not rigid and this is inevitable and right. Nevertheless, each element of government has its primary sphere and will remain strong only if it performs well in that sphere and does not seek to usurp responsibilities that properly belong to others.

President Eisenhower is concerned with this interrelationship and in connection with governmental reorganization has created a National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Speaking recently on this subject and of this commission to the assembled state governors, the President stated that unless we find a satisfactory method of dividing responsibilities between the federal government and the states, the result "will not be the American system." He indicated that when government is rightly kept close to the people the federal government will then be called in only when there is a "clear service it can perform."

In the case of coordination of disaster relief efforts the federal government has such a clear service to perform. The Federal Civil Defense Administration has been designated the key agency to achieve this coordination.

Let us review briefly recent developments in the disaster relief picture.

The utilization of civil defense organizations in peacetime disasters was not a primary objective in planning the civil defense program, which is less than three years old. Such use, however, is now commonplace.

In 1952, beginning with major air crashes in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in February and continuing with death-dealing highway bus crashes, fires, tornadoes, earthquakes and the nationally disastrous spring floods, civil defense organizations—federal, state and local—did yeoman work. In 1953, the spring and early summer storms and tornadoes found civil defense on the job and, because of experience gained in previous disasters, more efficient.

Civil defense planning with its dispersed control centers proved to be of unprecedented effectiveness. Mobile support and mutual aid plans, an extension of older intercommunity fire and police assistance agreements, were invaluable. It is now generally agreed that in civil defense the nation has acquired a major new community dimension in peacetime and all-time security.

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*Mr. Peterson, former governor of Nebraska, 1951-1952 chairman of the Governor's Conference, former chairman of the Missouri River States Committee and a member of the Missouri Basin Inter-agency Committee, is administrator of the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

Initial efforts of the Federal Civil Defense Administration to furnish emergency disaster assistance to needed areas were somewhat hampered by conflicting authority or lack of authority. There was also some confusion in the states. For example, during the 1952 ruinous floods, governors of four states were quick to appoint their respective state civil defense directors as administrators of all flood disaster operations. Eleven other states contemplating such action found that no clear legal authority existed and civil defense workers were empowered to act under various stop-gap "interpretations" of authority.

Relations Reevaluated

It is natural then that there has been subsequent reevaluation of federal, state and local civil defense legislation and authority as affecting peacetime disaster operations.

The following chronology of major legislation, agreements and orders relating to federal participation in, and coordination of, disaster relief is informative.

September 30, 1950. Public Law 875—81st Congress. Federal assistance to states and local governments in major disasters authorized by Congress.

March 2, 1951. Executive Order 10221. The Housing and Home Finance Administration ordered to extend its facilities to implement PL 875.

August 3, 1951. Public Law 107—82nd Congress. PL 875 amended to permit housing relief in major disasters.

October 1, 1952. Army Regulations 500-60, "Emergency Employment of Army Resources—Disaster Relief." Responsibility and policy of the Army and Army relationship to Red Cross activities prescribed.

January 16, 1953. Executive Order 10427. Planned participation of all federal agencies concerned with natural disasters ordered and the Federal Civil Defense Administrator designated as coordinator of such joint disaster relief.

February 6, 1953. Statement of Understanding Between the FCDA and The American National Red Cross Relating to Disaster Operations under Executive Order 10427 and PL 875. FCDA agreed to encourage state and local civil defense organizations to assist and cooperate with Red Cross. The Red Cross agreed to urge local chapters to similar cooperation. It was agreed that funds authorized under PL 875 are not to be used to reimburse states and localities for expenditures made by them within the area of Red Cross disaster responsibility and federal funds are not to be regarded as a substitute for the voluntary contributions from which Red Cross draws its funds.

Four supplements to the Statement of Understanding outline conditions of *Interchange of Information* (March 20, 1953), *Utilization of Federal Resources* (April 1, 1953), *Issuance of Information* (August 1953) and *Functions of ARC and Federal Agencies Concerned with Natural Disaster Relief in the Field of Welfare Service* (August 1953).

May 12, 1953. Department of the Army Special Regulations SR 500-60-5—"Emergency Employment of Army Resources—Assistance to State and Loca Governments in Major Disasters." Arm advised personnel of FCDA plans an relationship of military assistance.

June 10, 1953. Memorandum of Understanding Between U. S. Civil Servic Commission and FCDA Concerning Responsibilities in Disaster Operation Civil service designated to handle emer gency personnel matters in event of a natural disaster.

July 16, 1953. Memorandum of Understanding Between Department of Health, Education and Welfare and FCDA Concerning Responsibilities in Disaster Operations Other Than Those Induced by Enemy Attack.

July 16, 1953. Statement of Understanding Between FCDA and the U. S. Coast Guard. Coast Guard and FCDA procedures in natural disasters coordinated.

July 16, 1953. Donation or Loan of Federal Surplus Property to State and Local Governments for Use in Major Disasters. FCDA explained Public Law 134-83rd Congress which amends PL 875 to allow agreements between state governors or state civil defense directors, when authorized, and the FCDA regional director, for loan, use and return of federal surplus property.

July 31, 1953. Delegation of Certifying Authority for Counties or Parishes in Areas Determined by the President to be Major Disaster Areas under Public Law 875, When Operating Under Public Law 115. The Department of Agriculture as administrator of Public Law 115, which authorizes $150,000,000 for federal assistance to farmers and stockmen, authorized by FCDA to certify individual counties or parishes eligible for feed, seed and loans after a major natural disaster.

The states are taking action in the field of enabling legislation. In 33 states and five territories and possessions, civil defense forces are now authorized by state law to combat natural disasters.

Here is how the plan works.

The President has delegated certain authority to the Federal Civil Defense Administrator to act for him in natural disasters whenever the governor of any state requests federal assistance. The governor's request is turned over to the FCDA for study and recommendations on action and granting of funds. Whenever the President declares a "major disaster," FCDA is authorized to carry out recommendations the President has approved.

The administrator becomes responsible for the expenditure of disaster funds authorized by the President. His statutory responsibility is to provide "maximum mobilization of federal assistance" in equipment, supplies, facilities, personnel and other resources; to undertake work essential to the preservation of life and property, the clearing of debris, the emergency repair or temporary replacement of public facilities. He may distribute medicine, food or other supplies.

Use of Disaster Funds

Disaster funds are limited by the act to emergency repairs and temporary replacements. They are intended only to help the stricken area to pick itself up. The act does not give the administrator discretion to finance permanent restoration. Such financing must be the subject of special enactment to fit each situation after the disaster is brought under control.

From the moment the President approves the FCDA recommendation that a disaster is "major," FCDA has authority to call on the resources of all federal departments or agencies. The various agencies often have equipment and expendable materials and know where to get more when funds are provided. The resources include professional and skilled personnel, able to advise or supervise such operations as emergency evacuation, shelter, clothing, mass feeding of humans and animals, water supply, sanitation and sewerage.

The law gives FCDA a responsibility not only of assuring orderly assistance to states and local governments after disaster strikes but also of assuring preparedness, "fostering the development of such state and local organizations and plans as may be necessary."

Regional Organization

Operating responsibility in the field is delegated by FCDA to its regional offices, which are responsible both in natural disasters and wartime emergencies for assistance to states and communities, especially where state lines have to be crossed. Preparedness is established on the history of recurrent disasters in each regional area.

Through its regional organization, FCDA has been able to assemble recommendations for action from its specialists at the scene, and to evaluate them rapidly for the President, while disasters struck, one after another or even at the same time, at different points.

Various and widespread federal services have been mobilized and coordinated almost immediately at the disaster scene.

For instance, by direction given the Department of Agriculture, FCDA provided emergency feeding for livestock in the flooded sections of Louisiana. The U. S. Public Health Service reported difficulty in moving its critically needed supplies into the Texas flood areas; FCDA arranged for Navy planes to fly them in. Civil defense obtained Army planes to carry blood plasma for the Red Cross into tornado-devastated Waco and San Angelo, Texas.

Floods which have had FCDA attention occurred this spring and early summer in Louisiana, Montana, Texas, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, Oklahoma, Maine, Iowa, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Nebraska, Mississippi and California. Tornadoes struck in Georgia, Nebraska, Minnesota, Texas, Michigan, Ohio, Massachusetts, Alabama and Tennessee.

Even when a disaster is not pronounced "major," FCDA has responsibility for coordinating such federal assistance as may be available. For instance, the Texas flood brought the U. S. Public Health Service into action in the area. After a Nebraska tornado, where damage was chiefly to farm buildings and livestock, the assistance was limited to "disaster" credit from the Farmers Home Administration. After the Georgia tornado at Warner-Robins and Columbus, a declaration of limited disaster brought into action the emergency credit functions of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Preliminary allocations of funds have been made in recent months for tornado disaster relief in communities in Massachusetts, Michigan and Texas; for flood disaster relief in communities in Iowa, Louisiana Montana and Texas; for drought disaster relief in Arkansas, Colorado Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and

Texas; and for forest fire disaster relief in New Hampshire.

It is evident that in natural disasters the intent of the federal government is to provide assistance to the state, and through the state to local governments, only when such assistance is sought and when the federal government has a clear service to perform.

There are many areas in the coordination and administration of disaster relief to be clarified in the matter of federal-state-local government relationships. Because individual states vary in their approach to the matter, a uniform national pattern will take a long time to evolve.

Evaluations are difficult to make at this early stage in the history of federal coordination of disaster relief. It is safe to say, however, that in those areas where general civil defense planning for national security on the home front has been most nearly perfected, the coordination of disaster relief by FCDA and emergency assistance by civil defense organizations have been most effective.

Defense Planning Practical

The by-product has been the assurance gained that civil defense planning is practical and will work under fire. Volunteer civil defense workers have already compiled an enviable record in rescue work and in minimizing property damage in our peacetime disasters.

Tiresome drill and detailed preparation have paid off. They will continue to pay off if we take home-front preparedness seriously. President Eisenhower, speaking recently on the matter of taking civil defense seriously, stated: "As it is today, suppose we had an emergency in a department store in Seattle. Any American would feel self-conscious if you gave him a job of, let's say, going out and helping drag out fire hose or standing out on the sidewalk with a pocketful of sand. He would feel self-conscious. Now there is where the job of leadership has to work. How are we going to get Americans to do these things seriously and soberly and knowing them necessary?"

I believe a good answer to the President's question came out of the recent tornado disaster in Worcester, Massachusetts. The civil defense director of that city, where he and his staff and volunteer civil defense workers did a remarkably fine job, said: "They may have laughed at our practice sessions but I don't see anyone laughing at us now and I don't think they ever will again."

Employees Study City Forms

Discussions of Sound Government Committee of Johnson & Johnson promote understanding of municipal structure.

By **DAVID J. GALLIGAN***

SOUND government is our business—yours and mine. Around this central theme a group of civic-conscious executive, supervisory and technical employees of Johnson & Johnson in New Brunswick, New Jersey, as well as affiliated companies throughout the nation, have developed a program designed to stimulate a sense of community responsibility among plant employees.

In mid-1951, General Robert W. Johnson, chairman of the board of Johnson & Johnson, conceived the idea of establishing an informal, nonpartisan and voluntary committee to study the various aspects of our government and its relation to the individual citizen.

From this embryonic idea was born the Sound Government Committee. The original membership of nine increased to 1,850 in less than two years. Members included the managerial force of the major Johnson & Johnson plant areas of New Jersey, Illinois and Georgia. The committee endeavored to be strictly nonpartisan. All shades of political opinion were represented. The committee was not designed to act as an instrument or spokesman of management or labor; its chief concern was to arouse civic interest among Johnson & Johnson employees.

The work of the committee was directed by the Sound Government Board, a central body of fifteen representatives drawn from the parent plant and its subsidiaries in New Brunswick. Each year the membership of the board rotates to allow for broader participation. The central board developed its program from suggestions submitted by the nationwide managerial and sales employees of the company.

In 1952 the committee met frequently to discuss common problems—federal and state taxes, budgets and party platforms. In the post-national election period members of the Sound Government Committee turned the spotlight on issues closer to home. The ultimate decision was to develop a program to focus attention upon local government, an area where each citizen was directly concerned. Here was grass roots government—at the foundation of democracy. A comprehension of the local processes seemed the first essential to an understanding of the functioning of our democratic system.

Members of the Sound Government Board recognized that they had but a superficial knowledge o local government. Some were activ in civic affairs through service a councilmen; others were members o school boards; one was a loca assessor. The majority, however, were not well grounded in the mechanics of local government. To solve this problem, the board retained the services of a Rutgers University political science professor, Dr. Bennett M. Rich, director of the University's Bureau of Government Research, and his assistant. Upon the consultants was placed responsibility for technical guidance and for the development of materials to be sent to the 1,850 members of the committee.

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*Dr. Galligan, a consultant to the Johnson & Johnson Sound Government Committee of which he writes and former instructor in history at Rutgers University, is director of the Committee on Governmental Affairs of the Trenton Chamber of Commerce.

Study Forms of Government

Some indecision still confronted the Sound Government Board regarding its approach to the subject of local government. With what aspects should it be concerned primarily? Could structure and administration be handled objectively? It was finally decided to concentrate upon basic structure during the spring of 1953 and to hold over until later the development of a program concerned specifically with local functions such as community planning, parking, schools and welfare.

Before launching its program the Sound Government Board was confronted by top management questions as to whether the committee had clarified its purpose sufficiently. Might the topic—types of municipal government—be misinterpreted by the local governing bodies in the Johnson & Johnson plant cities as an effort to change the existing structure? Was it a reflection upon the incumbents of city hall? To safeguard against possible misinterpretations, William H. Baumer, special assistant to the president of Johnson & Johnson and chairman of the Sound Government Committee, discussed the proposed topic with several local governing bodies, such as the New Brunswick City Commission. He assured them that no attempt was being made to single out any particular form of government as representing the best in local administration.

The Sound Government Board determined that complete objectivity was essential. Nothing of a reform nature could be suggested. No one type of municipal government could be recommended over another but the advantages and disadvantages of all three generally recognized forms—mayor-council, commission and council-manager — should be presented.

Some medium of expression was necessary to keep company employees informed of the Sound Government Committee's activity. The quickest and most practical means was publication of a weekly bulletin, *Two Minutes Please*, which had been mailed to the homes of committee members since January 1952. Five issues of this one-page newsletter were prepared by the Rutgers consultants and distributed each week among the 1,850 committee members. The first issue explained the importance of local government and its relation to the citizen; the second, third and fourth issues carried a brief analysis of the structure of each of the three basic forms of local government; the final issue presented a summation of the previous bulletins and reaffirmed the conviction of the Sound Government Committee that sound government could be achieved through sound structure and sound leaders.

The next step was organization of local discussion groups. For each meeting three panel members were selected by the board. In some instances articulate panel members served on more than one panel. Prior to the formal presentations, the Rutgers consultants provided each panel member with a list of materials. Text books, pamphlets and articles were selected carefully to assure a proper balance of opinion. Reprints of articles on mayor-council and commission forms of government were supplied; information concerning the council-manager plan was obtained from the National Municipal League and a number of copies of Richard S. Childs' *Civic Victories* were purchased. These kits of "canned material" were distributed to each speaker assigned panel responsibilities.

In addition, 15,000 copies of a sixteen-page pamphlet, *My Town's Government,* with graphs, charts and simple explanations of the three basic forms of local government, were published by the Sound Government Board. Supplementary distribution included various colleges, business organizations, city officials and civic groups interested in promoting better local government.

Each Johnson & Johnson affiliate company proceeded to develop its own schedule of panel discussions. It was no novelty for the executive and supervisory employees making up the committee to sit around a conference table and discuss problems or current issues. Some members had already served as discussion leaders on the taxation program. But the majority regarded themselves as novices in the field of local government and admittedly were somewhat diffident over the prospect of facing their colleagues on issues alien to their training and experience.

Panel Discussions Held

One week before the panel discussions at the parent plant, a pilot test was held to demonstrate the procedure to be followed. The chairman of the Sound Government Committee acted as moderator. He selected three board members as panel spokesmen. Each speaker was allowed from seven to ten minutes to explain one of the three principal forms of municipal government. After all forms had been presented, the remaining time was devoted to a question-and-answer period. The entire meeting lasted over an hour.

The first formal discussion in New Brunswick was held May 12. Both moderators and speakers had several days in which to familiarize themselves with the kits of canned material. The audience at each panel meeting consisted of from fourteen to twenty members in addition to the moderator and speakers. In the New Brunswick area 21 meetings were held on company time.

The presentation of the panel members placed emphasis upon the background and essential features of the forms of local government. The

(Continued on page 464)

Election Law Aids Crime?

Hearings held before New York State Crime Commission reveal how gaps in law permit leaders to abuse powers.

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS***

IT IS a fact of New York City political party life that assembly district leaders hold an unconscionable amount of power. One who aspires to election to a judgeship, for example, must cultivate the friendship of some assembly district leader and the county leader of the party. The successful candidate often will appoint his district leader as his secretary or clerk, even if the leader has no legal training, can be counted on to do little work, and is chummy with well heeled gambling racketeers. These are some of the outrageous and crusty but time-honored means by which top politicians of both parties operate in the world's largest city.

Perceptive people have long been aware of this. Myriad housewives who gasped at their television screens in 1949, when Senator Kefauver's committee examined big-time gamblers, also became suddenly aware of it. There was, however, no immediate local election at which that new stirring of public comprehension could fully express itself.

Last spring the New York State Crime Commission completed an able job of revealing how the gaps in a jerry-built election law allow the party leaders to abuse their remarkable power with great abandon and freedom from punishment. The four-member commission, appointed by the Republican attorney general in 1951, was headed by former Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, a keen-minded 76-year-old, a Democrat and a long-time civic figure.

With a small capable staff, the commission swung out a tremendous dragnet among politicos and racketeers. In private hearings it examined 511 witnesses, checking activities, bank accounts, income and expenditures. Subsequently, at public hearings, useful portions of the testimony were repeated, often with reluctance on the part of witnesses. This swift parade of 60 witnesses provided spicy copy and fleeting drama for the press from day to day.

In its *Second Report*[1] the commission published a resumé of its findings and recommendations with regard to New York City political leaders and the election law.

Some Juicy Examples

"Alfred Toplitz was the Democratic leader of a zone of the First Assembly District for a number of years. . . . Years ago, Toplitz was dismissed as federal prohibition agent because of his alleged connection with the theft of liquor. Toplitz admitted to a long and close acquaintanceship with Frank Costello and to associations with other known criminals. He pleaded his privilege against self-incrimination when asked what business he was engaged in and what income he had from the time he was discharged as prohibition agent to the time he became chief clerk of the Board of Elections in 1948. He also pleaded his privilege concerning his income, other than his $7,500 salary, while he was chief clerk. The scale of his living was indicated by evidence that in 1946 Toplitz paid $153 for one pair of shoes and in the same year $64 and $65 for two other pairs. Similar purchases at comparable prices were made in 1947 and 1949."

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*Mr. Childs, former president of the National Municipal League, is now chairman of its Executive Committee. Since his retirement from business in 1947, Mr. Childs has been a full-time volunteer member of the League's staff.

[1] *Second Report of the New York State Crime Commission to the Governor, the Attorney General and the Legislature of the State of New York,* March 9, 1953. 27 pages.

The Boss Speaks

"Clarence Neal was a Democratic assembly district leader for a period of 26 years . . . . Irving Daniel Neustein, an attorney and former assemblyman, and a former Democratic assembly district leader, . . . said he was told in 1945 by his election district captains that they would no longer support him and that Neal was primarily responsible; also, that they told him something to the effect that 'the boss made you and he is going to break you.' Neustein identified the phrase 'the boss' as referring to Frank Costello and as being heard frequently around Democratic headquarters.

"Neal, who continued as a leader until 1945, has had no gainful employment of any kind since 1942 and has filed no tax return since that time. He testified that his father, who ran a restaurant, gave him $250,000 in greenbacks in 1908 or 1909, on which Neal said he has since been living. The money, according to Neal, was kept at home. . . . In November 1952, Neal testified in private examination that he still had $25,000, whereupon commission counsel suggested that investigators accompany Neal to his home to view the money and check the serial numbers for date of issuance. Thereupon Neal said he had used up the $25,000 and had only $100 left."

A former assistant United States attorney "testified that William J. Connolly, a Democratic leader for a zone of the Eighth Assembly District, offered him the Democratic nomination in 1947 for municipal court justice for $15,000 plus $10,000 for campaign expenses. An analysis of Connolly's finances revealed that in the significant years of 1947, 1948 and 1949, he spent $10,000 more than his ascertained receipts, the source of which he was unable to explain. Evidence was adduced that Connolly has had a close association with Frank Costello and James P. O'Connell, and that they and Frank Erickson have made financial contributions to Connolly's political club."

Financing primary contests with party funds is specifically forbidden by the New York election law. The following exchange, however, occurred during the hearings, according to the crime report:

"Commissioner Proskauer: So the expense of your primary fight was paid by the club in the final analysis?

"The witness: That's right.

"Commissioner Proskauer: Don't

you know that that violates the election law?

"The witness: No, sir, I did not. I was under the impression and I presumed in my length of time in politics that all clubs operated in that way.

"Commissioner Proskauer: Your experience in all these years is that the club, the organization —

"The witness: Republican or Democrat —

"Commissioner Proskauer: always paid for the primary fight of the leader?

"The witness: For the primary fight, and I felt —"

Another example of the enormous power of these political leaders is illustrated in the report by their evidence as to the method of nominating Supreme Court justices. Here is a colloquy with John J. Knewitz, the Bronx County Republican leader:

Nominating Judges

"Q. And the nominee for the Supreme Court that goes on the ticket that the people vote for is selected by a judicial convention? A. That's right. . . .

"Q. Now, just how is that candidate picked? Is that candidate first picked by the leader and submitted to the convention? A. Well, if it is a Manhattan vacancy, the Bronx people generally go along with it and, if it is a Bronx vacancy, the Manhattan leaders generally go along with it.

"Q. And if it is a Bronx vacancy, you have the final say as to who the candidate will be? A. I can make a suggestion and they generally follow it.

"Q. Have they ever failed to follow it? A. No.

"Q. Do you know of any case where they failed to follow a suggestion in New York County? A. No. . . .

"Q. That's all cut and dried, and you know what's coming out of it before the convention meets? A. I presume it is.

"Q. It always has come out that way? A. Always that way."

The district leader can arrange his own sinecure by having himself appointed to an exempt position in the courts, where he can draw a salary and do little or no work. The Crime Commission showed that as of January 1, 1952, of 199 leaders from both parties, 57 or 29 per cent were employed in the courts. Out of 76 who were then or had previously been employed in the courts, 50, or 72 per cent, were non-lawyers in positions such as secretary or clerk to justices, calling for legal background. Sidney Moses, a Democratic district leader and former secretary to Justice Lupiano of the City Court, testified thus:

"Q. What were your duties as the justice's secretary? A. General clerical work. I was not an attorney.

"Q. You did no legal work and you attempted no legal work for him? A. No, sir. . . .

"Mr. Matthews: I am going to read part of your testimony given at a private hearing and if that is not correct I wish you would clarify that.

> Answer: Well, when the judge goes on the bench there is not too much for me to do. Practically there is

> nothing for me to do whenever he goes on the bench.
>
> Question: Do you keep very busy on the job? Answer: Who?
>
> Question: You. Answer: No.

"A. That is correct. When the judge was not in the office there wasn't much for me to do except receive the attorneys that would come in.

"Q. The salary in that position was how much? A. When I left it was $5,200."

George M. Fanelli, a Republican district leader, took the stage:

"Q. Immediately after the election of Justice Parella, were you given a job with him as secretary? A. As recommended by the late Mr. Simpson then . . . [Republican] county chairman.

"Commissioner Proskauer: You are not a lawyer, are you?

"The Witness: No, sir.

"Commissioner Proskauer: Are you a judge's secretary now?

"The Witness: I am.

"Commissioner Proskauer: You look up law?

"The Witness: No, sir."

Election Law Flaws

The New York law presents great obstacles to any candidate in a contest for political leadership, particularly where he is not sponsored by the party organization. These obstacles are a key to the low caliber of many present political leaders in the city.

The Crime Commission pointed out that the sense of futility experienced by many who try to participate actively in party affairs leads to apathy among average citizens. "The enrolled voters have found it extremely difficult, under existing procedures, to express intelligently or effectively their choice of political leaders."

Several factors were listed as contributing to this lack of popular concern over party leadership: (1) Indirect election of district leaders — that is, after a very complicated nominating process, voters vote for county committeemen who, in turn, elect the leaders; (2) in the mid-August primary in a presidential year, 1952, the primary vote was as low as 6.9 per cent of enrolled voters in some areas; (3) other unnecessary difficulties confronting candidates for district leadership — for example, the Board of Elections has often been accused of being, and probably is, prejudiced in favor of organization candidates; and (4) the power of political committees to thwart the electorate's choice of district leaders — the general county committee must approve of a district leader before he may be seated, and the executive committee of a party can thwart the voters' choice of political leaders by manipulating the boundaries of assembly districts.

The Recommendations

The Crime Commission made two general recommendations in its *Second Report:*

"(a) Political leaders should have the dignity and be given some of the attributes of public officers. It is primarily necessary that there be a general recognition of the responsible nature of positions of political lead ership and of the duties and obligations inherent in such positions. To this end, leaders and officers of political committees on the assembly district, city, county and state levels should be given a status similar to that of public officers, and along with that status some of the duties and responsibilities of such officers. Legislation adopted for this purpose should require, among other things, that each 'party officer' take an oath of office and be subject to forfeiture of his 'party office' if, when duly called upon to testify concerning the performance of his official duties, he fails to waive immunity. Legislation such as is here envisioned should so clarify and give recognition to the fundamental importance of party leadership as to attract more people of ability and integrity to active and sustained party service.

Program of Action

"(b) An appropriate body should be created by the legislature to review present provisions of and procedures under the election law." Legislation, said the commission, should be passed that would eliminate unnecessary obstacles confronting candidates for district leadership and persons seeking nomination for public office or other party positions. "Such legislation should also eliminate all unnecessary technicalities and complexities which, though serving no useful function, flood the Board of Elections with contests and the courts with litigation, and which act as a barrier to the democratic process."

The "appropriate body" has since been authorized by the legislature and the Citizens Union of New York City is ready with a program prepared several years ago by a practical and informed committee. The program is parallel to that of the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System.* It would clear away the dead mass of the huge county committee which now shields party leaders from insurgency, provide direct elections of party leaders on short ballots and require the leaders to designate their slates of candidates for party and public office instead of hiding behind docile conventions, with time left for their designations to be contested if found unsatisfactory.

Another commission on judiciary, headed by the eminent Harrison Tweed, is considering the condition in which 136 obscure elective judges in New York City are in actual practice hand-picked by county and district leaders. The Citizens Union is pressing for an amendment to the election law whereby the nominations for judgeships will be submitted by the executive subject to subsequent counter-nomination by petition, followed by election on a nonpartisan section of the voting machines.

The case against present scandalous procedures has been richly documented by the Crime Commission out of the mouths of key participants!

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Apportionment Passes Illinois Legislature

Amendment to Be Submitted to Voters in 1954 Election

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment for reapportionment of legislative districts has been submitted by the Illinois legislature for action of the people at the November 1954 general election. If approved it will add seven members to the Senate and 24 to the House, most of them to come from Chicago and the rest of Cook County. The last legislative reapportionment in Illinois was in 1901.

The new plan is described by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce as follows:

"The proposed reapportionment plan provides for establishing two separate sets of districts — one for state senators and the other for representatives. There would be 58 permanent senatorial districts based on area and 59 representative districts based on population. Each senatorial district would elect one senator and each representative district, three representatives.[1] Senatorial districts would be established permanently but representative districts would be subject to revision every ten years. Of the 58 permanent senatorial districts, 34 would be downstate and 24 in Cook County, with eighteen of the Cook County districts in Chicago. This would give downstate a majority of ten votes in the Senate. Of the 59 representative districts, 29 would go downstate, 23 to Chicago and the remaining seven to Cook County outside of Chicago, giving Cook County a three-vote majority in the House.

"If approved by the voters in 1954, the 1955 General Assembly would determine the new district boundaries. Should it fail to do so, a special committee would be appointed by the governor, consisting of five members of each party, to redraw district boundaries. If the commission failed to reapportion, all 177 representatives would be elected from the state-at-large."

Two other amendments will also be submitted at the 1954 election. One would extend the state treasurer's term from two years to four. The other would permit the state to sell or lease state-owned canals or waterways, including the abandoned 96-mile Illinois-Michigan canal.

Revision of the judicial article of the constitution, on which the Illinois and Chicago Bar Associations have been at work for years, failed in the House after obtaining approval of the Senate.

Texas Legislature Submits 11 Constitutional Amendments

The 1953 Texas legislature, in addition to passing various important statutes, submitted eleven proposed constitutional amendments to the electorate. They will not be voted upon until the November 1954 general election. The more important ones include the following topics:

Empowering the legislature to set the salaries of elective state officials whose salaries are now fixed by the constitution, including the governor, secretary of state, attorney general, treasurer, comptroller and land commissioner; this amendment would also raise legislators' pay from $10 per day to $25, for the first 120 days of a session, with nothing thereafter, whereas $5 per day is now paid for additional days;

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[1] Presumably these would be elected by the system of cumulative voting provided elsewhere in the constitution. See the REVIEW, September 1953, page 410.

Establishing four-year overlapping terms for elective county, district and precinct officers;

Creating a state building commission, for construction of state court and office buildings, to be financed from the present Confederate pension fund;

Permitting counties with populations in excess of 190,000 to create county-wide hospital districts, to be supported by a tax not to exceed 75 cents per $100 valuation;

Authorizing federal old-age and survivors insurance coverage for proprietary employees of municipalities;

Prohibiting the use of state credit by any toll road authority.

One of the most significant legislative actions was the abolition of the present State Board of Control[1] and the creation of a new board, the members of which will set policies but will not have administrative functions. Administration of its activities will be under an executive director employed by the board.

Federal social security coverage was authorized for non-proprietary municipal employees, but the attorney general ruled that such coverage for proprietary employees would be unconstitutional at present.

A state turnpike authority was created, with power to construct and operate toll roads in cooperation with the highway department. It consists of the three highway commissioners and six other members appointed by the governor. Its activities are to be nonprofit, tax-free and financed by revenue bonds. The first project is to be a road between Dallas and Fort Worth.

A comprehensive court redistricting proposal failed to pass. Piecemeal additions of new courts in certain counties were vetoed by Governor Shivers and it is hoped that complete redistricting will eventually succeed.

Numerous interim studies were prescribed by the legislature. Subjects include the judiciary article of the constitution, job reclassification, water resources and higher education.

California Amendment on Terms of Officials

The California legislature has placed a proposed constitutional amendment on the next state election ballot to increase the terms of state senators from four to six years and those of assemblymen from two to four years. It would also limit governors to two successive terms of four years, except for the incumbent at the time of the revision.

Alabama May Modify Poll Tax Requirements

If a proposed constitutional amendment in Alabama is approved by the voters, the present constitutional requirement that poll taxes for all years from ages 21 up to age 45 must be paid by a prospective voter will be reduced to a limit of only two years or three dollars.

New York, New Jersey Join in Port Crime Control

An interstate agency to combat crime on the docks of the Port of

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[1] The chief duties of the Board of Control (comprised of three members appointed by the governor with Senate approval) were formerly control of state property and eleemosynary institutions and preparation of the state's biennial appropriation budget for submission to the governor. In 1951, however, many of its duties were transferred to other boards and the preparation of the budget was assigned to the governor's office.

New York has been organized and will assume authority in December. It is designated the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission and is the result of a compact arranged between the two states. It was approved by the New York legislature at a special session in June and by the New Jersey legislature shortly before its adjournment that month. The commission, as part of its program, will license dock workers and maintain public hiring centers for longshoremen. The "shape-up" system for hiring dock workers and the "public loader" system, both of which were found to be linked with gangsters and racketeers in the New York waterfront crime investigation earlier in the year, will be abolished. Interim cooperation between the two states has been provided for, pending approval of the compact by Congress.

Governor Dewey of New York has appointed Lieutenant General George P. Hays to the commission, and Governor Driscoll of New Jersey has appointed Major General Edward C. Rose. The cost of the commission's activities is to be met by assessments on industries using the port.

Survey Shows Short Ballot Advantage

Evidence that the long ballot, cluttered with a horde of minor elective offices, tends to diminish a voter's awareness of major officials is given by a survey of voters in two states—Virginia and Ohio.

The survey finds a relatively greater lack of awareness among voters in Ohio, where the long ballot prevails. The 1952 ballot, for example, was a large sheet filled with from 30 to 50 contested offices. Only 31 per cent of Ohio voters could name their present district congressman when questioned in the survey.

In Virginia, on the other hand, where ballots are very short (five officers or less), 57 per cent of the voters questioned could identify their present district representative.

Interviewing for the survey, which was conducted for the National Municipal League by the American Institute of Public Opinion, was done simultaneously in both states. A cross-section of Ohio and Virginia voters was asked:

"What is the name of the U. S. representative from this congressional district?"

Here are the results, based on those who voted in 1952:

	Per Cent Correct	
	Ohio	*Virginia*
Statewide	31	57
Men	32	49
Women	30	64
Education		
College	51	60
High School	34	58
Grade School	17	51
21 to 29 years	28	64
30 to 49 years	33	54
50 years and over	30	56

In Ohio, state and county officers and judges were elected at the national election in 1952. In the typical district the U. S. representative was lost in a twenty-inch list.

In Virginia, state and county elections are held in non-presidential years. Judges are all appointive and among minor state officers only one is elective. There are no counties overlapping the 27 cities, of which 26 have the short ballot council-manager plan.

Thus the typical Virginia district in 1950 voted for the single office of U. S. representative and in 1952 voted for presidential electors, a U. S. senator and district representative—three decisions for each voter to make as compared with the Ohioan's 30 to 50.

Lower Voting Age Proposed in Indiana

The Indiana legislature has proposed a constitutional amendment that would lower the minimum voting age to nineteen. It has also authorized absentee voting by persons at home or hospitalized by illness or injury on election day.

State-Local Relationships Studied in Connecticut

A seven-member commission to investigate relations between the state and its political subdivisions has been appointed by Governor John Lodge, as previously authorized by the legislature. The commission is to study and report on the distribution of governmental services rendered by the state and local governments and the need for additional state assistance to towns and cities. The investigation is expected to produce recommendations as to better methods of providing governmental services.

Georgia Requires High School Courses in Government

At its 1953 session the General Assembly of Georgia passed a law requiring all high schools supported by state funds to offer a course in federal and state government, supplemented by a study of county and municipal government. The course must be taught for the entire school year, and no student who has not successfully completed it shall be eligible for a diploma.

Since 1923 all students receiving a degree from any branch of the University System of Georgia have been required either to take a course in American government or to pass an examination on the constitutions of the United States and Georgia. An amendment to the law involved, passed in 1953 (Georgia Laws, 1953, page 532) adds the study of American and Georgia history to the prescribed requirements for a degree from a state-supported college.

Albert B. Saye
University of Georgia

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The city council of **Costa Mesa, California,** (1950 population 11,844) adopted on August 10 an ordinance establishing a council-manager plan. A manager has since been appointed. He is the administrative head of the city government, with authority to appoint, supervise and remove all officers and employees except the city clerk, attorney and treasurer.

The city council of **Rochelle, Illinois,** (5,449) has passed an ordinance creating the office of city manager.

South Miami, Florida, (4,809) voted 308 to 200 on July 31 to adopt a council-manager charter, to go into effect in not more than 90 days after the referendum election.

Madeira Beach, Florida, a new suburb of St. Petersburg, voted on July 14 for the council-manager plan. Its city commission has been screening applications for the managership.

Dover, New Hampshire, defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 2,614 to 2,080 on September 21.

A petition for a vote in November on the question of adopting council-manager Plan D has been filed in **Brockton, Massachusetts.** The city clerk has certified to the validity of 3,839 signatures, as against a minimum requirement of some 3,700.

In **Peekskill, New York,** the Republican city committee and its candidates for mayor and council have announced their support of a council-manager form of government as a main plank in their platform this fall. The local Kiwanis Club has also endorsed the manager plan and has petitioned the council, which has a Democratic majority, for adoption of the plan.

Montgomery Township, New Jersey, voted 526 to 372 on August 18 against adoption of the council-manager plan, thus retaining the present mayor and township committee, despite a pre-election petition of 90 per cent of the adult population protesting a rezoning plan, proposed by the committee, in favor of a granule manufacturing industry. The vote on August 18 represented about 80 per cent of the electorate.

A majority of the **Englewood, New Jersey,** charter commission advocates the employment of a general administrator.

Petitions are being circulated in **Henderson, Kentucky,** asking that a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan be held at the November election.

The mayor and council of **Cairo, Georgia,** have been considering the employment of a city manager. There had formerly been an officer with that title, but the office became vacant several months ago.

Jesup, Georgia, voted 243 to 159 on September 15 against a proposed city manager ordinance.

On September 8 voters of **Hialeah, Florida,** defeated a proposed new charter providing for the council-manager plan by a narrow margin — 2,084 to 1,943.

Petitions calling for a special election on the question of adopting the manager plan have been filed in **Spencer, Iowa.** They contain 545 signatures, or more than the necessary 25 per cent of the vote at the last city election.

The **Ferguson, Missouri,** Charter Commission has decided to follow the council-manager plan in drafting a new charter.

Petitions have been circulated in **Hannibal, Missouri,** calling for an election on the question of whether the council-manager plan shall be retained.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, defeated a proposed council-manager plan on August 25 by a vote of 5,471 to 2,227. The plan was vigorously fought by the incumbent mayor. A second question on the ballot, regarding the method of electing councilmen if the manager plan carried, resulted in a vote of 4,197 to 1,789 for election by wards rather than at large.

A draft of a council-manager charter has been prepared by a subcommittee of a council-manager charter committee established by Mayor Warren of **Tulsa, Oklahoma,** and has been submitted to the full committee.

Two petitions have been circulated in **Missoula, Montana,** for changes from the present commission form of government. One calls for the council-manager plan, the other for an aldermanic form.

The city council of **Brawley, California,** unanimously adopted a resolution on July 6 establishing the position of city administrator, who has the power to appoint and discharge all department heads except clerk, attorney, treasurer and auditor — all elective officials.

Members of the city council of **Burlingame, California,** have indicated approval of a 1954 referendum on the question of employment of a city administrator, with limited appointing powers.

Georgia Supreme Court Voids Home Rule Act

In a decision of September 15, 1953, (*Phillips et al.* v. *City of Atlanta*) the State Supreme Court held void Georgia's municipal home rule act of 1951.[1] The specific ruling was on the provision of the act authorizing a municipality to extend its boundaries, but the language used by the chief justice, speaking for an undivided court, leaves no doubt that the justices consider the act void in its entirety.

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[1] The Fulton Superior Court had likewise held the act unconstitutional on May 15. See the REVIEW, July 1953, page 342.

According to the decision of the court, the General Assembly has no authority to delegate legislative power to municipalities except as provided by the home rule article added to the constitution in 1945, which calls upon the General Assembly to provide uniform and optional systems of county and municipal government. The 1951 act did not provide these, but enabled any city to acquire broad powers of self-government, including the power to alter its charter, if a majority of its electors voting in an election on the question favored coming under the provisions of the act.

There is strong support for home rule in Georgia. The authors of the home rule act of 1951 were overambitious in granting to municipalities a greater range of self-government than the judiciary thinks consistent with the state constitution. A new home rule act will undoubtedly be introduced in the next session of the General Assembly.

Albert B. Saye
University of Georgia

Charter Report Assails Newark Commission Plan

In its final report, released early in September, the Newark, New Jersey, Charter Commission[1] severely criticized the city's present commission form of government, in effect since 1917, and proposed one of the mayor-council plans provided in the New Jersey optional municipal law instead. The proposed plan will be submitted to popular vote at the November 3 election; if approved the mayor and council will be elected in May 1954.

The existing form, with five commissioners, each heading a department, was denounced as "wasteful, extravagant, uncoordinated and not responsive to the basic needs of the city." The new plan would include a council of nine members, five to be elected from wards and four, as well as the mayor, at large. The mayor would be expected to exercise strong political leadership. Conduct of financial and personnel activities would be under a business administrator responsible to him. The charter commission recommends that the administrator be given responsibility for general supervision over all operating departments. This, according to the terms of the proposed charter, may be done by ordinance. The council would exercise legislative powers.

Employee Councils Assist in Personnel Policies

A recent development in employee participation in the formulation of governmental personnel policies and practices is an employee council established in Shorewood, Wisconsin, which discusses working conditions and over-all personnel policies with the village manager. Each city department elects a representative and an alternate for each eleven or twelve employees, making a total of eleven members on the council. Subjects taken up in the monthly meetings of the employee council have included salaries, retirement benefits, hospital and surgical insurance coverage, and planning picnics and parties for city employees and their families.

There are now reported to be many instances of employee participation in the federal service. Programs for this purpose exist in the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Library of Congress, the Department of Agriculture, the Navy Department, the Federal Communications Commission and several other agencies. The Hoover Commission Personnel Report recommended that heads of federal departments and agencies provide for employee participation in the formulation and improvement of federal personnel policies and practices by means of employee councils.

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[1] See the Review, June, page 288, and July, page 345.

Veterans Preference Modified by Congress

As reported by the National Civil Service League, "The first constructive revision of veterans preference was a major civil service accomplishment of the first session of the 83rd Congress: (1) A passing grade will be required of candidates before preference points can be added to civil service scores; (2) Only veterans with 10 per cent disability will be 'floated' to top of civil service lists.

"These changes, long advocated by the League, were passed shortly before Congress adjourned. On the negative side the 'floating' privilege of disabled veterans was extended to jobs paying up to $5,060 instead of the previous $3,000 limit. In addition, the Civil Service Commission now has the power to require hiring of veterans passed over in selection from eligible lists."

The 10 per cent disability requirement should prevent veterans with very minor disabilities from impeding the use of much better qualified personnel in the public service.

STUDY CITY FORMS

(Continued from page 452)

strong and weak points were brought out in each instance. The discussions were straightforward and remarkably free of individual prejudice. This wholesome approach contributed immeasurably to the success of the program.

The performance of the panels on local government ended on a note of complete satisfaction. To many members, the program served as a course in civics. While no planned method was used to evaluate member reaction to the program, word of the committee's work became the topic of conversation in the plant cafeterias, in the office and even in the homes of employees. Prior to the discussions, few were aware of the various forms of municipal government. Some confessed that they had no knowledge whatever of their community's governmental structure. Others knew that their particular city was administered by a mayor but they had no conception of his powers or duties. All seemed surprised at the scope of the subject.

The work of the Sound Government Committee helped to develop new techniques of using the place of employment as a discussion ground for governmental matters. In addition, the program improved employee relations and developed a common bond of interest among the technical and managerial staff of the Johnson & Johnson family.

The entire program has been a remarkable demonstration of the impact which a forward-looking industry can make upon the cause of good government. By arousing interest in the forms of local government through the weekly *Two Minutes Please,* the brochure, *My Town's Government,* and the panels, the members of the committee found themselves developing a healthy curiosity concerning the governments of their own communities. The net result was to promote the cause of sound government—yours and mine.

County and Township . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Sonoma County Secures an Executive Plan

Ordinance of Supervisors Provides for Administrator

THE BOARD of supervisors of Sonoma County, California, (1950 population 103,405) on May 1 established the position of county administrator. The plan will become effective November 1.

One of the crucial matters to consider in establishing managerial posts of this nature is the proper relations between the executive and department heads and employees on the one hand and between the executive and the governing body on the other. The Sonoma ordinance has a lot to say about these relationships as well as omitting a lot of things that could be said. For example, no mention is made of the term or tenure rights of the administrator.

The ordinance provides that the position shall be filled by appointment by the board, at a salary designated by it. No member of the board may be appointed as county administrator during his term of office or for one year thereafter.

Fairly broad powers are given the executive. Section 2 of the ordinance provides the bulk of them as follows:

"The county administrator shall supervise for the board of supervisors the administration of all departments, districts, institutions, services, commissions and personnel of the county over which said board has responsibility and control. In addition, the county administrator shall act as the administrative officer for said board to enforce all rules, regulations and ordinances which it has the power to apply to departments, districts, institutions, commissions, services and personnel, elective or appointive.

"The county administrator shall have the following powers, duties and responsibilities:

"(a) To recommend an annual county budget and to exercise continuous budgetary control, . . .

"(b) To require reports of departmental activities when necessary to the accomplishment of his duties,

"(c) To recommend desirable rearrangements of departments and functions, and to recommend improved forms and procedures,

"(d) To represent the county of Sonoma in its intergovernmental relationships when so authorized by the board of supervisors,

"(e) To conduct continuous research into administrative practices,

"(f) To recommend a long-term plan of capital improvements, with accompanying financial plans for their accomplishments,

"(g) To direct such central administrative services as may be found to be desirable, including the maintenance of buildings and grounds, the maintenance and control of transportation, the maintenance of central office services, including personnel and equipment. . . .

"(h) He shall be purchasing agent for the county and as such shall maintain and direct a centralized purchasing service for all county offices, institutions and departments,

"(i) To perform such other duties as he may be directed or authorized to perform by the board of supervisors, provided, however, that no provision of this ordinance shall be deemed to grant any power to, or impose any duty upon, said county administrator which is in conflict with any power or duty vested by law in any other department, district, institution, board, commission or personnel of the county."

No general appointment power is

vested in the chief executive by ordinance, although he does have power to recommend to the board of supervisors the creation or abolition of positions in any of the departments or agencies. Sonoma County, with its seat at Santa Rosa, is one of the several California counties with its own civil service commission.

Board Has Final Powers

Most of the powers of the administrator are qualified by being powers of recommendation to the board. Thus the budget he submits to the board is presented only after he has held departmental hearings and examinations, but it is specifically provided that the board, too, will hold departmental budget hearings after it receives the administrator's budget. Likewise, no transfers of funds shall be allowed until the administrator's recommendation is passed upon by the board; a similar provision is to be found concerning transfer of personnel, even temporarily.

Finally, Section 5 summarizes the relationships that exist between administrator, board and departments by providing that, "Any official, board, commission or person who is, or which is, the administrative head of any department, who is dissatisfied with any decision of the county administrator that affects such office, department, board, commission, district or person may appeal to the board of supervisors after submitting a written statement to the county administrator of his intention to do so and the general reasons therefor. The decision of the board shall be final."

Short of an on-the-spot case study, it is risky to generalize about forms of government, even to the extent of classifying them. The Sonoma County ordinance was adopted by a three-two vote, with one member absent. On the surface, at least, it would appear that the board has taken a moderate step toward executive responsibility. As it is framed, the ordinance gives great flexibility to the situation so that, in actual practice, the administrator could vary all the way from figurehead to a strong manager. Perhaps this flexibility makes managerial responsibility more palatable to tradition-bound county boards. If so, it may be a popular way to introduce full-fledged county executives.

Riverside County Chambers Approve Manager Plan

A plan to draft a new charter providing for the county manager plan has been endorsed by the Arlington, La Sierra and Jurupa Chambers of Commerce for Riverside County, California. The three chambers approved a report prepared by a committee of the Associated Chambers of Commerce which specified the manager plan, election of supervisors at large and appointment, rather than election, of many county officials.

Under the California home rule law, a board of freeholders would be elected by the voters in the county to draft a charter, which would then be submitted to the voters for approval or rejection.

Riverside County is being increasingly affected by the tremendous population growth of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. In addition, it has great variations in topography, economy and climate.

Mississippi Group Recommends Changes in County Setup

The Mississippi Economic Council, a private group devoted to civic leadership, has issued *Is This Your County?*, a study of Mississippi county government with recommendations. Perhaps the most unusual feature of the report is the manner in which the research was conducted. The research committee made field studies of eighteen representative counties in the state with the objective of finding out what was wrong with county government and what changes should be recommended. Contained in the report is a lot of good material from the field investigation, but recommendations seem somewhat weak in view of the otherwise excellent research study made.

Suggestions for change fall short of any major reorganization. For example, it is suggested that the practice in some counties of holding executive sessions of the board is not wise and needs to be limited to instances conforming to statutory requirements. Suggestions for constitutional changes include abolishing the offices of justice of the peace and constables and in their place establishing a county court system. Certain separation and combination of offices are recommended, so that the sheriff will become purely a law enforcement officer and the fiscal task of tax assessor and collector will be combined. Similarly, the offices of court and chancery clerk should be combined, and the practice of paying county officials on a fee basis abolished.

Suggestions for statutory change cover a wide area, the more important of which include abolition of the present office of county auditor-clerk, in its place creating an office of county controller. The county controller should be the fiscal agent of the county, the custodian of buildings, supplies and equipment, purchasing agent and clerk to the board of supervisors.

The report ends by making some administrative reorganization suggestions. Boards of supervisors are encouraged to divest themselves of all direct administrative work with the object of becoming over-all legislative and policy-making bodies.

While most of the recommendations are purely of local interest to Mississippi, the suggestion for a county controller is of more widespread interest. It is conceivable that, if the recommendations of the council were adopted by the legislature and carried out vigorously and completely, counties in Mississippi would have the beginning of a county executive system.

The Mississippi Economic Council has also put out a flier, *Time to Change,* which is a summary of the lengthy report. The suggestion for a county controller, however, is apparently not considered the central part of the report. It is, for example, given no more prominence than the requirement that county printing supplies be purchased from Mississippi firms only.

Despite the failure of the council to highlight the report so as to separate the more important recommendations from those less important, the study is a good one and should attract the interest of research and civic groups interested in county government.

Fulton County, Georgia, Makes Report to Its Citizens

Those who have watched with interest the development of better government in Fulton County, Georgia, will be pleased at its 1952 annual report, *Fulton County, Georgia: Report to Its Citizens on 1952 Activities.* Over 50 pages, the report contains excellent maps, pictures and illustrations of all types. It attempts to give the citizen a better understanding of the operation of county government and the services it performs. The county manager and county commissioners are to be congratulated on this unusual and excellent document. It may well serve as a model for other counties to follow in the future.

New York Counties Get Technical Assistance

A headquarters for the New York State Association of Clerks of Boards of Supervisors is now in operation at Cornell University, with the chief function of serving as a clearing house of information on technical problems in county government. The office will answer questions, issue bulletins and publish the results of research.

Inspiration for this research center came out of a meeting of the association held at Cornell in June. The university is helping with finances and providing quarters in the School of Business and Public Administration.

Faculty consultation is being given by Professor Edward A. Lutz of the College of Agriculture and Professor Albert M. Hillhouse of the School of Business and Public Administration.

Cornell University thus becomes a leader in giving technical assistance to county officials. While many state universities may assist cities, relatively few carry out an extensive program with the counties. Among the prominent exceptions are Virginia and Wisconsin. It is probable that the Cornell development is symbolic of a trend in a number of universities in paying more attention to county as well as municipal government in their technical assistance programs.

Tacoma and Pierce County to Coordinate Planning

The city of Tacoma, Washington, Pierce County and the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington jointly have been tackling the problem of how to approach metropolitan planning in the area. The county has decided to revitalize its planning commission as a necessary first step toward coordinated planning with the city. The University of Washington Bureau has offered its help in developing a joint planning agency and an initial plan.

San Diego County Gets Performance Budget

San Diego County, California, which has been one of the two dozen or so counties in the United States with relatively strong appointed executives, has achieved the distinction of being the first county to adopt a performance budget for its public works department.

Bar Association Considers Model Medico-legal Act

A draft of a model post-mortem examinations office act, prepared by Dr. Richard A. Leflar, dean of the University of Arkansas Law School, and a committee of the American Bar Association, was advanced at the association's August meeting in Boston. It is probable that the committee will have the draft in final form for approval by the Bar Association's 1954 conference, with the likelihood that adoption thereafter by the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws can be accomplished before the end of 1954.

A draft of the proposal in its present form may be secured from the National Municipal League. It sets up a statewide commission on post-mortem examinations, creates a chief state medical examiner with regional medical examiners under him, requires pathological experience, defines the cases in which autopsy may be required and establishes a central laboratory service. The new system would take over all functions of elective county coroners, who would be abolished by this act or by constitutional amendment.

R.S.C.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr and Wm. Redin Woodward

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Michigan Students Like P. R. for Elections

Use of the Hare System Prevents Factional Splits

SINCE its beginnings in the spring of 1946, the Student Legislature of the University of Michigan has conducted its elections according to the Hare system of proportional representation. That year the student body chose for its student government a representative body, elected at large, in preference to a small supercouncil which would have represented only the major campus organizations. The vote for adoption was more than two to one.

Just as the Hare system has had to defend itself constantly on the municipal level, so has it been necessary to defend it from time to time on the campus. But seven years of experience with the Hare system have pretty well made it a campus tradition, so far as student elections are concerned, and it has never been in any great danger of being thrown out. Still, each election sees two or three candidates who promise that, if elected, they will see that a different method of election is instituted.

The Hare system has been attacked as being too complex — that the voter is not willing to try to figure out a preferential ballot. Yet recent elections have seen higher and higher voter turnouts, with a high of 47 per cent recorded in November 1952. This is better than the turnout of voters at any other college of comparable size, and larger than that at some smaller schools. If anything, the Hare system is a point of interest to the voter, and he has come to accept it as most people accept their single "X" systems.

Not only does the University of Michigan have a respectable voter turnout but also our figures indicate that the voters are now better informed as to candidates and as to the system of voting than at any time in the past. In the fall of 1952, for example, of 7,400 ballots cast, only 195 were invalidated for failure to mark the ballot properly. In addition, the ratio of the number of ballots exhausted during the count to the number of original valid ballots is steadily declining. Elections four or five years ago would see as many as 650 to 700 ballots exhausted as compared to the present figure of about 450. The point is further emphasized by the fact that more ballots are being cast now than in the past. The voter is expressing many more choices on his ballot than before. Most every election sees a ballot going to a 22nd or 23rd preference.

Changing Quota

At Michigan we use an adaptation of the Hare system which is not, to our knowledge, used anywhere else in the country. After each transfer of ballots, the number of ballots exhausted by that transfer is subtracted from the number of valid ballots, and a new quota is calculated based on the number of valid ballots still in circulation.[1] As the count progresses, the quota drops slowly but steadily. As the quota drops, the Judiciary Council pulls ballots at random from the piles of those candidates already elected to bring their totals down to the new quota. The major virtue of this procedure is that each legislator is elected with the same number of votes. This particular step has been used throughout the seven years of Student Legislature elections.

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[1] For information on the changing quota see Hoag and Hallett, *Proportional Representation,* 1926, pages 380-383.

This feature is a necessity, inasmuch as there are generally 20 to 25 seats to be filled at any given election, and anywhere from 35 to 50 candidates competing. Were we to use as a fixed quota the original figure as calculated (generally about 300) we would find only about five to eight candidates reaching that figure before the election would be declared at an end. As a result, we would have about fifteen seats filled by persons elected with perhaps as few as 140 votes as compared to a quota of 300.

Although such a result could certainly be justified in terms of the Hare system, we feel that the spread would be too wide and could not easily be justified before the electorate. Although the pulling of ballots from the piles of those already elected may seem like an unnecessarily tedious job, we feel it is worthwhile in that it leads to a more equitable result. It is interesting to note that although there have been many attacks by some students on our use of the Hare system, the attacks have never been aimed at this feature of the process, although it is certainly the most novel.

It has been said that although the Hare system is a sound democratic method of election, it is not applicable to elections in which there are large numbers of seats and large numbers of candidates. We believe the feature of the changing quota makes the system applicable to an election of any magnitude.

It has been pointed out on many occasions how the use of the Hare system prevents the community from being split into bitter factions. In the case of the University community this means that in campus politics there is no split on an artificial geographical basis, nor is there a split between independent students and those affiliated with fraternities. Although affiliates hold a majority of seats in the Student Legislature, there has never been an issue in which the vote was split on that basis. Even when the famed Michigan Plan, which would have removed from campus those fraternities having discriminatory clauses in their constitutions after 1956, was approved by the Student Legislature, there were independents and affiliates voting on each side.

No Mud-slinging

This feeling of a basic unity can be seen in election campaigns. A preferential system of voting raises campaigning above the mud-slinging level simply because John Doe knows that if he expects to win he must persuade the people voting No. 1 for Joe Doaks that they should vote for him No. 2. There is thus little incentive to throw mud at Joe Doaks. The friendships and acquaintanceships developed in campaigns lead to a more harmonious functioning of the Student Legislature as a governing body. We are proud to report that it has been more than three years since there has been any attempt at voting fraud.

Such has been our experience with the Hare system. Seven years of its use has made the campus conscious of student government to a greater degree than at most large schools. The voter turnout has increased appreciably and is well above that of most schools. Our voters are continuing to become better informed as to the merits not only of the candidates but also of the election system. The unique feature of the changing quota adjusted to the changing number of transferable ballots has been successful in making the results of elections more equitable.

Certainly the continuous successful use of the Hare system has been the most significant contribution to student government at the University of Michigan.

Berton G. Braun
Student Legislature
University of Michigan

Proportional System Prevails under New Italian Law

The failure of any party or alliance of parties to obtain more than half the votes in the Italian national elections June 7 and 8 resulted in the votes being counted by the same proportional representation system which was used in the 1948 elections. A recent change in the election laws provided that a party or an alliance of parties obtaining 50.01 per cent of the votes would be entitled to a minimum of 380 seats, or 65 per cent of the 590 seats of the Chamber of Deputies.[1] This was expected to strengthen the hand of the outgoing government coalition.

Although the governing coalition, centered on Premier Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic party, polled only 49.79 per cent of the votes, the normal slight advantage of large parties in P.R. elections resulting from the division of the country into election districts, and the failure of very small parties to win seats, was sufficient to give this group 303 seats, or 51.4 per cent, in the Chamber of Deputies. In the concurrent Senate election, on a franchise with a higher age limit, this coalition obtained slightly over 50 per cent of the popular vote and a similar narrow majority of seats.

Premier de Gasperi's coalition of parties lost favor, as compared with 1948, to two distinct rival sentiments. The Communists and their left-wing socialist allies polled 35.7 per cent of the votes as against 31 per cent in 1948. The conservative opposition, though smaller in size, increased more markedly and polled 13.68 per cent of the votes compared with 4.8 per cent in 1948. This conservative opposition consists of a monarchist party and another regarded as neo-fascist.

The governing coalition went down from 61.9 per cent of the votes in 1948 to the present 49.79 per cent, all of its member parties losing strength except for two small local groups which were not in the 1948 contest. The popular vote and the distribution of seats in the Chamber of Deputies is given in the accompanying table.

Italian National Elections, June 7 and 8, 1953
Chamber of Deputies

Party	Votes	Per Cent Votes	Seats	Per Cent Seats
Christian Democratic	10,859,554	40.09	262	44.4
Right-wing Socialist	1,223,870	4.52	19	3.2
Liberal	815,681	3.01	14	2.4
Republican	437,899	1.62	5	0.8
South Tyrol People's	122,810	0.45	3	0.5
Sardinian Action	27,224	.10	—	—
Total of "Center Bloc"	(13,487,038)	(49.79)	(303)	(51.4)
Communist	6,122,638	22.60	143	24.2
Left-wing Socialist	3,440,222	12.70	75	12.7
Monarchist	1,856,661	6.85	40	6.8
Neo-Fascist	1,580,395	5.83	29	4.9
Others	602,230	2.23	—	—

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[1] See the Review, March 1953, page 146.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

City Income, Expenses Break All Records

Bureau of Census Reports 7 to 8 Per Cent Increases

THE nation's 481 cities of over 25,000 population received and expended more money during their 1952 fiscal years than ever before in their history, according to the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census. Revenue receipts and borrowings last year amounted to $7,719,000,000 and expenditures for all purposes, including capital outlays, amounted to $7,252,000,000. Revenues and borrowings were 8.5 per cent above 1951 and expenditures were up 7.2 per cent from the prior year, when the corresponding dollar figures had been $7,116,000,000 and $6,767,000,000.[1]

The total revenue for the year included $1,138,000,000 of borrowing, $805,000,000 for general purposes and $333,000,000 for utility purposes. The remaining $6,582,000,000 represented current revenues for the year and consisted of $5,256,000,000 general governmental revenues, $1,118,000,000 utility revenues, and $209,000,000 trust fund revenues. The gross expenditures included $534,000,000 for debt redemption (of which $415,000,000 was for general debt and $119,000,000 was for utility debt), $5,158,000,000 expended for general government purposes, including capital outlays, $1,329,000,000 expended for utility purposes, (also including capital outlays), and $231,000,000 of trust fund expenditures. In total, capital outlays represented $1,493,000,000 of all expenditures, or $355,000,000 more than the borrowing for the year.

The data reveal continuation of the trend evident for some years towards a lessening dependence on the general property tax in financing general government. In 1952, property taxes accounted for $2,576,000,000 of total revenues, and represented only 49.0 per cent of all general government revenues compared with 54.8 per cent five years earlier, in 1948. In 1951, property taxes had represented 50.2 per cent of all government revenues of cities over 25,000 population. Fiscal aid, mainly from the states, represented 19.7 per cent of general government revenues in 1952, down slightly from the 20.2 per cent level of 1951. The other 31.3 per cent of general revenues in 1952 came from a variety of local taxes, fees and charges.

City debt, which has been increasing rapidly in the postwar period, aggregated $10,592,339,000 in 1952 for the 481 cities, including $10,098,914,000 of long-term debt. The long-term debt was up 4.9 per cent from the $9,628,000,000 in 1951, and comprised $8,374,000,000 of full faith and credit obligations and $1,725,000,000 classed by the Census Bureau as "nonguaranteed," representing mainly revenue bonds. The part of the long-term debt incurred for utility purposes is not separately shown by the Bureau's data, but it may be noted that long-term debt issued in total amounted to $1,015,000,000, compared with $539,000,000,000 retired.

New York Transit Gains Third in First Month of 15-Cent Fare

The first full month of operation of New York City's transit system under the new fifteen-cent fare yielded total revenues 34.3 per cent higher than in August 1952, while the number of passengers declined 10.4 per cent compared with the month a year earlier, according to preliminary press reports of operations. Prior to the fare increase, it had been estimated that the new rate would increase revenues by 35 per cent, with an accompanying traffic decline of 11.1 per cent. The fare was increased from ten cents to fifteen cents on July 25, 1953.

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[1] *Summary of City Government Finances in 1952.* U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1953. 19 pp. 25 cents.

The city-owned transit system, comprising both surface and subway lines, carried 139,191,462 passengers in August 1953, and received $20,887,560 in passenger revenues. In August 1952, 155,409,733 passengers had paid $15,551,007.

The total figures disclosed a divergent trend between the surface and subway lines, however. The subways, including the elevated railroad lines, suffered only a 7.4 per cent traffic loss and gained 38.9 per cent in revenues in August 1953, compared with the 1952 month. The bus lines, however, sustained a traffic loss of 18.9 per cent and gained only 21.5 per cent in revenues for the same period.

On a fiscal year basis, the new fare is expected to increase transit revenues by at least $62,000,000. The new Transit Authority plans to use part of the increase to finance needed capital improvements, including repainting and repair of rolling stock and equipment. Workers, however, organized in the Transport Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, were prepared to press demands late in September for a 25-cent per hour wage increase for the system's 44,000 employees.

St. Louis Asks Special Session to Extend City Earnings Tax

With the city of St. Louis earnings tax scheduled to expire April 1, 1954, and the Missouri legislature not scheduled to be in session until 1955, St. Louis officials have asked the governor to call a special session of the legislature to extend the tax.

The city excise, levied at the rate of ½ of 1 per cent on the income of both residents and non-residents, failed to get reenactment from the 1953 session of the legislature.

Managers Study Special Assessment Use

Many cities are using special assessments to finance new street paving, sanitary sewers, curbs and gutters, sidewalks and other public improvements. Some 591 cities over 5,000 population use special assessments for paving, 540 for sewers, 539 for curbs and gutters and 527 to finance sidewalk construction, according to a survey made by the International City Managers' Association. In many cities repaving of streets, water main extensions, street lighting and off-street parking facilities also are financed by special assessments.

In general cities may use one or more of four methods of financing special assessment improvement projects: Reports from 679 cities disclose that 143 cities require complete or partial advance payment by property owners; 220 cities use temporary loans from city funds; 93 issue certificates or liens to the contractor for doing the work; and 450 cities sell special assessment bonds.

In 299 of the 450 cities where special assessment bonds are sold, the bonds are guaranteed by the full faith and credit of the city. The other 151 cities secure their bonds only by liens against the benefited properties.

Front footage of property is used exclusively by 473 cities as a factor to allocate costs of improvements to benefiting property owners. Another 138 cities use a combination of front footage and area to determine cost; 19 cities use area of the property exclusively; 11 use assessed valuation; 13 use a combination of area, front footage and assessed valuation; and 16 use a combination of front footage and value.

In 359 cities, special rules are used to allocate costs of improvements to corner lots, while 224 cities assess part of the cost against benefiting property that does not abut on improvements.

Retail Sales Tax Imposed by Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania's new 1 per cent retail sales tax went into effect September 1, to raise an estimated $125,000,000 in new revenue during the 1953-55 biennium. Proceeds of the tax are dedicated to educational purposes.

Exemptions include sales of bakery products, milk, groceries and meat as food products for human consumption, but not candy and confectionery; clothing and shoes, but not jewelry; newspapers and periodicals; medicine on prescriptions; materials consumed in manufacture or agriculture; cigarettes; gasoline; intoxicating liquor, including beer; utility services, the gross receipts from which are already taxed by the state; and the performance of personal services. An amendment to the bill has exempted water bills and articles used for religious purposes.

Since the end of World War II, nine states have adopted the general sales tax to provide a new major source of revenue. Pennsylvania is the only state with a 1 per cent tax. Most of the others impose a 2 per cent rate. States with levies above 2 per cent, however, have increased from five in 1946 to ten in 1953.

There are now, in all, 32 states imposing sales and gross receipts taxes. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, 3 per cent sales taxes are levied by Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina and Washington. States imposing a 2 per cent sales tax are Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, West Virginia, Wyoming and the District of Columbia. Indiana, under its gross income tax, subjects sales by retail merchants to a tax of ⅝ of 1 per cent and Pennsylvania has a 1 per cent tax.

Federal Onslaught Against State Revenues Proposed

Pennsylvania's adoption of a retail sales tax, raising to 32 the number of states using such an excise, emphasizes the concurrent publicity being given by proponents to adoption of a federal sales tax. According to the *New York Times*, more than two-score plans for a federal sales tax have been prepared by the U.S. Treasury Department, as substitute revenue measures to be presented to Congress in connection with the automatic expiration of the excess profits tax and reduction of income taxes next year.

The "principle" of a federal sales tax has been approved by several large business groups, including the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, according to press reports. So far, the only nationally prominent business group to oppose it has been the National Retail Dry Goods Association. Vociferous objections are expected from a number of the states, if and when actual proposals are before the Congress, since in a number of states the sales tax is the major source of revenue for non-highway purposes.

Citizen Groups Nominate Candidates

Seek Capable Citizens to Support for City Councils

NUMEROUS civic groups are looking forward to the fall elections and preparing to support a slate of candidates for election to the city council.

The Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, which has elected a majority of the city councilmen since inauguration of the council-manager plan in 1950, is stepping up its public relations campaign in preparation. Plans call for talks before civic groups, training sessions for new members of the speakers' bureau, issuance of an illustrated pamphlet explaining proportional representation (the method of electing the city council and school committee in Worcester), speeches in foreign languages before nationality groups and neighborhood meetings.

The City Charter Committee of Cincinnati announced its slate of nine candidates for the city council in July. The slate includes two incumbent councilmen, five newcomers and two candidates who were strong runners-up in the 1951 election.

The Charter Committee has distributed an attractive leaflet, *This Year Elect Councilmen You Can Trust,* with pictures and biographies of its candidates. A special Citizens Committee, made up of prominent Cincinnatians, will head campaign activities. Councilmen in Cincinnati are also elected by proportional representation.

The Good Citizens League of Sioux City, Iowa, has named a committee of fourteen members, representing all sections and interests of the city, to choose candidates to be supported by the league for election to the first city council under the manager plan. "Their major objective should be," says the Sioux City *Journal,* "to single out five of the city's most capable citizens — permanent residents whose honesty and ability are unquestioned — and then convince these persons they should run for the council. The city manager plan will function no better than the quality of men who make the policy. They must be chosen well." Sioux City adopted the council-manager plan in April of this year.

The Council-manager Association of Iowa City is also at work selecting candidates which it will support for the city council in November. Members have been asked to suggest names, which will be turned over to the candidates committee. The association, according to Chairman Roy Ewers, will probably endorse three persons, one for each of the council positions to be filled. "The council-manager plan thrives when, and only when, it has the support of active and informed citizens," wrote Mr. Ewers to members of the association.

The Citizens League of Cleveland has appointed its candidates committee which will mail questionnaires to all candidates for public office. Later the committee will interview the candidates and make recommendations to the League's board of trustees.

The Minneapolis *Tribune* of May 6, 7, 8 and 9, published the *Voter's Guide* of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis. The *Guide* included the reports of the committee on candidates at the May 11 city primary, giving brief biographical sketches, candidates' answers to questions on issues and the committee's comments on the candidates' understanding of duties and responsibilities of the job and the problems to be faced, their training for the job, etc. There were 74 candidates for the thirteen places on the city council alone.

The Charter Government Committee of Phoenix, Arizona, will seek election of councilmanic candidates who will support the city's council-manager charter.

The Citizens Union of New York City, which does not nominate its own ticket but makes recommendations among candidates on the ballot, gave wide publicity to its recommendations for the September 15 primary, including candidates for mayor. It will publish its usual *Voters' Directory,* distributing some 100,000 copies, a few weeks prior to the November elections.

The Detroit Citizens League, in its *Civic Searchlight* for August-September, lists candidates running in the September primaries, noting those which it considers "preferred" or "qualified." A short biography of each candidate is set forth and a proposed charter amendment is described with a recommendation that it be supported.

Other organizations endorsing local candidates include the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Civic Association, Richmond (Virginia) Citizens Association, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, and the Citizens League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

Citizen Planning Groups Seek to Preserve Cities

In order to keep the business district of Central San Francisco from becoming a "ghost town," 50 civic and business leaders have formed the Forward San Francisco Committee. Its aim is stated as follows: "The problem presented is that of selection of that 'balance' of the several agencies of movement which will best serve to preserve the integrity of the business center of the city and of residential and secondary business areas as well—and which are financially and engineeringly feasible to connect the city with all parts of the bay area."

According to the *Seattle Municipal News,* which reports on the matter, these "agencies of movement" include "mass transportation, which includes the facilities of the city and suburban transit systems; vehicular traffic flow, which includes freeways and limited access arterials, downtown and secondary business street patterns; and the terminal parking of automobiles, which includes downtown limited parking and perimeter or fringe all-day parking."

An article on "Decentralization," by Colonel Marmion D. Mills, adviser to the transit and traffic section of the Forward San Francisco Committee, has been distributed by the Central Atlanta Improvement Association with its *Newsletter* of July 9. It discusses "the flight of retail stores to outlying areas—particularly to the new perimeter shopping centers."

The Ins and Outs of Planning, "A Citizens' Guide to Planning for New Jersey Towns and Townships," has been issued by the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development and the Southern New Jersey Development Council. Sixteen pages, with interesting illustrations, the pamphlet sells for 50 cents.

The Regional Plan Association, covering metropolitan New York City, including Northern New Jersey and Connecticut, has issued a four-page mimeographed list of its publications, with their prices.

In Cincinnati, "New, hitherto untried approaches to Cincinnati's No. 1 and No. 2 problems—'suburbanitis' and downtown traffic congestion—are being explored by the City Charter

Committee's subcommittee on long range policy," according to the committee's *Queen City News*. "Leaders of the study already have proposed two challenging departures from precedent in (1) creation of a metropolitan level of municipal service, and (2) decentralization of parking facilities in the business area." Mrs. Iola O. Hessler, member of the City Planning Commission, is chairman of the committee on long range policy.

Cincinnati's Citizens Development Committee is also in the middle of efforts to solve the city's planning problems. Recent *Bulletins* publish articles on the subject. That for April carries "A Retailer Looks at Planning," by Fred Lazarus, Jr., the Development Committee's president; that for June, "The Five Objectives of Our Planning Program," by Sydney H. Williams, Cincinnati's director of planning.

The British Columbia Division of the Community Planning Association of Canada, has published a report (42 pages) on its Fifth Regional Conference at Vancouver, February 27. Among the subjects discussed were The Needs of Metropolitan Industry, The Needs of Metropolitan Transportation, The Needs of Residential Neighborhoods and Metropolitan Agencies in Greater Vancouver.

Urges Nonpartisan Elections

In a letter to the editor of the New Rochelle (New York) *Standard-Star*, Stanley H. Renton, president of the Charter League of that city, urges adoption of an amendment to the city charter to provide nonpartisan ballots for councilmanic elections. Says he, "Over a thousand American communities have . . . kicked out all the political parties so far as local elections are concerned. Nominations are made by petition only, not by smoke-filled caucuses. No party names or emblems are allowed. With no party crutches to lean on, the voters have to find out at least the names of the candidates they wish to vote for, and usually learn a little something more about them."

Committees Make Reports

A 75-page report on the Minneapolis General Hospital has been made by the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis. Release of the report brought banner headlines in the Minneapolis *Star*, daily newspaper. According to the organization's *News Bulletin*, "the hospital report is the first detailed study of a local government operation made by the League." The study had been requested by Mayor Eric G. Hoyer.

Two important reports have been issued by the New Boston Committee. One, *Boston's Neighborhoods — An Action Program for Their Conservation* (21 pages), was prepared by its Rehabilitation Committee; the other, a survey of the financial and taxation problems of the city of Boston, was conducted by Dr. Arnold M. Soloway of Harvard University under the auspices of the Subcommittee on Taxation.

Organize for Manager Plan

In Missoula, Montana, the Citizens Committee for Better Government has as its chief aim adoption of council-manager government for the city. At its organization meeting the committee heard Dr. Donald J. Emblen, of the Montana State University's Business Administration School, who discussed the history and benefits of the manager plan.

The City Manager League of Springfield, Massachusetts, organized to secure the council-manager plan, has passed its first hurdle. The petitions it filed, asking for a referendum on the plan, have been accepted and the question will be on the November ballot. The league has opened headquarters in a store on one of the main streets and plans an aggressive educational campaign.

The Association of Commerce of Joliet, Illinois, has announced that its poll of members on the council-manager plan showed an eight-to-one vote for that form of government over other forms. Stated percentagewise, 80 per cent of those voting favored the manager plan, 7 per cent favored the aldermanic form — a system which existed in Joliet until 1915, and 13 per cent the present commission plan. More than 50 per cent of the membership returned ballots.

Members of the League of Women Voters of Webster Groves, Missouri, voted June 3 to support the council-manager plan of government. The decision followed over a year's study of the subject.

Seek New Constitutions

The League of Women Voters of California has appointed a committee to study the possibilities for a constitutional revision campaign. The committee plans to analyze constitutional revisions made in recent years in other states.

Among the groups urging the calling of a constitutional convention in Louisiana are the Louisiana Bar Association, the League of Women Voters of Louisiana. and the Louisiana Junior Chamber of Commerce. The present constitution, adopted in 1921, is the state's tenth, reports the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana. It has been amended 302 times and is the longest state constitution in the country.

"Should Our Indiana Constitution Be Revised?" is the question raised by the League of Women Voters of Indiana in a recently issued eight-page booklet. Discussed is the method of revision, reapportionment and the short ballot.

Senate Felicitates Club

The State Senate of Illinois has adopted a resolution extending "our heartiest congratulations to the City Club of Chicago" on its golden anniversary celebration.

New Bulletin

Civic News is the name of a bulletin published by the Citizens of Greater Chicago. Recent issues deal with the actions taken by the Delegates Assembly of the organization held July 29 and with the need for judicial reform.

Neighborhood Meetings

The Citizens' Association of Kansas City, Missouri, has been holding a series of district meetings, according to its bulletin, *The Kansas City Citizen.* Purpose of the meetings is "to acquaint all residents of the district with the activities and purposes of the Citizens' Association and to give them a first hand account of present problems confronting the city government."

Annual Reports

The Stark County Tax League, Canton, Ohio, has issued its *Annual Report, July 1, 1953.* It not only covers governmental statistics for Canton and Stark County, but also contains some statistics for Ohio and for the nation.

Operations of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County During Incumbency of Ben B. Ehrlichman as President contains the highlights of that organization's work, as well as committee activities, from July 1, 1952, to June 1, 1953. An attractive leaflet of the league is called *A Citizens' Group Which Gets Things Done!*

This Is What We Do (sixteen pages, photographs) is a combined report of operations for 1952-1953 of the Citizens' Civic Association, Inc., and Citizens' Council of Allen County (Fort Wayne), Indiana.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

State, Local Fiscal Picture Investigated

Number of Financial Studies Indicates Increased Interest

A WEALTH of statistical information will be available to the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations when it addresses itself to the question of the fiscal resources which should be allocated to each level of government. It is evident that the whole fiscal picture at the state and local levels is being rethought, in a rather piecemeal manner to be sure.

The increasing frequency of studies on this subject is indicative of this fact. These studies should interest the new federal survey commission both for the data which they reveal and the interpretation placed upon that data by tax-conscious state and local officials and citizen organizations. A number of states are taking a fresh look at "trends" in public finance. A few of the more recent studies are mentioned here. Others have been noted in earlier issues of the REVIEW.

An information bulletin of the Texas Legislative Council, *A Survey of Taxation in Texas* (48 pages), includes a graphic presentation of Texas revenue receipts since 1929. Lynn F. Anderson and T. E. McMillan, Jr., of the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, have published a detailed analytical study of the Texas fiscal picture, *Financing State Government in Texas* (196 pages). The Pennsylvania Tax Study Committee, in its complete report *The Tax Problem* (329 pages), has assembled comparative statistics on taxation and expenditure in a number of states as well as comprehensive data on the Pennsylvania situation. The statistical summary in the *Louisiana State Tax Handbook—1953* (92 pages), published by Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, gives useful information on the complex Louisiana tax structure. *Trends in Public Finance—As They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers* (29 pages), compiled annually by the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, presents in a concise manner data showing the burden of federal, state and local taxes.

An analytical report of the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, *Sales Tax Collections* (25 pages), emphasizes the importance which the retail sales tax has assumed among state revenue sources. The Nebraska Citizens Council, in its *Report on the Sales Tax* (22 pages), evaluates the sales tax which has been proposed in Nebraska and summarizes the experience of other midwestern states in the sales tax field. *Local Sales Taxes in New York State* (13 pages) is the subject of a publication of the Cornell University Agriculture Experiment Station, by Frederick D. Stocker.

A recent number of the Citizen's Pamphlet Series published by the Governmental Research Center of the University of Kansas, *Recent Trends in County Finance 1947-1951* (34 pages), by Harry O. Lawson, summarizes the postwar financial experience of counties in Kansas. County tax revenues in Wisconsin are discussed in *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* published by the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, for July. "Ten Years of Total Property Tax Levied in California Counties" are summarized in the California Taxpayers' Association's *Tax Digest* for May 1953.

Among the more comprehensive of recent studies of municipal revenue problems is the collection of staff memoranda of the Illinois Legislative Commission on Municipal Revenue, edited by

Jack Isakoff and Gilbert Y. Steiner. It is published in one volume, *Illinois Municipal Revenue* (228 pages), by the University of Illinois' Institute of Government and Public Affairs. These memoranda go far beyond routine statistical reporting and get into a number of aspects of state-local relations on fiscal matters. The discussion of the full assessment program in Illinois should be of particular interest to the many officials who have become exercised about the perennial problem of property assessment. An article in the July number of *Tax Digest,* "Assessment of Rural Lands" by Crowell D. Eddy, deals with a further dimension of this same problem.

Another impressive study is Wylie Kilpatrick's *Revenue and Debt of Florida Municipalities and Overlying Governments* (285 pages), a joint publication of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research and the Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida. The report's summary in the form of basic questions and brief answers provides the reader with a bird's-eye view of the financial picture of Florida local governments.

Since the passage of Law 481, the action of Pennsylvania municipalities has been of general interest. The Pennsylvania Economy League (Western Division) has recently released a *Score Sheet for the Cities,* giving a fiscal comparison of 25 third-class cities in western Pennsylvania.

Another fiscal problem which must be included in the survey of intergovernmental relationships is the financing of capital improvements. An article in the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago's *Business Conditions* (January 1953) focused attention upon "The 100 Billion Dollar Backlog" of state and local public works. This article, and one from *Business Conditions* for February, "Lagging State-Local Tax Systems," were condensed in the March number of *Public Management* (International City Managers' Association) under the title, "The Backlog of Needed Public Facilities and Methods of Financing." The entire May number of *Municipal Finance* deals with the finance officer and municipal bonds. *Tax Policy* for May-June contains a paper on the subject, "Paying for Public Works," by Jeanne-Louise Haviland.

WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.

Annexation Studies

A study of the feasibility of various annexation schemes has recently been completed by the council and administration of the city of Midland, Michigan, (population 16,136). In its thoroughness, comprehensiveness and in other ways, the study should serve as a model for other small but fast-growing communities.

Philip N. Royal, principal engineer of the Seattle engineering department, has written a valuable *Report on Annexation Procedure and Policies in Effect in 16 Major Cities in the United States* (Seattle, 1953, 84 pages). Using material gathered in visits to some of the country's largest cities, the author describes and criticizes existing law and policies on annexation. Among several other recommendations for Seattle, Mr. Royal calls for adoption of a modified Virginia plan of judicial review of council annexation or adoption of a plan similar to Annexation Law Number One, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Civil Rights Defended

Two recent items are of especial interest in view of the many attacks launched against civil rights since World War II. University of Pennsylvania Law Professor Clark Byse has published a scathing indictment of the Pennsylvania attempt to establish stricter security requirements for state employees in "A Report on the

Pennsylvania Loyalty Act," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review,* January 1953. After thoroughly reviewing the provisions of the law, he looks at the experience in administering it and finds it has led to gross injustices among the few employees refusing to comply with its letter. He searches the history of oath provisions in other states and municipalities and finds that such laws have usually not punished Communists but have hit Quakers "and other idealists and nonconformists." "Instead of coming to grips with the problem of communism or of ascertaining why misguided Americans become Communists, and of trying to reclaim them to democracy's ranks, the act represents a surrender to the not uncommon weakness of 'enacting a law'—a law which purportedly meets a need, but which in fact does little, if anything, to remedy the underlying evil."

Judge Sidney Goldmann of the Chancery Division of the Superior Court of New Jersey, in his decision in the case of *Bantam Books, Inc.,* v. *Matthew F. Melko,* March 31, 1953, held that Mr. Melko, prosecutor of Middlesex County, was exercising arbitrary censorship through methods that were plainly unconstitutional. The prosecutor, acting for a private committee on "objectionable literature," had persuaded book dealers to remove certain books from their shelves by writing them letters and through investigations by his staff detectives. Judge Goldmann's opinion is noteworthy for its lengthy research of the history of censorship and the legal precedents on the subject.

Making City Surveys

Under the pseudonym of J. Dennis, a series of three articles about surveying a city's administration has recently appeared in *Public Management:* "Planning an Administrative Survey" (September 1952); "Conducting an Administrative Survey" (February 1953); and "Results of an Administrative Survey" (May 1953). Written in a narrative style about a hypothetical city, the series discusses many worthwhile points "real life" cities might adopt in their future surveys.

Professor E. Foster Dowell, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has prepared a thorough and interesting study of the government of Enid, Oklahoma, as part of a more general survey by the college's Agricultural-Industrial Development Service, of the economic resources of the city and its surrounding territory (*A Study of the Government of Enid,* Stillwater, 1953, 139 pages). He describes and criticizes in some detail the city charter, ordinances, administrative structure and administrative procedures and practices. The summary of recommendations is a clear and practical checklist of things to be done.

Kansas Legislative Proposals

The 1953 Kansas legislature presented twelve proposals to the Legislative Council for study and report to the 1955 legislature. In *Agenda for Council Meeting, May 13, 1953* (Topeka, 1953, 89 pages), the Research Department of the council has issued a preliminary review of each proposal. Among the subjects covered are periodic vehicle inspection, conformity with federal income tax provisions, presidential primaries and high school finance.

Libraries as Reference Service

In "A Local Research Service for City Officials" (*Public Management,* May 1953), Mary F. Mitchell argues that in most cities the public library can provide a valuable reference service for municipal officials.

Bureau Notes

Next winter a new publication, *The Journal of Public Administration,* will be launched by the New York University Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. To be issued quarterly, the *Journal* will feature outstanding student reports, thesis abstracts and articles by authorities in the field of public administration.

The Texas Research League has announced that it will study public school financing in Texas for the State Board of Education. The final report will include suggestions for improving the current systems of financing and school districts.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Authorities

The Problem of Boston's Metropolitan Transit Authority. By Warren H. Deem. Cambridge, Harvard University, Graduate School of Public Administration, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, 1953. 70 pp.

Bridges

Bay Crossing Problem. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* July 9, 1953. 2 pp.

Budgets

The Budget and Revenue Structure of New York City. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., *Information Bulletin,* June 1, 1953. 4 pp.

A Report on West Virginia Municipal and County Budgets 1953. By Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1953, 28 pp.

Business Districts

Future of the Central Business District. While the economic importance of the central business district has declined, it is still the only focus for many urban activities. By J. D. Carroll, Jr. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, *Public Management,* July 1953. 4 pp.

Consolidation

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Consolidation of the Town of Lake with the City of Milwaukee. Report to Town of Lake Civic Study Committee. Town Lake (Wisconsin), Office of the Budget Supervisor, 1953. 22 pp.

Coroner

The Office of County Coroner in Kansas. By George S. Blair. Emporia, Kansas State Teachers College, The Emporia State Research Studies, June 1953. 21 pp.

Crime

Protection Against Burglary. By Richard L. Holcomb. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 54 pp.

Directories

Louisiana State Agencies Handbook. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council, 1953. 217 pp. $1.50.

Twenty-sixth Annual Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials. 1953-1954. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1953. 72 pp. $3.50.

Fluoridation

Progress of Fluoridation. By E. L. Ludwig. Vermillion, League of South Dakota Municipalities, *South Dakota Municipalities,* May 1953. 3 pp. 10 cents.

Home Rule

Home Rule Upheld. By John Wyngaard. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, *The Municipality,* July 1953. 2 pp.

Industry

The Economic Importance of Port-Linked Manufacturing Industries in the Baltimore Metropolitan Area. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, May 1953. 57 pp. 50 cents.

Intergovernmental Relations

The Crossword Puzzle of Government Relations. Burlington, League of Iowa Municipalities, *Monthly Magazine,* July 1953. 9 pp.

Legislative Advisory Committees

Advisory Committees in the Legislative Process. By Gladys M. Kammerer. Gainesville, Southern Political Science Association in cooperation with the University of Florida, *Journal of Politics,* May 1953. 26 pp.

Licensing

Study of Administrative Procedure before Examining and Licensing Boards in North Carolina. By Max O. Cogburn and Ernest W. Machen, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1953. 107 pp.

Personnel

Should City Join Federal Social Security System? Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 8, 1953. 4 pp.

Primaries

Primary Elections as the Alternative to Party Competition in "Safe" Districts. By Julius Turner. Gainesville, Southern Political Science Association in cooperation with the University of Florida, *Journal of Politics,* May 1953. 14 pp.

Public Relations

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Public Relations (revised). By William A. Nielander. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1952. 29 pp.

Public Welfare

Report of the Temporary State Commission to Study Federally Aided Welfare Programs. Albany, the Commission, 1953. 16 pp.

Sanitation

Sanitary Engineering and Water Registrar. Washington, D. C., Government of the District of Columbia, Department of General Administration, Management Office, 1953. v, 71 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Debits and Credits. The Fiscal Return from Pittsburgh's Redevelopment Program. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* June 1953. 8 pp., tables.

Financial Record of the 1953 Minnesota State Legislature. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research Inc., June 1953. 11 pp.

Financial Review. A Guidebook to Newark Municipal Finance. Newark (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., 1953. 42 pp.

A Mid-1953 Analysis of Pennsylvania Budget and Revenue Requirements. By Arnold L. Edmonds. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1953. 51 pp.

Nonproperty Tax Revenues. By Charles F. LeeDecker. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review,* May 1953. 3 pp. 30 cents.

Total General Fund Expenditures of Wyoming Counties and First Class Cities and School Districts 1949-1953. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, July 1953. 23 pp.

Tax Exemption

Tax Exemption of Elected Municipal Officers' Expense Allowances. Montreal, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, *Listening Post,* June 1953. 1 p.

Traffic Safety

Municipal Regulation of Traffic View Obstructions. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1953. v, 103 pp. $2.00.

Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment Insurance for Farm Workers. By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. vi, 49 pp. $1.25.

Books in Review

State Supervision of Municipal Finance. By T. E. McMillan, Jr. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 100 pp. $1.00.

This study comes as a welcome addition to the literature on state-local relations. It brings up to date much of the analysis of the same general problems made by Wylie Kilpatrick more than ten years ago.[1]

The five areas of state activity in the supervision of local finance—accounting, auditing, reporting, budgeting and debt management—are described in a clear and concise manner. The textual treatment is not burdened with a detailed recitation of variations found from state to state. Significant differences are noted but appendix tables are used to present comparative detail. Carefully drawn conclusions emphasize that in the field of state supervision "rigidity is to be avoided as in usurpation of local responsibility."

McMillan's differentiation between municipal and private enterprise accounting shows emphatically that governmental accounting is something quite apart from business bookkeeping. The end of auditing should be more than the detection of fraud. Along with other aspects of financial reporting the audit should be presented in a form that is meaningful to the citizenry or, as the author puts it, "in a consumable fashion."

It is suggested that state supervision of budgeting might aid in placing municipal budgeting on a program or performance basis. In connection with debt management the requirement of a flexible scheme of state controls is particularly important because of the variations in types of indebtedness and the means used to evade rigid controls. It is to be regretted that mention is not made of the New Jersey arrangement whereby specific statutory debt limits are provided for local units subject to exceptions authorized by the appropriate state administrative agency.

Some readers will be disappointed that there is no systematic treatment of state agencies administering controls. However, this subject could be covered in a separate study devoted entirely to organization. McMillan chose to limit this discussion to the areas of supervision.

William N. Cassella, Jr.

Shopping Centers — Principles and Policies. By J. Ross McKeever. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1953. 92 pp. $6.00.

A charming, complete and readable review, copiously illustrated, of the new art of planning modern shopping centers on the fringes of cities for the modern well-spread-out residential countrysides of our automobile age.

R. S. C.

Ideas and Issues in Public Administration. A Book of Readings. By Dwight Waldo. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. x, 462 pp. $5.50.

This excellent book of readings is intended for use in college courses in public administration, but it contains numerous selections any person in public affairs could read with profit. An impressive list of authors includes John M. Gaus, Woodrow Wilson, Charles A. Beard, Paul H. Appleby, Harold D. Smith, Sir Henry N. Bunbury and others.

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[1] *State Supervision of Local Budgeting,* National Municipal League, New York, 1939; *State Supervision of Local Finance,* Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1941.

Although there are too few selections from the field of state-local administration, at least one selection, "The Blast in Centralia No. 5," by John B. Martin, is remarkable for the penetrating insight it gives into the complexities of administration in the present federal system.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Budgets

A Mid-1953 Analysis of Pennsylvania Budget and Revenue Requirements. By Arnold L. Edmonds. (Address before Tax Institute Conference on "The Pennsylvania Tax Question.") Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1953. 23 pp.

Campaign Financing

Financing Presidential Campaigns. A Selected Bibliography of 1952 Literature. By Isabella Mallory Hayes. College Park, University of Maryland, Library, 1953. 12 pp.

Civil Defense

Home Shelters for Family Protection in an Atomic Attack. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1953. iv, 86 pp. 30 cents.

Community Life

Mobility—A New Aspect of Community Life. By Richard D. Duke. Washington 6, D.C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* July-August 1953. 7 pp.

Crime

Organized Crime and Law Enforcement (two volumes). Edited by Morris Ploscowe. New York 38, The Grosby Press, 1952-1953. 318 and 259 pp. respectively. $5 each.

Debt

Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States. New York 4, The Bond Buyer, 1953. 492 pp. $1.00.

Directories

U. S. Citizens in World Affairs. A Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations. Who They Are, What They Do. By Katharine C. Garrigue. New York 17, Foreign Policy Association, 1953. iii, 389 pp. $3.50 paper, $5.00 cloth.

Education

Illinois School Problems. Final Report. Springfield, Illinois School Problems Commission No. 2, 1953. 123 pp.

Federal Government

United States Government Organization Manual 1953-54. By General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, 1953. 734 pp. $1.00.

Legislative Bodies

Mason's Manual of Legislative Procedure for Legislative and Other Governmental Bodies. By Paul Mason. New York 36, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. 640 pp. $6.50.

International Relations

NATO and World Peace. Edited by Ernest Minor Patterson. Philadelphia 4, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* July 1953. vii, 152 pp. $2.00.

Municipal Government

Final Report to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Los Angeles. Comments and Recommendations on Municipal Art Department. Comments and Recommendations on Recreation and Parks Department. Comments and Recommendations on Real Property Control. Recommendations for Reorganization of Receiving Hospital and Ambulance Services. Recommendations for Reorganization of the Los Angeles Public Library. Recommendations for Reorganization of the

Department of Public Works. 2nd Progress Report. By Los Angeles Commission for Reorganization of the City Government. Los Angeles 12, the Commission, 1951-1953. 21, 5, 11, 15, 10, 11, 15 and 23 pp. respectively.

Greensboro Today . . . Will Be Greater Greensboro Tomorrow. By George H. Esser, Jr. Greensboro (North Carolina), City Council, 1953. 57 pp. Illus.

Municipal Codes, Charters and Ordinances in the University of Illinois Library. Urbana, University of Illinois, Library, 1953. 21 pp.

A Survey of the Municipal Organization and Administration of the City of Rockford, Illinois. By John James Hunnewell. Rockford, Civic League, Inc., 1953. xvi, 203 pp.

Parking

Vertical Parking Garages. By Charles W. Lerch. Chicago 4, Charles W. Lerch & Associates, 1953. 12 pp.

Personnel

"Fringe Benefits" — Practices and Costs in Michigan Municipalities. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1953. 113 pp. $4.00.

Public Works

Paying for Public Works. Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* May-June 1953. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Recreation

Planning for Recreation. A Guide for Tennessee Communities. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission. 1953. 37 pp. Illus. $1.00.

Report, Fifth Annual California Recreation Conference, February 10-13, 1953, Long Beach, California. Sacramento, State of California Recreation Commission, 1953. 63 pp.

Service Charges

Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee, 1953. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1953. iii, 115 pp. $1.00.

Streets and Highways

How to Plan and Pay for Better Highways. (A report on General Motors Better Highways Awards.) Detroit 2, General Motors, Department of Public Relations, 1953. 99 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Municipal Security Analysis and Bank Investment Problems. A discussion of investment problems of banking institutions related to the analytical techniques for judging municipal credit. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 7 pp. Charts. 50 cents.

Revised Summary of State Government Finances, 1942-1950. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953. 69 pp. 35 cents.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1952. By Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Governments Division. Washington 25, D. C., the Bureau, 1953. 19 pp. Tables, charts.

Two Decades of the Tax Institute. Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* March-April 1953. 16 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for November 1953: **Pedestrian Safety.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council. Variously paged.

Trees

Disposal of Trees—Big Problem for Municipalities. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors, Bureau of Municipal Training, 1952. 3 pp.

Trees—Planting, Trimming, Removing and Spraying. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors, Bureau of Municipal Information, 1952. 15 pp.

Keith Named to League Staff

John P. Keith, for the past two years senior staff research associate for the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, has joined the staff of the National Municipal League.

John P. Keith

From 1948 to 1951, Mr. Keith served as a social science research associate with the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Texas. He was also research assistant with the Providence Governmental Research Bureau in 1945 and 1946.

While with the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, Mr. Keith participated in the preparation of the *Report on the General Management of the Michigan State Government* and the *Report on Michigan Regulatory Agencies.* In Texas he wrote *City and County Home Rule in Texas, A Public Relations Program for a Citizens Committee* and *Methods of Constitutional Revision.* He erved as secretary of the Texas Citizens Committee on the Constitution and of he Citizens Committee for Reorganiza- on of Michigan State Government.

He holds a B.A. degree from the University of Arizona, M.P.A. from Wayne University and D.P.A. from the nstitute of Public Administration.

Reserve Your Room!

Don't forget to make your reserva- ons early at the Jefferson Hotel, head- uarters for this year's National Con- rence on Government in Richmond, irginia. That way you'll have a better hance to get just the kind of accom- odations you want.

Historic Charlottesville Has Many Attractions

For those Conference-goers who are planning side trips to some of the historic spots in Virginia either before or after the 1953 sessions at Richmond, a journey to Charlottesville will be well worth the time.

Only 70 miles from Richmond, this city is the site of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home, which he designed and built, and of the University of Virginia, founded and also designed by Jefferson. Also at Charlottesville is Ash Manor, home of James Madison. All these buildings are open to the public.

Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's stately home, where the great early American statesman now lies buried.

League Issues Civic Manuals

Two manuals, long needed by civic campaigners, will be published by the National Municipal League this month. The titles are *The Citizen Association: How to Organize and Run It* and *The Citizen Association: How to Win Civic Campaigns.*

The manuals summarize what the League has learned about organizing and campaigning for two generations. The texts were prepared by Alexander L. Crosby, who has written several other pamphlets for the League. League staff members edited the manuscripts and more than 25 civic leaders in various cities contributed their criticisms.

"Judging from comments we have had on the preliminary drafts, the two pamphlets will be highly useful," Executive Director Alfred Willoughby says. "Our aim was to answer every important question that an active citizen would ask. We have cited dozens of actual examples of successful techniques instead of preaching theory.

"Although the manuals are intended primarily for citizens who don't have a long backlog of experience, we have included a great deal of material that will be valued by veterans in the field of citizen action. These booklets will, we are confident, help to increase the percentage of citizen victories. Almost any battle can be won if the campaign is intelligently planned and expertly managed."

Fresh data for the manuals were obtained by sending 17-page questionnaires to 37 leading citizen organizations, most of which replied in detail. Many gave case histories of their most significant campaigns. Fifteen of these stories were selected for publication in *How to Win Civic Campaigns.*

Advice on fund-raising techniques is given in *The Citizen Association: Ho to Organize and Run It.*

The 64-page pamphlets are 75 cen each, or $1.20 for both. Discounts of to 50 per cent apply on quantity orde so that a citizen group may purcha copies for its entire membership.

Weidner to Edit REVIEW Section

Edward W. Weidner

Professor Edward W. Weidner, head of the Department of Political Science at Michigan State College; is the new editor of the County and Township section of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. He succeeds Elwyn A. Mauck, who relinquished the post recently when named public administration consultant in the State Department's Institute of Inter-American Affairs, a job taking him to Brazil.

Professor Weidner was a member of the League's staff in 1944 and 1945 and edited the Local Affairs Abroad section of the REVIEW from 1944 to 1947.

At Michigan State he is also director of the Governmental Research Bureau He has taught political science at the University of California (Los Angeles and at the University of Minnesota where he received his academic degrees Dr. Weidner collaborated with Dr. Wi liam Anderson at that institution o the ten volumes comprising a study o "International Relations in the Unite States as Observed in the State o Minnesota." He is author of textboo on government as well as many articl on the subject.

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ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
EDWARD W. WEIDNER, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
WM. REDIN WOODWARD
Proportional Representation

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NEWS for League Members

Conference Ready to Roll

The 59th National Conference on Government opens in Richmond, Virginia, on November 8. It will be the first time since 1911 that city has played host to the annual Conference conducted by the National Municipal League.

Ed. P. Phillips

More than 500 civic and business leaders, local and state officials and educators from all sections of the United States will participate for four days in over 30 dinner, luncheon, school and panel sessions dealing with a wide variety of state, county and local problems. Increasing national concern over the mounting problems encountered by local government gives added import to the 1953 Conference.

Ed. P. Phillips' committee of Richmond laymen and educators have gone "all out" to focus local attention on the general topic "Youth in Civic Affairs." Richmond's four high schools and three colleges have arranged special assemblies to take place during the Conference at which prominent Conference speakers will make addresses.

A departure from the pattern of past Conferences is emphasis this year on the role of newspapers and other mass media in mass civic education. Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, will preside at a panel session on Wednesday morning, November 11, which will consider "The Newspaper as a Civic Force." Robert B. Hudson, director of the University of Illinois' Office of Broadcasting, will lead a group discussing "Mass Civic Education."

In addition to jury hearings for the All-America Cities awards of 1953, sessions include such topics as "Business and Professional Men in Public Office," "Ethics for Legislators," "Municipal Public Relations," "Civic Education in the Schools," "Women as Campaigners," "The Citizen and Juvenile Delinquency" and "More Responsible States."

Meetings Held to Aid League Study

Several group meetings have been held recently in Washington and Princeton, New Jersey, to facilitate the evaluation study of the League's program and future planning being conducted by Dr. Joseph E. McLean.

Attending a two-day meeting at Princeton Inn, October 2 and 3, were: Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati; Herbert Emmerich, Chicago; Dr. Roscoe C. Martin, chairman of Syracuse University's Department of Government; and Cecil Morgan, New York, all members of the League's Council; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis, regional vice president; Mrs. Preston Farley, Evanston, Illinois, former secretary of the Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision; Stanley Gordon, New York, executive associate of The Ford Foundation; Professor Victor Jones, Wesleyan University, authority on metropolitan areas;

(Continued on next page)

Competition Keen in All-America Contest

The 1953 All-America Cities awards, given annually to eleven communities presenting the best evidence of intelligent and effective citizen action, have attracted wide attention.

On the basis of a variety of impressive scrapbooks and exhibits submitted to the National Municipal League before the National Conference on Government in Richmond, where the 22 communities selected by the Contest Committee will present their cases before a jury of twelve, it appears that the competition will be keen from all areas of the U. S. George H. Gallup, jury foreman, will face the task of obtaining agreement on the eleven winners during jury sessions set for November 9-10.

The contest is five years old and was initially sponsored by the League and the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Last year *Look* magazine became co-sponsor.

More than 100 preliminary nominations for the 1953 awards were received.

Serving on the Contest Committee are Mrs. Edith P. Welty, former mayor of Yonkers, New York; Bayard H. Faulkner, former mayor of Montclair, New Jersey, and chairman of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government; and Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League Executive Committee.

Meetings

(Continued from preceding page)

Guy C. Larcom, former director of Cleveland Citizens League; Oxie Reichler, editor of the *Yonkers Herald Statesman*; and Dr. Wallace S. Sayre, chairman of the City College of New York's Department of Government.

Alfred Willoughby, executive director, and John E. Bebout, assistant director, also attended one session.

Four League staff members met with two groups of political scientists in Washington in September during the annual conference of the American Political Science Association.

Suggestions were made to increase the role of academicians in developing model laws and other programs.

From left to right, Bayard H. Faulkner, Richard S. Childs, William N. Cassella, Jr. (of the League's staff) and Mrs. Edith P. Welty selecting the cities which will be invited to send spokesmen to appear before the All-America Cities jury.

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Editorial Comment

Voters Frustrated for 100 Years!

IT WAS on November 24, 1853, that the *National Intelligencer* reprinted from the *New York Express* the following editorial:

Confusion of a New York Election

> Making every body vote for every body is only a strong description of a New York City election day. There were four regular and field state tickets on the ground election day—the Whig, the Hard-Shell, the Soft-Shell, and the Free Democrat; four city tickets—the City Reform, the Whig, the Hard-Shell, the Soft-Shell; and besides many Temperance, Free Democrat and Independent candidates. The whole number of candidates on the different lists which were circulated at the polls, regular and irregular, amounted to nearly five hundred. . . .
>
> It is the height of folly to be making a whole state vote for inspectors of state prisons, for example. What do we here know about them, the management of them, or the proper men to manage them? If a name is on our ticket we "go it blind," of course, and vote as we are told; and that is all we know. What folly, too, for a whole state to be voting for an engineer and surveyor, as we are doing! What do we know about *engineering* or *surveying*, or what do we care, in our respective walks of life? We are more likely to get a bad engineer than a good one under our system, because good engineers do not covet state convention nominations as poor ones do. The whole system for the state is wrong; but it is much worse when we come to the city, and vote for all the heads of the city departments, and mix up contracts, lamplighting, street-cleaning, &c. with the bustle, noise and confusion of the ballot-box.
>
> We are very sure that there was not an honest, intelligent voter yesterday who did not feel that he had been wronged in his right of suffrage by the confusion and multiplicity of names and places which the laws had allowed to be thrown before him.

Well, since 1853 we have inched along toward the short ballot and a practice of asking the voter to settle no more than five contests on election day.

Perhaps the first hundred years are the hardest!

New Yorkers no longer elect inspectors of state prisons. The state engineer and surveyor, along with secretary of state and state treasurer, went off the ballot in 1927. More recently coroners, county clerks, registrars and sheriffs in each of the metropolis' five counties ceased to flit across the unscrutinized lower end of the ballots. Longer terms, smaller council, separation of state and municipal elections have combined to make the ballots in New York City present only half as many elective offices in a four-year cycle, 293 instead of 578 of 35 years ago!

If the judges could be taken off in response to a current effort, New York City ballots would present no more than five contests in any district each November and the voters would find themselves masters of this part of the democratic process.

Ghosts on the Jersey Ballots

ALL but three of New Jersey's 21 counties have long since transferred the functions of coroners to appointed qualified medical examiners, leaving to the coroners no duties and no pay. In 1947 New Jersey followed New York in dropping elective county coroners out of its constitution. But the Jersey statutes requiring election of coroners linger on the books.

So here is the November 1952 ballot of Essex County, with Republican and Democratic candidates for coroner as of old. But here, too, is a handsome illustrated brochure entitled *County Government in Essex* (108 pages), published by the governing board of the county, describing the county government functions one by one. With no mention of the coroner whatever! The telephone book does not list him either!

But the dull farce of "electing" over 40 such ghosts in various New Jersey counties apparently must go on until somebody takes a duster to that section of the law.

The City Sleeps

Hush, ye, in Dorchester and State Street. Speak only quiet words, you in city hall and Berkeley Street. Let the purple panes on Beacon Hill reflect only their calm past. The city lies half slumbering, and woe to any who would awaken her.

Stop them who would build schools faster. Maybe there are politicians among them, or tactless men or men of the wrong face. Reject the careful planning of the wise ones from outside who dare to raze the halls of learning venerable with a century's dust. The foreigners know not how we would rest.

Be wary of such turbulent gentry as strive in associated zeal to make a New Boston. Someone may keep a horse to ride with clattering hooves through the still streets. Suspect the keen researches, for they cast doubt on what is, and what is has been for a long time. Prefer at the polls the machines of those unambitious ones whose slick contrivings will disturb no old customs.

Resist the unshackling of our public ways and leave untouched those listless streams of traffic that stop and move and slow again in gentle eddies and block the city from itself. Even though diverse citizen interests submerge differences in a great and common goal to make our streets highways again, let the heel be dragged and the hand lifted but a little. Grant one reluctant boon of timed parking, to doom it by the light touch at the curb. For the rest, make it's-been-tried-and-didn't-work wait on it's-never-been-done and it-can't do. A tired bureaucracy begs to be left alone.

This is Boston where they seek not ways of accomplishing things but ways of not accomplishing them. This is Boston where revelry is inactivity. This is Boston, frustrated and otiose, but content.

Hush, ye, in Dorchester and State Street.

Reprinted with permission from *The Boston Herald* for October 16, 1953

Land Grabbing—Texas Style

Liberal procedures by which cities may annex adjoining unincorporated areas stir bitterness, create problems.

By J. M. CLAUNCH*

WHILE in many parts of the United States cities are completely thwarted in their efforts to annex adjacent territory, Texas communities, big and little, are having a "land grabbing" field day. Of the 106 cities in the United States which annexed one-fourth square mile or more in 1952, 20 were in Texas. Even this imposing number is not as significant as the extent of the areas annexed by the larger Texas cities.

Within the past decade Fort Worth has made two large annexations and numerous small annexations to expand its corporate area from 50 square miles to approximately 106 square miles. The city of Houston by one ordinance in 1949 annexed 79 square miles, increasing its population by 105,000 and the area by 104 per cent. That same year San Angelo annexed 21 square miles, increasing its area 280 per cent. Dallas annexed 21 square miles in 1951 and another 28 square miles in 1952. San Antonio more than doubled its area in 1952 by annexing 80 square miles. The only other city in the United States which annexed more than ten square miles in 1952 was Texas City, which expanded slightly more than 100 per cent with the annexation of 10.76 square miles.

These headliner annexations were soon to be eclipsed by an epidemic of annexations and incorporations in Dallas County where, early in 1953, smouldering opposition engendered by earlier annexations to Dallas suddenly exploded in Grand Prairie and set off a whole chain of "protective" annexations among the smaller cities of the county and a wholesale incorporation movement in the unincorporated communities.

Grand Prairie, with an area of less than five square miles and a population of 15,000, is located between Dallas and Fort Worth in an area that is becoming rapidly industrialized. In 1948 Dallas extended its city limits down a narrow isthmus or ribbon of land to annex some industrial developments within a few blocks of Grand Prairie, which action the smaller city branded as a "tax steal." That same year Grand Prairie adopted a home rule charter, thus acquiring the power to annex adjacent territory by the simple expedient of passing an ordinance.

It is a common practice of home rule cities in Texas to stake out their claim to adjacent territory by passing an annexation ordinance on "first reading," freezing this territory until such time as the home rule city is ready actually to annex it. Grand Prairie took such "first reading" action on three areas in 1951, two areas in 1952 and one area early in 1953, increasing the potential size of the city to approximately 30 square miles.

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*Dr. Claunch is assistant professor of government at Southern Methodist University and executive director of the university's downtown college. He was formerly a member of the Texas legislature.

Then, on May 6, 1953, in a surprise action, the city council staked off annexation claims over a sprawling 72-square mile area stretching into two counties, and earmarked for eventual expansion a corporate area of more than 100 square miles. This "protective" action pushed the proposed boundaries of Grand Prairie to the doorsteps of four other cities —Arlington, Dallas, Duncanville and Irving; flanked the new multi-million-dollar Fort Worth Airport on two sides; and, ironically, swallowed up the unincorporated town of Arcadia Park (population 3,000) which only three months earlier had voted three-to-one against a proposal to incorporate.

Annexation Questioned

The surprise annexation has not gone unchallenged. Fort Worth protested the inclusion of fifteen square miles which that city had purchased as a site for guide lights for airport landing strips and the Grand Prairie city council "gave back" this area. Sixty-nine acres have been given back to Duncanville. A group of land owners has filed a $202,000 damage suit against Grand Prairie alleging that the city has made arbitrary and capricious use of its annexation power.

Meanwhile, the other space-hungry towns in Dallas County have been "taking out insurance" for their own future. Initiatory action to expand their corporate limits has been taken by Lancaster, Duncanville, Hutchins, Cedar Hill, Garland and Mesquite. Mesquite is drafting a home rule charter which, if adopted by the voters, will give that city the same freewheeling annexation power now enjoyed by other home rule cities.

Four new towns have been incorporated in Dallas County this year: Addison by a vote of 19 to 11; Balch Springs, 44 to 6; Daniel Dale, 14 to 1; and Sunnyvale, 51 to 1. Two other attempts to incorporate were defeated: Rylie, 252 to 128; and Arcadia Park, 338 to 98.

Since 1945 Dallas has taken in 78 square miles to make its present area 172 square miles and has staked out claims on several other small areas. The claims staked out by Grand Prairie have apparently sealed off for good any additional western annexations by Dallas. More than one-third of Dallas County's 893 square miles will be within the borders of incorporated cities if the announced annexations are ultimately completed.

The annexation procedure for home rule cities in Texas is obviously very liberal. The constitution of Texas provides that any city having a population of 5,000 or more may frame and adopt its own home rule charter and 120 cities have done so. The charter may—and usually does—provide for the extension of the corporate limits and the annexation of adjacent territory by charter amendment or ordinance, without the consent of the people or any consideration of the need for municipal government in the annexed area.

The only serious restriction on the annexation power is the settled law that one city cannot annex any part of the territory of another city. This limitation is a formidable barrier to the orderly expansion of a city in a large metropolitan area fenced in by the strangling growth of small incorporated areas around it. Residential communities on the outskirts of home rule cities frequently have forestalled annexation by incorporating themselves as municipalities. Home rule cities have retaliated by using their extensive annexation power to completely encircle these fringe-area towns, cutting off their further development. There are, for example, four municipalities or enclaves within the borders of Dallas.

Numerous Controversies

The liberal annexation power of home rule cities in Texas does not mean that these annexations are made without opposition. They sometimes stir up bitter controversy and leave deep political scars. A post-mortem on the 80-square-mile San Antonio annexation of 1952 would list the following subsequent developments: (1) an abortive attempt to recall five council members; (2) an unsuccessful law suit; (3) the defeat of the council and the ouster of the city manager; and (4) a disannexation ordinance passed by the new council detaching 65 square miles from the 80 square miles annexed by the previous administration.

It will be unfortunate if the injudicious use of liberal annexation powers provokes the legislature into circumscribing those powers. The current annexation spree has generated widespread opposition which may become articulate before the next session of the legislature. A group in Dallas County has organized the Texas Association for Fair Annexation and made tentative plans to set up a statewide organization. The last legislature discussed several proposals to restrict city annexation powers, and the Legislative Council of Texas has been requested to study the problem of city expansion and report its findings to the legislature in 1955.

Liquor Sales Aid to Cities

Number of municipal liquor stores in Minnesota increases; net profits of more than 17 per cent go to local coffers.

By C. C. LUDWIG*

IN 1952, 360 of the 805 cities and villages in Minnesota operated municipal liquor stores under a system of control which has proved to be an important augmentation to pinched municipal revenues.

The municipal liquor store institution was authorized in Minnesota by the State Liquor Control Act of January 6, 1934.[1] This authority gives councils in "wet" municipalities under 10,000 population the option of establishing exclusive municipal stores. The alternative method is, of course, licensing.

In the nineteen years since the stores were authorized, their number has grown steadily until now the municipalities with such stores substantially exceed those which license private outlets. There were 165 cities and villages with municipal liquor stores in 1940, 208 in 1945, 301 in 1948, and 360 in 1952.

Each municipality is permitted to decide for itself whether sales are to be made through off-sale or package stores—for consumption off the premises only, on-sale stores—for consumption on the premises only, or both. Of the present number, 293 are combination on- and off-sale outlets and 67 are off-sale outlets.

A municipality is not limited to one store by law, although most operate one only. A few places have two and International Falls has four.

As authority to operate a municipal liquor store is given to cities and villages under 10,000 population only, the large proportion of municipalities having such stores does not mean a similarly large percentage of the state's people live in municipal liquor store communities. The population living in these places totals only 448,369 of the state's total incorporated population of 2,017,720. The three first class cities—Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth, five second class cities, and twelve of the fifteen third class cities are not permitted such stores.

Richfield, Robbinsdale and Bemidji, although over 10,000 population, instituted municipal stores before reaching that size. An amendment to the liquor control act permits such places to continue in the liquor business if approved by the voters at a referendum. The citizens of these three cities gave overwhelming approval to the municipal stores.

The approximate 1952 division of the state's 805 municipalities among the various classes of liquor regulation are: Municipalities licensing private dealers, 250; municipalities operating municipal liquor stores, 360; municipalities dry under county option law, 145; dry municipalities in wet counties, 50.

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*Mr. Ludwig, formerly city manager of Albert Lea, Minnesota, and former director of field services for the American Municipal Association, is executive secretary of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota and director of the university's Municipal Reference Bureau.

[1] Laws, Extra Session 1933-34, Chapter 46.

The municipal store alternative which has been made available to the small cities and villages is a supplement to the basic system for establishing a "wet" or "dry" status. This is essentially the county option system under which a county-wide vote determines whether the municipalities within the counties are wet or dry. In the smaller municipalities in the wet counties there is the additional local option to vote dry. However, there is no similar local option for municipalities to vote wet in dry counties.

Wet and Dry Counties

The Minnesota Liquor Control Act of 1934 divided the 87 Minnesota counties into 59 wet and 28 dry counties on the basis of their votes on the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. Counties remained in their respective categories until a county-wide vote of the people changed their status. Seventeen dry counties have voted to become wet since repeal. None has changed from a wet to a dry status.

In 1945 the legislature modified the county option law to permit a county-wide vote on the question of liquor sales through municipal liquor stores only. Under this authority an additional favorable vote of the people in each municipality desiring to establish a store is also required. Eight counties have voted to permit municipal liquor stores. Two more are in substantially the same situation because of special acts. (These are probably unconstitutional but have never been challenged.)

The net result of these changes is that there are now 11 dry counties, 66 wet, with 10 occupying the "modified" status.

Under the Minnesota plan each wet municipality must decide whether sales are to be through municipal stores or through licensed private outlets. Each is an exclusive method of sale except that, according to rulings of the attorney general, certain private clubs which have been in existence for twenty years are permitted, notwithstanding the establishment of a municipal store.

Except in those few counties where only municipal liquor stores are permitted—where a vote of the people in the municipality concerned is required—the question of establishing a municipal liquor store is entirely one for the council to decide. This situation is, of course, affected by initiative and referendum provisions in home rule charter cities. In at least two cities municipal liquor stores were established by the voters through initiated ordinances.

Despite the lack of clear-cut legal authority, many councils have submitted the question of municipal liquor store establishment to their voters at advisory elections. These votes have no legal effect but have usually been followed by councils sensitive to public opinion.

Of the three possible types of control available—prohibition, dispensing of liquor through municipal liquor stores and dispensing of liquor through licensed private outlets—many Minnesota municipal officials have declared that the second method, at least in the smaller municipalities, is the most practical. These officials include many whose personal predilection on liquor questions may be classified as temperance or dry.

None of these methods of control is without abuse and evasion but, on the whole, it is fair to say that the Minnesota cities and villages which have elected to undertake the municipal store method of control have improved the situation.

In an institution of this kind, of course, there are occasional examples of public officials who do not appreciate the control purpose of the institution and who fail to manage their public trust as strictly and efficiently as they should. Some instances of law violation and several instances of financial mismanagement have been discovered. Through the efforts of the Minnesota Municipal Liquor Stores Association, the League of Minnesota Municipalities, the state public examiner's office and the state liquor control commissioner's office, however, continuous pressure for the improvement of law observance and financial management is being applied.

The relative success in control which municipal officials are securing through municipal liquor stores has undoubtedly influenced many voters to vote wet or modified wet in the county option votes which have occurred recently. The financial prospects, of course, also have a bearing on these votes.

Almost without exception municipal liquor dispensaries have been highly profitable ventures. In 1952 the village of Richfield cleared $130,422. The percentage of net profit to sales in 1952 of on- and off-sale stores was 18.3 per cent and of off-sale stores 15 per cent. Net income on sales for all municipal stores amounted to 17.6 per cent.

A Profitable Business

In the public examiner's report on municipal liquor stores for 1952, sales totaled $33,519,528 for 355 municipalities. Net income from these operations was $5,908,375 and $5,084,239 of this went into other municipal funds. Ten cities and villages had municipal liquor sales of over $350,000 each in 1952.

There is nothing in the statutes about the operation of the municipal liquor store beyond the enabling authority to establish such stores. The legislature evidently contemplated that the city or village council should control their operation.

The municipal liquor store is usually placed in the immediate charge of a manager, who acts under the direction of the council. He and other store employees are selected by the council and the council fixes their compensation. As municipal stores were established to remove the private profit motive from liquor sales, the manager may not participate in the profits in lieu of salary.

Municipal liquor store receipts constitute municipal funds and a surplus may be used for any municipal purpose. For example, store profits may be transferred to the general fund and used to finance municipal improvements or to meet current expenses or they may be transferred to any special fund not subject to other restrictions.

The availability of liquor fund transfers (or indirect municipal sales taxes on liquor drinkers) makes it possible for councils to reduce property taxes, but there is no real evidence that this has been the result; it appears that the additional revenue has been devoted to an enriched or improved municipal service.

Because of the difficulties involved in the revocation of licenses, the most appropriate time to establish a municipal dispensary is upon expiration of the liquor licenses outstanding. Since a license is only a privilege to conduct a business, subject to police regulation and control, and a liquor license may be granted or refused in the discretion of the council, the fact that private dealers have been licensed to operate in the past does not give them a vested right to continue in business under license in the future. If a municipal store is set up at the time when private licenses expire, the dealers can have no legal cause for complaint because establishment of the store results in the loss of their business.

In 1945 the Minnesota legislature passed an obscurely worded law requiring municipalities establishing stores to purchase the stock, equipment and other tangible personal property of private liquor dealers. The law's effectiveness has been limited by four district court decisions holding that private liquor dealers whose licenses have expired are not protected by the act. Most municipalities attempt to reach an agreement with private dealers when a municipal store is established.

Stores may be financed out of the general fund, through revenue certificates or general obligation bonds.

The municipal liquor store is by no means accepted as a permanent institution by a number of groups in the state. Besides those supporting private licensing there is opposition from the drys and from those who see a danger in public ownership. Indeed, opposition seems stronger each legislative session.

Some Opposition

In the nineteen years of the stores in Minnesota, about 23 municipalities have reverted from the municipal outlet to the private licensing system. A number of these were in the first years and there seems to be no further trend away from the municipal system. Last year two places went to private outlets.

Private liquor dealers and their organized associations have, of course, been violently opposed to the municipal liquor store movement. Alarmed by the apparent trend toward municipal ownership, they have gone before each session of the legislature with proposals which would handicap the establishment and operation of municipal dispensaries.

In 1947 a bill which would have required every municipality thereafter establishing a public store to continue to license as many private outlets as it had licensed before—a complete reversal of the established policy of either municipal or private monopoly—was vetoed by Governor Youngdahl after adoption by the legislature by a two-vote margin.

In the recent session the most extreme measure proposed would have prohibited establishment of new municipal liquor stores and expansion of existing ones, but this bill was never given a committee hearing. More effort was put behind a bill compelling approval of the voters before a city or village "went municipal," a proposal which municipal officials generally opposed because they felt it was "loaded" by its terms in favor of private licensing. This bill, after being changed first one way and then the other, narrowly missed adoption.

Changes Advocated

Other bills proposed in recent sessions would require municipal liquor stores to share their profits with the county and state or subject their net incomes to the state income tax (appealing to many drys as well as to private license advocates), but these have been strongly opposed by municipal liquor store cities and have never been reported out of committee. Thus far private license advocates seem to have been much less interested in them than in bills putting barriers in the way of municipal liquor store establishment.

A law passed by the 1953 legislature provided a new rule for control of municipal liquor stores. Store operation may be suspended after conviction of an employee of certain offenses under the liquor control act. These include sales to minors, after-hour sales, wholesaling, selling untaxed liquor, price violations and permitting gambling or gambling devices. The procedure after a conviction requires notice to the liquor control commissioner and summary proceeding in district court which can end in a court order of suspension for a period not exceeding 30 days.

The League of Minnesota Municipalities supported this bill on the theoretical ground that the liquor business requires double policing and that where the local government is a lax policing agent—perhaps because it is also proprietor—the state through the state liquor control commissioner's office or the courts should have a limited suspension power.

Efforts on two or three occasions to have the law broadened to permit third class cities or even larger municipalities to establish local stores have been fruitless. The League of Minnesota Municipalities has several times included in its legislative program a commitment in favor of such an expansion but it has been virtually impossible to secure progress with such a bill.

It is fair to conclude that: (1) on the whole, the municipal liquor store institution has been well administered; (2) "control" in a difficult law enforcement field has been improved; (3) pinched finances of municipalities have been substantially improved through the liquor store revenues which have been made available for other public purposes; (4) resistance to expansion of the system to larger cities is great and there is no immediate prospect for such an expansion; (5) the municipal liquor store is not fully accepted; substantial opposition is expressed every legislative session on vested interest, theoretical or ideological grounds.

Reorganization in Illinois

Many recommendations of 'Little Hoover' group adopted are noncontroversial; significant changes remain to be made.

By SAMUEL K. GOVE*

DURING the last few years, many articles have been written on the reorganization proposals of the "Little Hoover" commissions established in more than half the states.[1] These articles have spelled out the scope of the recommendations made by the commissions and discussed the significant variations in approaches used.

Little has been written, however, on the action taken on the reports by legislatures and administrative agencies.[2] It is the purpose here to discuss the reception given one reorganization report, that of Illinois, and to highlight some reasons for its moderately successful reception.

The reception given the plan has been classified "ambivalent" by Professor Bosworth. This writer believes a more accurate description would be "moderately successful." The General Assembly passed some 90 bills carrying out commission recommendations at the first legislative session after receiving its "Little Hoover" report, 1951, and an additional 15 bills at the 1953 session. Admittedly, however, many of these bills pertained to relatively minor, noncontroversial recommendations. In comparison to the legislative action, the reception given by state agencies was generally favorable and most of the recommendations that could be adopted by administrative action have been accepted. It appears that only one other state, New Hampshire,[3] has had a more successful over-all reception to its current reorganization program.

The Illinois Commission to Study State Government, created by the 1949 General Assembly with the joint backing of the administration and legislative leaders of both political parties, was directed to report its recommendations to the 1951 legislature. The chairman, one of three citizen members, was formerly an administrative assistant to the governor; the remaining two citizen members were leading industrialists. The six legislative members were leaders in the General Assembly.

The commission was directed "to

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*Mr. Gove is a research associate with the Institute of Government and Public Affairs of the University of Illinois. He was formerly staff assistant with the National Association of Assessing Officers and research analyst for the Illinois Commission to Study State Government.

[1] See, for example, Ferrel Heady, "States Try Reorganization," the REVIEW, July 1952, pages 334-338; John A. Perkins, "Reflections on State Reorganizations," *American Political Science Review,* June 1951, pages 507-516; Sidney Spector, "What the 'Little Hoover' Commissions Say about Personnel," *Public Personnel Review,* July 1951, pages 113-120.

[2] Professor Karl Bosworth has discussed generally the reception given by the various state legislatures in "The Politics of Management Improvement in the States," *American Political Science Review,* March 1953, pages 84-99.

[3] See John D. Langmuir, "New Hampshire's Reorganization Program," *State Government,* February 1951, pages 40-41.

make a survey of the entire structure of state government, its organization, functions and interrelationships of all units including advisory and executive boards," but it was not to study the revenue system or the structure of local government. The commission placed a self-imposed restriction on its study by not including the legislative and judicial branches as well as the state's organization for higher education.

A further self-imposed limitation was on recommendations involving constitutional changes. The Illinois constitution had not been amended since 1908 and it seemed, when the commission began its study, that it would be some time before any amendments would be adopted. The commission, of course, had no way of forecasting that a month before its final report was completed Illinois voters would adopt the "gateway" amendment, providing for a revised and less rigid amending process for the future.[4]

1917 Reorganization

Because of a previous reorganization of the state government in 1917 and certain significant changes adopted in 1943, the commission's work was not as complex as would be the case in most states. Consequently the study was able to include a more detailed analysis of administrative procedures as well as certain relatively minor organizational aspects of state government.

The 1917 reorganization, known as the Lowden report, is frequently referred to by political scientists as the "landmark in state government reorganization." This report, adopted practically intact by the General Assembly in 1917, located the governmental functions in a departmentalized structure not unlike that found by the present commission.

The most significant changes since 1917 were in the creation of numerous new boards and commissions outside the so-called code departments. The 1943 improvements were not part of an over-all reorganization movement but rather were an attempt to effect a limited number of desirable changes. This program resulted in creation of two new code departments, adoption of a position classification plan and establishment of a central accounting system.

After the completion of the reorganization undertaken by Governor Dunne, and implemented during Governor Lowden's administration in 1917, the executive branch consisted of nine code departments, seven offices headed by elective officials and a dozen miscellaneous agencies. The "Little Hoover" commission pointed out in its report that it found the same seven elective offices but that the number of code departments had increased to thirteen and miscellaneous agencies to 59.

The commission appointed, as director of research, Dr. Jack F. Isakoff, who took leave from his position as research director for the Illinois Legislative Council. The legislative members of the commission, in particular, had confidence in his ability, and they were primarily

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[4] See William O. Winter and Robert A. McGrath, "Illinois Votes the Blue Ballot," the REVIEW, February 1951, pages 88-91.

responsible for his appointment. A research staff of six full-time men was recruited, supplemented on a limited basis both by individual consultants and private consultant firms. Because the major segments of the research were done by the staff the charge of "outsiders" dominating the study was never applicable.[5]

If all the recommendations of the commission had been adopted, the structure of the state government would consist of the same seven elective offices, thirteen code departments (with considerable shuffling of functions and some changes in names), and about 30 miscellaneous boards and commissions. Most of the other recommendations pertained to improved administrative practices and procedures. The commission used a "practical" approach rather than a theoretical one in its report, and consequently many recommendations were omitted that some theorists might have deemed desirable. Partly because of the approach used, only four dissents were included in the final report.

Action on Recommendations

Even before the report was issued, Governor Adlai Stevenson took the first significant action when he abolished, by administrative order, the Bureau of Industrial Hygiene in the Department of Public Health. This move, in accord with a commission recommendation, was based on a finding that the bureau duplicated a similar unit in the Department of Labor. During the 1951 legislative session an unsuccessful attempt was made to reverse the gubernatorial action.

Most of the commission's recommendations required legislative action for implementation and during the 1951 session, members of the commission introduced about 160 bills carrying out their recommendations. These bills were drafted under the supervision of the research staff, and one of the staff members was assigned to aid the legislative members. Of the bills introduced, 78, or just under half, were enacted into law.

Non-commission legislators introduced other bills carrying out commission recommendations, and a dozen of these became law, bringing the grand total passed to 90. This is impressive when it is realized that both houses were Republican-controlled while the governor was a Democrat. This may, however, have aided the program in that neither party wanted an "obstructionist" label. Except in a few isolated instances, the report did not become a partisan issue during the session.

At the 1953 session additional "Little Hoover" recommendations were adopted, although there was no well organized movement to push the report. Two members of the commission, still in the legislature, did attempt to get bills implementing recommendations adopted, and by the adjournment of the session some fifteen became law. Moreover, two new special study commissions and a subcommittee of a standing committee made recommendations in accord with those of the "Little Hoover" commission and certain of these were adopted. Legislative interest, however, had fallen appreciably in the two years between the filing of the report in 1951 and the 1953 session.

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[5] For a discussion of the research methods of the Commission see George H. Watson, "How to Study State Government: The Schaefer Commission Reports on Reorganization in Illinois," *Illinois Law Review,* March-April 1951, pages 19-47.

Other action on the commission's report was taken by agencies of the executive branch. This type of recommendation varied greatly in importance: a few proposed state withdrawal from certain governmental activities while others suggested relatively minor internal reorganizations within agencies. A 1952 survey made for the governor showed that the large majority of recommendations of this type had received favorable action by state agencies.

Recommendations Adopted

Many of the commission's major recommendations have not yet been adopted by the legislature. This probably can be explained by the fact that there has been no extensive effort to establish a citizen movement to support the program. And, although the report did get favorable newspaper coverage when it was originally released in 1951, no extensive program to educate the public on the proposals was undertaken. The legislature, therefore, was not under any great pressure to vote the entire report into law and, in fact, some interest groups were successful in defeating certain of the proposals almost as soon as they were introduced.

One of the most important recommendations adopted transferred the administration of the state parks from the Public Works Department—an agency primarily concerned with highways—to the Conservation Department. This transfer went only part way in creating the proposed department of natural resources and conservation, but persons familiar with the reorganization study felt that it was an important step in the right direction.

As far as state finances are concerned, the most important recommendation adopted provided that the state should charge for maintenance of patients in state institutions. This provision was embodied in the state's revised mental health code rather than in a bill sponsored by the commission, although the recommendation was included in its report. Safeguards were taken in the phrasing of this recommendation to make sure that no deserving person was deprived of treatment and charges were to be made on an ability-to-pay basis.

Another far reaching recommendation helped to amend some of the inadequacies of the state's personnel administration system. The revised civil service law now provides, among other things, for continuous recruitment for state employment and a more workable discharge procedure for incompetent employees.

At the 1953 session, the General Assembly adopted reorganization legislation providing for the commitment of youthful offenders to a state agency, the Youth Commission, rather than to a specific institution. Also the regulation of the trucking industry was transferred from the Public Works Department to the Commerce Commission and the activities of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation were coordinated with those of the Department of Public Welfare. In addition, the Division of Lodging House Inspection was abolished as its functions duplicated those of local governmental agencies.

Other bills becoming law during both legislative sessions pertained to the post-auditing powers of the state auditor and to the consolidation of state election boards. Some laws provided for the abolition of minor or dormant boards and commissions, while others provided for statutory clarifications, such as redefining an agency's duties to conform with its actual exercised powers and duties or to internal reorganizations within agencies.

Future Action

The most significant among the bills defeated would have centralized all the state's welfare functions in the present Welfare Department, including the transfer of the Public Aid Commission's functions, mainly concerned with administration of the public assistance programs, to the Department of Public Welfare, the agency concerned primarily with the administration of the state's mental institutions.

Another bill twice defeated would have changed the name of the Department of Finance to the Department of Administration, which would have been given added responsibilities. Other recommendations would have created new departments of natural resources and conservation, of highways and of military and veterans affairs. The activities of several independent agencies would have been transferred to existing code departments by other defeated bills.

It is expected that more of these recommendations will be adopted, possibly with modifications, as the new administration has time to give them more detailed study before the convening of the next General Assembly in 1955.

Conclusion

It is, of course, impossible to pick out any one reason for this "moderately successful" reception, but below are listed the factors that were probably most important:

1. Having legislative members of the commission from both political parties, who were willing and able to handle effectively the reorganization program before the General Assembly.

2. Composition of the commission, with both outstanding private citizens and legislative leaders as members. The state government was reviewed by persons familiar with the existing situation as well as by those who could provide unbiased observations.

3. The type of report prepared, namely a "practical" one. The report was not idealistic and, because of this approach, some recommendations that might have properly been included were omitted. Also the appearance of harmony among commission members, as evidenced by only four relatively minor dissents, may have been important.

(Continued on page 511)

Industrial Peace in Toledo

Effort of city's Labor-Management-Citizens Committee brings harmony to industry instead of former strife.

By **JEROME GROSS***

IS A city mediation agency a good investment? In Toledo the answer is a definite affirmative. After more than eight years of experience, this glass and automotive community thinks its dividends on a small mediation investment are pretty good.

Toledo's Labor-Management-Citizens Committee is not a panacea for all ills. It has not eliminated all the trouble in our labor-management affairs. But it has greatly minimized the impact of industrial warfare on the community.

The Labor-Management-Citizens Committee has a four-point program of accomplishment. It has:

1. Settled a total of 560 labor disputes;

2. Lessened the suspicion and rancor existing between labor and management;

3. Developed better working relationships between employer and employee generally and assisted specific strife-ridden plants to develop better relationships;

4. Started a spirit of cooperation between unions and companies now reflected in over-all civic activities.

Since LMC started its mediation duties it has averted 153 strikes. In other instances, where work stoppages had already occurred, the duration was decreased.

Such averted stoppages range from small service establishments to large industrial plants and utilities. In one specific utility, on which the city depends for industrial and home gas supplies, a work stoppage was averted in four successive years. In the fifth year a strike was ended quickly before complete service had to be curtailed.

On the second count, the lessening of suspicion, we enter into an intangible field. One opinion is that of Richard Gosser, militant international vice president of the CIO Auto Workers Union. Some time ago, in a newspaper interview, Mr. Gosser remarked: "LMC is slowly taking away the greatest single thing that keeps labor and management apart—fear and distrust. I believe that eventually LMC will be able to iron out 95 per cent of all disputes, although under a free enterprise system we shall always have some strikes."

This thought is shared by Jules D. Lippmann, textile manufacturer, past president of the local employers association and the Chamber of Commerce. He declares: "Our associations on LMC have evaporated the barriers between industry and labor. We have realized a better understanding and a good feeling compatible with peaceful solutions to our mutual problems."

In the third instance we have two subsections. Through its regular

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*Mr. Gross, formerly a newspaper man with the *Toledo Blade* and other Ohio newspapers, is executive director of the Toledo Labor-Management-Citizens Committee of which he writes.

quarterly meetings the LMC provides a continual clearing house for business and labor. Many problems which threaten to disrupt industrial harmony are threshed out before they become serious. It has set the pace for early pre-struggle conversations on controversial matters. In specific plants LMC has encouraged talking out rather than fighting out problems. One instance, a medium-size plant, is a good case in point.

During the early years, LMC was almost continually involved in mediation of disputes in this plant. It encouraged top labor and management leadership to list their grievances at a meeting with an LMC panel. It suggested avenues of settlement and helped them get started on a better grievance procedure.

A few months ago this large union was host to its employers at a picnic. For the first time in four years I met the company and union heads of this particular plant. I commented that it had "been a long time," as we shook hands. The company president said dryly, "It's going to be a still longer time until we see you any way but socially." The union chairman smiled his agreement.

A marked illustration of the last point occurred in Toledo just a short time ago. Recently the AFL and CIO unions set up a committee to help attract new industry to Toledo and the Chamber of Commerce announced expansion of its industrial development program.

At the unions' invitation, civic, business and labor leaders gathered at lunch to pledge cooperation in a joint effort to improve the city. They did not confine themselves to vague generalities. The unions pledged freedom from jurisdictional troubles; assured management wage rates would be geared to the competitive level of their own industry. Business pledged its active support of a concerted and cooperative industrial development campaign. Attending this meeting were people from labor and industry who met for the first time across a conference table eight years ago—at the formation of the Labor-Management-Citizens Committee.

Formation of Committee

It is proper to pause and ask two questions. How does the LMC work and how did it come about?

To answer the last question first, Toledo is a highly organized industrial community. During the '30s labor strife caused great property damage and even loss of life. An early citizens committee was started in 1935 to attempt dispute settlement. It operated until World War II. This Industrial Peace Board was very helpful.

So in April 1945, with the war coming to an end, Vice Mayor Michael DiSalle suggested the city face its new problems of industrial living. Realizing conversion problems would bring on new disputes, he suggested that eighteen leaders of labor, management and the public meet to consider them.

The result was the unanimous adoption of a set of principles to guide employer and employee in trying to live together. A further result was the formation of a permanent committee to implement the policies of mediation. The theme of this LMC charter, to which unions and companies in Toledo assented, is contained in the preamble:

"Industrial harmony is necessary to the welfare of Toledo. Industrial harmony means more than the elimination of strikes, slowdowns and lockouts. It means a practical, common-sense recognition of the rights of both employers and employees, the mutuality of their interests and the importance of their joint responsibility to the citizens as a whole, whose interests transcend the presumed rights of any group.

"To seek jointly successful patterns of democratic economic living and to achieve self-government in industry, and to provide a means of minimizing and reducing the possibility of loss of production and wages, this industrial relations charter has been drafted and is recommended for consideration and adoption by representatives of industry and labor in the city of Toledo."

Management acknowledged the right of employees to form labor organizations and bargain collectively. Labor acknowledged the inherent right of management to direct the operations of the enterprise. Both agreed there should be no discrimination because of race, creed or color.

A significant principle has joint agreement that "improvements in productive efficiency and technological advances result in lower costs and selling prices and wider markets for the products of industry, thereby making possible higher wages, a rising standard of living and increasing employment." Industry and labor agreed differences will arise from time to time and decided to retain LMC as a permanent agency to offer mediation, fact-finding and arbitration facilities. They also agreed to promote educational programs designed for better mutual understanding, especially at the workshop level.

LMC now has thirty regular and eighteen associate members. They are top-ranking union and company officers and leading representatives of the clergy, the judiciary and education.

How Committee Works

Here is how the plan works.

First of all, the Labor-Management-Citizens Committee is a purely voluntary agency. It has no powers of compulsion. Its services can be accepted or refused. It carries only the powers of persuasion and the force of public opinion. The city government authorized it, finances it to the tune of under $16,000 annually. New members of the committee are appointed by the mayor from nominees tendered respectively by labor, management and public members.

Mediation of disputes remains the greatest activity of the LMC. Initially such disputes come to the executive director, the full-time administrative officer. He is hired by the committee and is wholly under committee direction.

The director has two choices. In most cases he attempts to mediate disputes without calling upon a citizens panel. Failing to reach a settlement he will call upon a three-man panel for help. If he determines the case of sufficient importance, he asks the chairman to name a panel immediately. Such panels are formed only from the committee's regular membership. A representative panel might include Appeals Court Judge A. L. Conn from the public; William F. Sturm, regional AFL director, from labor; and Royce G. Martin, Electric Auto-Lite president, from management.

Initially the panel receives a brief from the director. He cites the issues, weighs their importance and gives a brief analysis of the aspects of the case. When the mediation hearing convenes it is quite informal. Both parties present their issues plus supporting data to sustain their positions. They may question each other freely. Panel members and the director will interpose questions.

Sometimes the parties are separated, especially where tension between them is considerable. The labor panel member meets with labor and his management counterpart with the employer. They seek to find the parties' actual firm positions, to weed out mere "trading" items. They advise them as to the realities of compromise. When the panel meets privately the situation is thoroughly canvassed. In the light of each specific situation the panel seeks a logical solution.

Efforts are made to ease emotions and temper, to guide thinking of both parties toward a settlement without stoppage of work. When panel members unanimously agree on a suggested settlement and find the parties receptive to such recommendations, they may tender compromise suggestions.

As former Congressman Thomas Burke once told a network radio audience, "They get the disputing parties together, start them talking and keep them talking until they get a settlement."

In most instances such mediation settles disputes. Where a panel fails of settlement the parties are free to utilize economic powers. LMC will still attempt settlement. Sometimes the panel membership is doubled to bring in new points of view and persuasive abilities. In rare cases affecting the community welfare the matter will be referred to the full LMC membership for emergency action. But throughout the entire process only the methods of voluntary persuasion are used.

Use of Arbitration

Sometimes arbitration is suggested. Where both parties desire a binding decision, LMC will help draw up an arbitration agreement, will consent to name the arbitrator if the parties cannot agree. From that point it passes into the hands of the impartial umpire named. Experience has taught us that mediation panels cannot go beyond fact-finding and remain effective. Arbitration becomes a judicial process better served by another arbiter than the men who have sought the voluntary solution of mediation.

In its educational program, the committee has sponsored several workshop forums on pertinent industrial subjects. A subcommittee is now planning a new series of seminars in conjunction with the University of Toledo. However, the mediation of disputes and the exchange of problems and views on their solution at regular quarterly meetings remain the prime goal of the committee.

Since its formation, LMC has handled 560 dispute cases. Time spent on each ranges from an afternoon to as much as a dozen day-long, and sometimes night-long, sessions.

With a membership of 48 persons available for panel duty, assignments are rotated if possible. Once assigned to a panel, however, every member devotes the time necessary to the task, no matter how demanding. After one week-long meeting, which concluded late on Friday night, an industry member remarked: "Now I can find out just what's going on in my own plant over the weekend."

In 1944 Toledo was listed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as fourth city in the nation for industrial trouble. In 1949 it dropped to 44th place. Last year it was 35th.

The LMC has not solved all its problems. It doesn't expect to lick the thing entirely, but it has minimized the impact of industrial strife in Toledo. It hopes to improve as time goes on.

The best illustration one can cite comes from a story of the problems of the south. In his book, *The Shore Dimly Seen,* Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia remarked: "It requires some vision, some willingness to admit and correct mistakes, some forbearance, some time and much work. *But it can be done.*" What Governor Arnall has said of his native south, can be applied equally to Toledo.

Human relations is a difficult field. Perfection cannot be obtained. It's a far-away goal worth striving for, however. For in the striving for perfection much practical good can be accomplished.

Just a parting word in the light of experience. Tripartite community mediation agencies are valuable facets of community effort. But don't expect a cure-all for all industrial troubles. Such a panacea just doesn't exist yet and isn't likely this side of Utopia.

REORGANIZATION IN ILLINOIS

(Continued from page 506)

4. The setting for the report, with the organizational pattern established by the 1917 reorganization. Because of the previous study, the state government was not in such serious need of reorganization in 1951. Consequently, it was not necessary for the commission to make large numbers of far reaching recommendations, but rather the members were able to concentrate more on the performance of state services and certain relatively minor aspects of the state government.

5. Having a research staff composed mainly of state employees working under the director of research for the Illinois Legislative Council, in whom the members had confidence. The charge that the study was dominated by "outsiders," unfamiliar with the state's problems, could not be made.

6. The presence of a friendly administration, which cooperated to the highest degree with the commission during its research, aided by the fact that the commission's chairman was a former administrative assistant to the governor.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Maryland Commission Makes Final Report

Proposes Many Changes in Administrative Organization

THE Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, appointed by Governor Theodore E. McKeldin on March 3, 1951, rendered its twelfth and final report to Governor McKeldin and the state legislature on September 6, 1953. The commission was headed by Simon E. Sobeloff until his appointment as chief judge of the Court of Appeals in December 1952, when he was succeeded by Enos S. Stockbridge as chairman. There are ten other members.

During the two and one-half years since its establishment, the commission submitted eleven reports dealing with certain administrative functions and agencies, with recommendations. The final report briefly reviews these and also discusses various other state activities and problems which it had studied but not reported on. The commission feels it has now served its purpose and that further studies should be undertaken by others.

The reports previously rendered are briefly commented on below:

1. *Budget System.* This report recommended a modernization of the state's budgetary system, requiring a constitutional amendment which was duly approved at the general election in 1952. The recommended system, which has been substantially adopted, includes a comprehensive budget presented by the governor with a budget message and covering all estimated state income and expenditures and a capital budget; a "program" type of budget, with a system of administrative controls; and a rigid restriction of the use of supplemental budgets.

The report also urged improved accounting methods, with emphasis on centralized payroll accounting which, together with improved purchasing techniques and inventory controls, has been adopted. A recommendation to eliminate almost all special funds has not yet been followed, nor a proposal that the Department of Legislative Reference, including the Fiscal Research Bureau, be placed under the legislature.

2. *Local Legislation.* A study of the growing volume of local matters considered by the legislature resulted in recommendations of two constitutional amendments, one to prohibit special legislation as to counties and to improve the method of charter adoption by counties; the other to permit adoption of municipal charters (subject to veto by the county commissioners if a new municipality is created) in such form and with such powers as the legislature prescribes for various classifications of municipalities. No action has resulted on the first proposed amendment. The second, with minor changes, has passed the lower house of the legislature.

3. *State-local Fiscal Relations.* The commission recommended the reservation of certain areas of taxation for the state and others for local bodies, the latter to impose and collect their own taxes, rather than the state. No action has resulted. As to a 1953 bill proposing a constitutional amendment prohibiting the taxation of real property by the state, the commission recommended adversely. The bill did not pass. It was also recommended that no community should share in state taxes unless it raised at least one dollar of local revenue per capita.

This proposal was adopted this year. The commission suggested that the Fiscal Research Bureau study the question of the proper local revenue requirement.

4. *Highway Relationships.* Recommended legislation for better coordination between agencies and a more complete integration of highways, and for coordinated long-range planning of highways, has not been adopted. Thorough review, revision, clarification and modernization of the highway statutes was urged.

5. *Industrial Relations and Safety.* An administrator of employment security, not a member of the Employment Security Board, has been appointed in line with recommendation of the commission; but other proposals to centralize matters of industrial relations and safety and to improve their administration have not been adopted.

6. *Health and Welfare.* Various recommendations for better distribution of health and welfare responsibilities between the state and local governments, for clearer separation of policy-making, administrative and quasi-judicial functions in the health and welfare departments, and for other improvements in organization, were submitted. One result this year is the appointment of a commission to study the allocation of the financial burdens of public health service; another is legislation clarifying the functions of the Board of Public Welfare and the welfare director.

7. *Regulatory Administration.* Centralization of administrative functions of 23 independent licensing boards is recommended, as well as merging the duties of the administrator of loan laws and the bank commissioner. The commission submitted a draft of an administrative procedures act, patterned after a model act of the American Bar Association, and urges its adoption.

8. *Public Works Administration.* Closer cooperation between the Department of Public Improvements, State Planning Commission and Department of Budget and Procurement was recommended and has been largely effected. Legislation to relieve the Board of Public Works, composed of the governor, comptroller and treasurer, from having to pass on thousands of minor items was prepared but did not pass. Certain requirements as to construction loans and closer supervision of design and construction were adopted.

9. *Personnel Administration.* Most recommendations did not require legislation and several have been made effective. An effort to enlarge the staff of the employment commissioner failed. Certain minor legislative proposals, including one revamping the Standard Salary Board, were successful.

10. *Correction and Parole.* Separation of policy-making and administrative functions of the Board of Correction and the superintendent of prisons was proposed and accomplished. Various recommendations for improvement in administrative structure and functioning of the Parole Department were adopted.

11. *Juvenile Delinquency.* Clarification of the status of the four state training schools for juvenile delinquents, under the Department of Welfare, was brought about by recommended legislation. A study of the delinquency problem was urged and has been undertaken by a committee of the Commission on Judicial Administration.

The final report states that studies involving conservation administration, metropolitan districts and general fiscal management have been made but not concluded. In the matters of centralizing departments and bureaus, and of boards versus single heads, the commission believes in moving cautiously and experimentally. It presents as an ultimate goal the bringing of all administrative agencies and executive officers under the governor, with simplification of organizational structure to facilitate his supervision of the functions of the state.

Arizona Restricts Population Representation

In a special election on September 29, in which approximately 20 per cent of the registered electorate participated, Arizona voters endorsed a constitutional initiative which limits the size of the lower house of the legislature to 80 members and raises the size of the upper house from 19 to 28 by allotting two senators to each of the fourteen counties of the state. Under the former method of senatorial apportionment, five counties had two senators each and nine one each.

The amendment is scheduled to become effective with the election of members of the legislature in 1954. There is some possibility, however, that a case may be filed in the State Supreme Court in which the constitutionality of the amendment is challenged on the ground that it denied the voters the privilege of passing upon separate propositions dealing with the membership of the two houses.

Under the new plan, each county as such will be entitled to one representative in the lower house, as well as one additional representative for every 3,520 votes cast within the county at the last preceding general election. If on the basis of the foregoing quota the total number of representatives threatens to go beyond the limit of 80, "the unit of apportionment shall be increased by ten or such multiple of ten as will reduce the number . . . to 80."

Voter approval was also won for an amendment which removed a constitutional provision preventing justices of the peace and superior court clerks from benefiting from a salary increase authorized about eighteen months ago by the legislature.

Two proposed amendments failed of ratification. One would have eliminated the elective office of state superintendent of public instruction and changed the composition of the present State Board of Education, all of whose members with the exception of the governor are professional educators. Ratification of the amendment would have made effective a law passed by the last session of the legislature which provided for an appointive lay board of public schools whose duties would have included appointment of the superintendent of public instruction.

The other rejected proposal was advertised as a measure designed to permit more equitable state aid for the poor school districts by providing for the apportionment of state school funds among the various counties "in such manner as may be prescribed by law" instead of "in proportion to the number of school age residing therein."

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

Federal-state-local Problems Studied

Two federal commissions are now at work on studies involving fiscal and other relationships between federal, state and local governments.

President Eisenhower recently appointed fifteen members of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, including the chairman, Clarence E. Manion, dean of the Notre Dame University Law School. Five senators and five representatives had previously been designated as the congressional members.[1] It will investigate the problem of overlapping federal and state functions and expenditures, including 30 grants-in-aid programs involving two billions of dollars annually. Its final report to Congress is due not later than March 1, 1954.

The other group is the new "Hoover Commission"—the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the

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[1] See also p. 527, this issue.

Government, constituted of twelve members and headed, like its predecessor, by ex-President Hoover. It includes two senators and two representatives. Four members besides Mr. Hoover were on the former commission, which proposed many organizational changes, most of which were adopted. The new group has the added responsibility of examining federal functions with the view of judging whether they should be left to the state or local government or to private industry.

Chairman Hoover has established eight task-force studies: water and power resources, personnel practices, lending agencies, accounting and budgeting, independent offices and agencies, medical services, subsistance service of the armed forces and federal institutions, and surplus property use and disposal. Following interim reports, comprehensive study results are to be submitted to Congress by December 31, 1954, and a final report by May 31, 1955.

In the state field, New York's Temporary Commission on Fiscal Affairs of the State Government includes in its scope the question of overlapping federal, state and local taxes, as well as a state financial analysis. It is headed by Dr. Frederick L. Bird.[2]

Rhode Island Court Blocks Home Rule Elections

Pawtucket and Central Falls, Rhode Island, were prevented from holding the nonpartisan local elections specified for this fall by the home rule charters adopted in those cities by a State Supreme Court decision on October 2. The court ruled that although the 1951 home rule amendment to the Rhode Island constitution was intended to give the people of cities and towns "the right of self-government in all local matters," this did not include the right to regulate local elections, inasmuch as a separate constitutional provision states, "The general assembly shall have full power to prescribe the manner of conducting the elections."

This decision may leave Pawtucket and Central Falls without legally constituted governments after January 4, 1954, since both cities' charters, under sections that have not been challenged, provide that the terms of office of all elected and appointed officials shall terminate on that date. Opponents of home rule contend, however, that the incumbent officials will hold over until the next general election in November 1954.

The *Providence Journal* stated on October 4: "It is utterly inexcusable that the prospect of such a chaotic situation has been allowed to arise. It would not have arisen if the general assembly at its special session last June had validated the election provisions of the Pawtucket and Central Falls charters, as it did those of the Newport and Woonsocket charters. There remains now only one clear remedy. It is for the assembly to come back into special session quickly and to adopt the validating legislation that it permitted a handful of brass-knuckled politicians to beat to death four months ago."

Connecticut Assists with Local Merit Systems

Under new Connecticut legislation cities, towns and other political subdivisions may enter into agreements with the state personnel director to obtain technical services in establishing or administering local merit systems. They reimburse the state for the actual cost of the service, plus overhead, but at considerably less expense than for a fully staffed personnel department or the employment of consulting firms. The legislation was sponsored by the Connecticut Merit System Association.

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[2] See the REVIEW, September 1953, page 377.

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada states that similar arrangements have been in effect in New York, Massachusetts, Illinois and California for several years.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Voters of Belle Glade, Florida, (1950 population 7,219) on September 15 adopted a charter amendment providing the council-manager plan, which went into effect the next day. The vote was 235 to 160.

Opalocka, Florida, (5,271) voted 251 to 104 on July 27 to adopt a council-manager charter. It goes into effect March 2, 1954.

On October 6 Seward (2,114) and Kodiak (1,710), both in Alaska, adopted council-manager ordinances under the provisions of territorial law. The plan will go into effect as soon as city managers can be secured. The vote in Seward was 402 to 104; that in Kodiak, 113 to 105.

Mayor R. L. Marcotte of Lewiston, Maine, upon taking office for a second term, advocated appointment of a trained and experienced administrator or manager.

Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, will vote November 3 on adoption of the town manager plan and the representative form of town government.

In Brockton, Massachusetts, a petition for an election on the question of adopting the council-manager form of government has been rejected as not having enough valid signatures.

Since the Peekskill, New York, common council failed to act on the request of the Kiwanis Club for a referendum on adopting the manager plan, the club decided on September 24 to circulate a petition to compel the referendum if enough signers are obtained.

Three aldermen in North Tonawanda, New York, have been designated by the chairman of the common council as members of a committee to study the manager plan and report their findings to the council.

In Ossining, New York, Mayor J. A. Collyn, Jr., has announced that he will appoint a committee to study the manager plan. The village board had asked Corporation Counsel U. N. Marino to investigate legal aspects of the plan, as provided in the village law of New York State. He recommended that a complete study of the manager plan be made with the thought that if the statutory plan is not suitable for Ossining a revised plan could be adopted by local law, as provided by a 1953 amendment to the village law. Mr. Marino pointed out that a referendum is required for adoption either of the statutory plan or of a local law for a revised plan, if the latter changes the powers of any elective officer or makes other specified changes in regard to the village government.

The township council of Teaneck, New Jersey, issued in September an attractive eight-page report on progress under council-manager government, with special attention to the first half of 1953. All citizens were invited to an "open house" at all municipal buildings on September 26.

The charter commission of the township of Bridgewater, New Jersey, has recommended adoption of one of the state's optional council-manager plan laws. This will be voted upon in the November general election. At the request of the Citizens for the Bridgewater Council-manager Plan, the commission prepared a leaflet outlining the plan and its advantages.

In Savannah, Georgia, a Citizens Committee has been formed as a political organization committed to the council-manager plan, with a change in local government to be submitted at the 1954 election.

In Carrollton, Georgia, Ebb Duncan,

senior representative of Carroll County, favored employment of a city manager in a talk before the Lions Club.

Bills authorizing council-manager government for the cities of Birmingham and Anniston, Alabama, have been passed by the state legislature. Local adoption would be by referendum election. One is expected to be held in Anniston in December.

A petition for an election for adoption of the council-manager plan has been filed in Henderson, Kentucky.

The Illinois City Manager Enabling Act was amended in 1953, the chief change being as to the size of the city council in cities of different populations. The original act provided for a council of five for all cities except Peoria, for which special provision was made for a council of nine. The amended act provides for a council of five for cities under 50,000, seven for the 50,000-99,999 group, and nine for the 100,000-500,000 group. Villages retain their present council of seven. The amendments also contain more detailed provisions for shifting from the old to the new form, and clarify the status and powers of certain officers under the new form.

In Elgin, Illinois, an educational campaign has been conducted in preparation for a November vote on the question of adopting the council-manager plan. The campaign has been largely carried on by the Educational Committee on City Government, a subcommittee of the Committee for a Better Elgin. The mayor and city council oppose the manager plan.

A movement for merger of the adjacent cities of Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, is in progress. One announced purpose is to enable the combined community to engage a better manager, upon adoption of a council-manager charter, than either city could obtain at present.

Keokuk, Iowa, voted against a proposed manager plan, 3,193 to 1,869, on October 1.

Voters of Vinton, Iowa, turned down a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, 3,193 to 1,869.

A thirteen-member board of freeholders (charter commission) in Webster Groves, Missouri, has unanimously agreed to follow the council-manager plan, after study and the taking of testimony given by many witnesses.

The Joplin, Missouri, charter commission decided unanimously on September 14 to embody the council-manager form in the charter it was preparing to draft. The decision was made after a number of public hearings. Joplin now has the commission form.

In Belle Fourche, South Dakota, the council-manager plan was advocated by the mayor and an alderman in talks before the chamber of commerce.

Paris, Texas, voted 1,768 to 1,448 to retain the manager plan on September 26. The plan was adopted in 1948.

In Mesquite, Texas, the Chamber of Commerce has prepared and distributed a pamphlet on "Pros and Cons" of the manager plan.

In Tracy, California, the council-manager idea has been approved by three councilmen and opposed by one. Mayor Irvin Jensen stated he would take no position on the matter until the people have spoken.

Administrator under Mayor Proposed for New York City

A city administrator appointed by and responsible to the mayor was the first of four preliminary proposals in an interim report of the Temporary State Commission to Study the Organization of the Government of the City of New York.[1] Five members of this group were appointed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey and four by legislative leaders in June. It is headed by Devereux C. Josephs. Al-

(Continued on page 521)

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[1] See the Review, July 1953, page 344.

Philadelphia Abolishes Some County Offices

Legislation Retains Certain Officials on Elective Basis

ANOTHER step has been taken by the Pennsylvania legislature and the city council of Philadelphia in the painful process of consolidating the city and county of Philadelphia. Action to test the constitutionality of that step, however, is now before the courts.

As originally introduced in the 1953 session of the legislature, the bill which became Act No. 433 gave city council the right, without vote of the people, to regulate former county offices, to key them into the scheme of the city government under the home rule charter, and to convert elected into appointed officers as it saw fit. The State Supreme Court had exempted the prothonotary and register of wills from the constitutional amendment for city-county consolidation and from the new charter.[1] The only other exception was that the bill provided that the district attorney must be elected.

An amendment to the bill took away council's power to deal with the sheriff, the three county commissioners, the board of revision of taxes (assessors) and the registration commission. It not only withheld power to reorganize these offices but also pulled them out of the charter's civil service system, where the Supreme Court said they had been put by the city-county consolidation amendment.

Council in October passed an ordinance using some of the power given by Act 433. The coroner, coroner's jury and coroner's inquest are abolished. The function of determining the cause of death goes to the health department; other functions of the coroner go to other departments. Functions of the recorder of deeds go to the department of records. The city treasurer will be a subordinate of the director of finance and the county prisons will go to the welfare department. The coroner, treasurer and recorder of deeds, previously elected, will go off the elective list. The ordinance fails to take full advantage of council's power since it keeps the clerk of quarter sessions on the elective list.

The city solicitor contends that the amendment to the bill which became Act 433 is invalid and that the act must be given effect as the bill read originally. Three court actions have been started to test the constitutionality of the amendment. If the city solicitor's position is sustained in the courts, the plan is for council to reorganize the four exempt offices later. If the amendment is valid, consolidation stops where it is for the present. If the whole act is invalid, as seems possible, the ordinance recently passed will fall.

It should be noted that even if council gets power over the four exempt offices, the plan is to keep the sheriff and an election board of three on the elective list. The number of officers still to be elected in Philadelphia is disappointing to many proponents of consolidation.

A state legislative bill to force the city council to place on the May 19 primary ballot proposed changes in the city's charter failed. The proposal would have exempted six former county officers from the provisions of the charter, allowing their employees to become politically active.

CLARENCE G. SHENTON
Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

Wisconsin County Boards Discuss the State's Economy

At their annual convention in October members of Wisconsin county boards of supervisors participated in an institute on

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1953, page 241.

"Wisconsin's Economy—Where Is It Heading?" The institute, planned by the University of Wisconsin's Bureau of Government, was centered on discussions of developments in manufacturing and in agriculture.

Professor Roy J. Colbert, director of the Bureau of Community Development at the university, suggested that each county board ought to create a committee "to do for the industrial development of the county what the agricultural committees are doing—and doing so well—for agricultural development." He argued that the county needs to become more industrial-minded since most of our population must now seek its living in occupations other than agriculture and there is an increasing trend in the movement of industry to smaller communities.

Other participants pointed to ways by which county governments could aid the growth of industrial development. County board chairmen from the more industrialized counties pointed to the importance of effective zoning laws and to the value of an active planning agency. The tenor of the meeting was to the effect that the county has an important role in industrial development.

Lloyd Woodruff
University of Wisconsin

Florida Interested in County Reorganization

County reorganization interest continues at a high level in Florida despite numerous setbacks. The Dade County Research Foundation has been issuing a series of *Newsletters* with the objective of continuing its fight for a single metropolitan government in the Miami-Dade County area. The merger of Toronto and its surrounding municipalities, city-county federation in Baton Rouge, and metropolitan problems and their proposed solutions in Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Atlanta have been the subjects of recent releases.

In the words of the Dade County Research Foundation, "The consolidation issue is still with us and will remain with us until we work out a sound businesslike solution to the problem." The plan proposed by the foundation includes the setting up of a citizen commission of fifteen members to tackle the consolidation problem. The need for technical consultants of the highest competence to conduct a survey of existing governments and to assist the commission in formulating a sound reorganization plan has been stressed.

Professor J. E. Dovell, of the University of Florida, recently reviewed county reorganization and its relationship to the Florida constitution in an issue of *Economic Leaflets* published by the university. The author sketches briefly the history of county government in Florida, some of the contemporary problems facing it and the manner in which constitutional provisions limit the effectiveness of county government.

He reviews the practices of other states in setting up alternative plans of county government and the development of the county charter and county manager movements in the United States. He concludes, "The election of county commissioners, the local legislators who represent the people, is essential to democracy. But even the best informed voter is unable to investigate and evaluate the multitude of candidates for the administrative positions which require the technical functions of school direction, law enforcement, surveying or property assessment and tax collection.

"The present system of county government in Florida is a heritage of the many centuries when the county officers were mainly occupied as the conservators of the peace. . . . Florida's county officials earnestly seek to make the old system work and they deserve far more credit than ever inures to them. The Florida constitution might well be revised to permit the adoption of both alternate and home rule plans of reorganized county government. If this were done, there is no reason why Florida counties should not be authorized to adopt the county manager plan. . . .

"If local self-government is to be retained, there must be rapid improvement in the field of county government, otherwise the spreading state centralization will assume the work of the county by demand of the general citizenry. But before the Florida county government can be improved, the existing constitutional limitations must be removed."

City-county Cooperation in Georgia and North Carolina

Savannah and Chatham County, Georgia, have established a traffic commission to meet the very real challenge of ever-increasing traffic congestion. The commission has employed a traffic engineer on a full-time basis to study traffic problems and to devise remedial measures.

A report on city-county cooperation in North Carolina is contained in the September 1953 issue of *Popular Government* (Institute of Government, University of North Carolina). For example, Durham County and the city of Durham jointly finance two libraries, a juvenile court and a health department. Mecklenburg County and the city of Charlotte finance the domestic relations court, the weights and measures office and the full-time office of the elections board. In Forsythe County and Winston-Salem a joint city-county tax collection office and planning department are to be found and Guilford County makes appropriations to the two Greensboro city libraries.

Highway Administration an Important County Function

County highways are one of the two most important functions of county government and as such are in the very heart of county politics and administration. According to *Better Roads* for September 1953, considerable progress has been made in a number of counties and states toward more effective management in county highway departments. The magazine's most recent reports indicate that such practical management procedures as installation of two-way radios, adoption of programs of long range planning and operation by county unit rather than rural districts have revolutionized county highway practices in the last decade or two.

In the same issue is an article analyzing state-county road relations in Wisconsin. The county governments maintain some trunk lines in that state and they also have a veto power in the extension of trunk highway improvements. Because of the great importance of counties in the Wisconsin highway picture the State Highway Commission has made efforts to improve administration, personnel and equipment of the county highway departments.

Texas Counties Study Increasing Functions

Recent developments in Texas indicate that counties are feeling the impact of increasing county government functions on their policy-making and administrative organization and procedures. In the September issue of *County Progress* (publication of the County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas) it is reported that counties are concerned with smog control, civil defense programs, county parks and county water systems. In addition, some counties are proceeding to eliminate the fee system for those few offices that still retain it.

The impact of these increases in activity on the structure of county government is illustrated by the program for the North and East Texas Judges and Commissioners Association, held in September.

Among the questions slated for round table discussion were these:

1. How do your court (legislative body) and your county auditor cooperate, and why?

2. What is your experience in use of county engineer or state licensed engineer?

3. What about adequate salaries for appointive officers and deputy officials?

4. What about your county hospital, or city-county hospital, as to taxes?

5. What about the budget for agricultural department; any pressure from A&M College?

6. Have you adopted salaries for minor officials other than constables?

Most of the major issues of modern management are implicit or explicit in this sampling of questions discussed.

Michigan Townships Want to Retain Status Quo

Certain township officials in Michigan, particularly justices of the peace, have formed a new organization, the Michigan Township Association, with the objective of opposing any decrease in township functions. The creation of the organization has been stimulated in part by recent proposals to transfer assessing functions from the townships to the county.

For many years another organization, the Michigan Institute of Local Government, has defended township and county government against outside criticism. The institute is made up primarily of county officials, including county supervisors who are elected from the townships. In recent meetings of the institute, including various in-service training programs it sponsors, comment has run high that more vigorous defense of the status quo in county and township government should be made.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 517)

though ostensibly established to study the council-manager plan as a possible means of improving the city's government, the committee announced its decision to recommend a mayor-administrator plan before scheduling public hearings.

The report specified that the administrator would have professional managerial qualifications and would serve at the mayor's pleasure, at a salary of $35,000, or seven-eighths of the mayor's. He would furnish "information and advice, carefully formulated solutions to complex problems, managerial controls over operations and objective reports on each agency's performance." He would also be expected to direct, coordinate and supervise most of the administrative departments, but various agencies would remain directly under the mayor.

The second recommendation was for a deputy mayor authorized to represent the mayor at meetings of the Board of Estimate—the prime governing body of the city—and in various other official and ceremonial capacities.

A performance type budget with a clear and comprehensive financial plan would be substituted for the present line-item budget.

A department of personnel, headed by a director, would be established. The mayor would be responsible for the personnel system and the city administrator would supervise its operations, the civil service commission to be a rule-making, appellate and investigating body.

A minority report by two Democratic legislators called the recommendations premature and without adequate basis and assailed the committee's functions as an invasion of home rule.

Revere's P. R. Repeal Declared Invalid

Will Use Hare System for November Elections

DESPITE a November 1952 referendum in Revere, Massachusetts, against continuing the use of proportional representation, that city will elect its city and school committee by the Hare system this November. A ruling of the Massachusetts Superior Court of Suffolk County found the referendum void for lack of compliance with the law's provisions specifying procedure and notice in advance of the holding of such a referendum. The vote had favored repeal by a substantial margin.

The ruling resulted from the action of thirteen voters who filed suit to obtain an official declaration of the lack of compliance with the referendum laws and the consequent invalidity of the referendum. A counter-action was brought by one of the candidates for office. The two actions were heard separately by Judge Francis J. Good, who sustained the contentions of the thirteen voters and dismissed the petition of the candidate. An appeal is pending in the latter case.

The possibility of a similar question arising in Quincy was noted on August 31 by the *Quincy Patriot-Ledger* but, as the question was raised too late to affect this year's election, no court action was seriously considered there.

Worcester Repeal Effort Fails to Make Ballot

The attempt to place a P. R. repeal referendum on the ballot in Worcester this year failed when the petitions were found to be 356 names short of the required number of valid signatures. More than 2,000 of the 7,310 names on the petitions did not correspond sufficiently to names on the voting lists. In view of the fact that the names of only 5,423 of the 108,460 registered voters were required, the collapse of the referendum drive was taken as a sign of popular approval of P. R.

"Worcester voters are satisfied with P. R. There would have been no point in holding a repeal referendum this year," proclaimed the Worcester *Gazette.*

Reviewing the background of the petitions, the Worcester *Telegram* remarked editorially:

"In April 1952, the Massachusetts legislature, in a drive against Plan E, passed a law under which the required per cent of voters necessary to put the question of repeal of P. R. on the ballot was reduced from ten to five. But even with this aid, the opponents of P. R. could make no progress. They failed in a half-hearted effort a year ago, and they have failed again in a more determined campaign."

Both newspapers printed a number of letters from private citizens setting forth views on P. R., indicating a good deal of interest occasioned by the proposed referendum. One rather unusual testimonial, signed "G.E.C.," was printed in the *Gazette* on September 2:

"Under the old system, the ward politician, operating within a narrow ward, could easily outstrip candidates of character and standing. In a city-wide contest, in a 'majority' of cases, this is not possible. Has Plan E P. R. given us a good council? Yes, it has. And this comes from a former councilman and ward politician who was defeated and permanently retired from politics due to P. R. voting. I bowed out for the good of the city. I don't think P. R. is going to bow out."

Adenauer Scores Victory in German Elections

The German Bundestag elections of September 7 were held under the postwar German modification of P. R., based on district majority elections followed by a distribution of additional seats to make the total results approach proportionality.[1] By virtue of these elections, Konrad Adenauer became the first chancellor in German history to have his party elected to power with an absolute parliamentary majority. Although this was accomplished with a little less than a majority of the popular vote, the poll of his Christian Democratic party stands as the greatest concentration of votes for a single party in any openly contested German national election. Neither Hitler's party nor Bismarck's ever received such a degree of approval, nor did the Social Democrats at their peak of strength under the Weimar constitution.

Chancellor Adenauer's victory (his prominent part in the campaign made it a personal as well as a party triumph) was greater than his own party's success, for two parties that had backed his rule came through with substantial votes and a third minor party, with a few seats, declared itself unequivocally for his leadership. All told, he is the acknowledged leader of 63.7 per cent of the Bundestag's membership, which in turn represent 58.6 per cent of those who voted. "The strongest mandate of any political leader in Europe," was the comment of the *New York Times,* reviewing the week's events the following Sunday.

The leading opposition party, the Social Democrats, showed an increase over 1949, but it evidently failed to win as many of the 5,000,000 new voters as Chancellor Adenauer's party — 28.8 per cent of the ballots and 30.8 per cent of the seats went to Social Democratic candidates. This group was relatively unsuccessful with its district candidacies, even in many urban districts where it had a majority in 1949. It won only 45 district contests as against 172 won by Christian Democrats. The P. R. element of the electoral system was responsible for preserving a substantial parliamentary voice for the eclipsed opposition.

WEST GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC
Election of Bundestag, September 7, 1953

Party	*Votes*	*Percentage of Votes*	*Seats*	*Percentage of Seats*
Christian Democratic	12,440,799	45.2 (+14.2)	244	50.1 (+15.0)
Social Democratic	7,939,774	28.8 (— 0.4)	150	30.8 (— 3.0)
Free Democratic	2,628,146	9.3 (— 2.6)	48	9.9 (— 3.3)
Refugee Association	1,614,474	5.9[a]	27	5.5
German	897,952	3.3 (— 0.7)	15	3.1 (— 1.1)
Communist	607,413	2.2 (— 3.5)	0	0 (— 3.7)
Bavarian	465,522	1.7 (— 3.5)	0	0 (— 4.2)
All-German People's	318,323	1.2[a]	0	0
German Reich	295,615	1.1[a]	0	0
Center	217,342	0.8 (— 2.3)	3	0.6 (— 1.9)
Others	115,665	0.4 (— 9.0)	0	0 (— 3.2)

[a] These groups did not participate in the 1949 election. The parenthetical figures given for the other parties indicate the change in percentage standing over 1949. The change in seats is shown in the percentage column to facilitate comparison, because the size of the Bundestag was increased between elections from 402 to 487 members.

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[1] For a description of the German electoral system, see the REVIEW, October 1949, page 460.

Two parties represented in the previous Bundestag, the Communist and the Bavarian, fell below the 5 per cent of popular vote required for participation in the P. R. stage of the election and are now unrepresented since they won no district seats. Three new parties contested the election. Two extremist groups, one "neutralist" and one neo-Nazi, made a poor showing and obtained no seats. The Refugee Association, however, cast almost 6 per cent of the vote and obtained a score of seats. This delegation plans to cooperate with Chancellor Adenauer, who will now be in position to wield the two-thirds majority needed for constitutional revision, should he find such a measure desirable.

Of the 33,390,978 eligible voters, 85 per cent went to the polls, but of these 3.2 per cent either cast no ballot for the proportional representation part of the election or cast an invalid ballot. The results of the election are given in full in the accompanying table.

William Hoag, P. R. Pioneer

William Hoag, one of the most important figures in the early P. R. movement in the United States and a staunch advocate of the reform to the end of his days, died in Reading, Massachusetts, in August, in his 83rd year.

Mr. Hoag, a Boston lawyer, had first-hand experience with representative institutions and their virtues and shortcomings as a member of the House of Representatives in the Massachusetts legislature. He served as secretary of the American Proportional Representation League without compensation from 1909 to 1911, succeeding Robert Tyson of Toronto. He favored the Hare system as opposed to rival P. R. plans and initiated the policy, which the League has followed since, of concentrating on the adoption of P. R. for city councils so as to get actual demonstrations of its merits.

In 1912, he passed on the torch to his younger brother, Clarence Gilbert Hoag, who carried on with notable results until the consolidation of the P.R. League and the National Municipal League in 1932. William Hoag continued active in the movement and was a member of the P. R. League's Advisory Council from 1914 until the time of his death.

C. G. Hoag, still honorary secretary of the P. R. League and looked up to by all proportionalists as the one most responsible for the spread of P. R. in the United States, writes about his brother as follows:

"He first learned of P. R. at the Proportional Representation Congress held as part of an intellectual congress at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. From that time on he was fully convinced of its importance in the election of representative bodies, and he did what a busy lawyer could to introduce it to others. In 1912, when I too had become an enthusiastic advocate of P. R., chiefly from the little quarterly *Equity,* we were two of the little group of five that met at my summer home in Tamworth, New Hampshire, to issue a manifesto to the two or three dozen members of the American Proportional Representation League and offer my services as unpaid, full-time secretary-treasurer. . . .

"One idea in connection with P. R.—a very sound one in my opinion—emphasized more by William Hoag than by anyone else in the country was that one chief secret of good city government is making the representative body, the council, responsible for selecting and, if necessary, changing the chief executive. Of course, that is the essence of our council-manager plan."

G. H. H., Jr.

Foreclosures Clean Up N. Y. Delinquent Rolls

In Rem Actions Clear 19,000 Parcels in Last Three Years

PROVISION for foreclosure of property tax liens through proceedings *in rem,* authorized by the New York state legislature five years ago, is clearing tax rolls throughout the state of long-standing delinquencies and restoring non-paying property to the active tax rolls.

This is disclosed in studies being made by the National Municipal League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments in its revision of the *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law.* The first report of the committee, in 1935, had recommended foreclosure of tax liens by proceedings *in rem* rather than by the more costly and cumbersome proceedings *in personam.*

New York City in 1948 became the largest municipality to provide for foreclosure by actions *in rem.* The new law required that every parcel tax-delinquent four years or more be included in a foreclosure action, and provided for the joining of actions so as to get the economies of simplified proceedings.

The first action was commenced by the city law department in March 1950, and thereafter, to April 30, 1953, there were commenced in all 31 *in rem* foreclosure actions affecting 38,974 parcels in all boroughs of the city. Of these actions, 24, involving 18,822 parcels, had been completed. To the end of 1952, the city treasurer received, either before the actual commencement of the actions or thereafter, but before entry of judgment, $6,922,002. In addition, the city had, by April 1953, sold 1,451 parcels acquired by *in rem* proceedings for a total auction bid sum of $6,778,246. The assessed valuation of the parcels bid for was $7,221,685.

The foreclosure actions related in some cases to taxes delinquent for a very long period—1895 in several instances. The necessity for reviewing every delinquent item outstanding four years or more also resulted in a marked improvement in records of property ownership in cases of parcels owned by philanthropic, religious or other eleemosynary organizations and by governmental agencies.

The city of Troy, which adopted the *in rem* optional law in 1952 and commenced its first foreclosure action in December 1952, had foreclosed on about 1,100 parcels through the forepart of 1953, many of them with a history of tax delinquency going back twenty years or more. The city found the detail work in preparing the first action to be considerable, but notes that hereafter the proceedings will be routine and involve far less in the way of tax searches and examination of parcel descriptions. The second foreclosure action, in preparation early last summer, involved less than a hundred parcels.

Sales Tax Used by Hundred Cities

More than a hundred cities with populations over 10,000 have general sales taxes, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association. New York City was a pioneer, its levy going into effect in 1934. For 1952, the per capita yield for New York City's 3 per cent tax was about $26. Its total sales tax receipts that year were about $205,500,000.

The association's latest summaries put the average yield for cities at $11.71 per capita, with the per capita amount of revenue varying from 75 cents in Huntington, West Virginia, to the New York figure. A resort area, like Atlantic City, New Jersey, which taxes at a

3 per cent rate, will also be likely to have a high per capita yield, because buying will be at a maximum during the tourist season. Atlantic City's per capita yield came to $23.30, latest figures show.

Sales taxes have been adopted on the widest scale by municipalities in California, where 162 cities have such a tax.

Chief headache of the sales tax on the local level seems to lie in its collection. Tax experts point out that payment of the tax may be avoided by traveling only a short distance to a jurisdiction where no sales tax is in force. Use taxes, which assess articles bought elsewhere but used in a locale with a sales tax, are hard to enforce. But 91 of the California cities having a sales tax supplement those levies with use taxes.

Six states—Alabama, California, Colorado, Louisiana, Mississippi and New York—directly authorize some cities within their borders to levy sales taxes. Although Illinois permits the tax, provided cities first hold a referendum on the issue, thus far no city has adopted the tax.

Elsewhere, state courts have decided that where state laws and constitutions do not specifically allow imposition of sales taxes, the lawmakers intended to prohibit cities from tapping that revenue source.

Realty Assessments Continue Upward Trend

Real estate assessments continued to increase in 1953, and at an accelerating rate, according to a report by the National Association of Assessing Officers based on queries to representative cities and counties.

Seventy-two cities and counties, each with more than 100,000 population, took part in the survey, which showed that the average increase in real property valuation was 7.36 per cent, as compared to 4.6 per cent in 1952, 4.4 per cent in 1951 and 2.9 per cent in 1950.

Largest single hike of any jurisdiction came in Erie, Pennsylvania, where assessed valuation leaped by 130 per cent, or $215,000,000, in a year. The association explained the increase by pointing out that Erie had revised its assessments from a 1932-33 base to a 1952 base.

Boston was the only jurisdiction to report a drop in assessed valuation. Boston's valuation declined .36 per cent. But several jurisdictions—among them Akron, Buffalo and Salt Lake City—noted losses in land value, although they said that improvements had made an over-all increase in assessed valuation of real property.

Akron's gain was large enough to place it in company with three other jurisdictions, besides Erie, to have assessed valuations rise more than 25 per cent over the previous year. They were Atlanta, Georgia, with a 34 per cent increase; Corpus Christi, Texas, 35 per cent; and Dade County, Florida, 50 per cent.

New York City's assessed valuation rose $376,500,000 over last year but this represented only a 1.98 per cent increase because New York's previous valuation had already reached $18,500,000,000.

For the survey, the association queried 48 cities, ranging in population from 101,531 in Utica to 7,835,099 in New York, and 24 counties, of which the smallest was Spokane County, Washington, with 161,721 population, and the largest was Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, with 1,378,205 population.

The results showed that assessed valuations of counties increased nearly 17 per cent on the average, while the cities' assessments went up 4.08 per cent. The comparatively larger rise for counties may be attributed in the main to the outward movement of shopping centers, industrial plants and residential areas.

President Completes Inter-unit Study Commission

President Eisenhower in mid-September announced his final fourteen appointments to the Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Previously, appointment of the chairman and of the ten congressional members had been announced.

Chairman of the new commission is Dr. Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Law School of the University of Notre Dame. Other presidential appointees include Dr. William Anderson, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota; Lawrence Appley, president of the American Management Association; John E. Burton, former director of the budget of the State of New York; Charles Henderson, mayor of Youngstown, Ohio, and president of the Ohio Municipal League; Samuel H. Jones, former governor of Louisiana; Dr. Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California; and Mrs. Alice K. Leopold, secretary of state for Connecticut.

Presidential appointees from the executive branch of the federal government included Marion B. Folsom, undersecretary of the Treasury; Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and Val Peterson, director of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. Also appointed by the President were Governor Allan Shivers of Texas, Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey, and Governor Dan Thornton of Colorado.

Congressional members, appointed by the presiding officers of the respective houses, included, from the Senate, Guy Gordon of Oregon, Robert C. Hendrickson of New Jersey, Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas, Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina, and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, and, from the House of Representatives, James I. Dolliver of Iowa, Noah M. Mason of Illinois, Harold C. Ostertag of New York, John D. Dingell of Michigan, and Brooks Hays of Arkansas.

Created by the first session of the 83rd Congress, the commission is charged with the responsibility of making studies and recommendations on a broad field covering the relationships between the federal, state and local governments. Washington press dispatches have emphasized heavily the commission's duties with respect to study and investigation of federal aid programs, and it is expected that its first studies will be in the fiscal field. The commission's final report, including recommendations for legislative action, is required by the enabling law to be sent to the President for transmittal to Congress by March 1, 1954, and the commission is to expire six months after transmittal of its final report.

Mayor Pleads for Citizen Support

Why Vote for a Reformer Then Throw Him to Wolves?

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The story below is reprinted, with permission, from *Collier's* for October 30. Titled "Are You Sure You Want an Honest Mayor?" it was written by the "former mayor of a city of 80,000 [who] has had a long career in public works, law enforcement, the Merchant Marine, and as consultant to three committees of Congress. He's remaining anonymous (1) to avoid identifying his city, which is neither better nor worse than most; (2) to be sure his article is read for its message, rather than as a blast against old enemies."

IN A few days you and millions of other Americans will march into your local schoolhouse, church or town hall and exercise your democratic right to choose your public officials. . . .

Many of you, disturbed at evidences of municipal chicanery, will relieve your righteous rage by kicking the rascals out in time-honored American fashion and replacing them with reformers. . . .

Then, proud of a civic duty well done, you'll go home—and next year you'll find that your town is still a pesthole of governmental inefficiency and shady dealing, despite the basic honesty of the new officials.

Whose fault will it be?

Yours.

Every election year it happens. All over the country, earnest citizens turn out by the millions to clean up their local government, then walk away from the voting booth, figuring their responsibility is over. The new honest mayor never hears from them again. Forced to pick his way alone down the dark and devious corridors of city hall, he doesn't stand a chance against the corruption entrenched all around him.

You might actually do better to elect a crooked mayor—provided you then lived up to your next responsibility as a citizen—and watch him like a hawk.

Election day is only the beginning, if you really want good government. If your new mayor is honest, he'll need your help every minute he's in office. An alert, active citizens' committee or taxpayers' league can be the most valuable cleanup tool he has. . . .

Favors and favoritism pave the slick, smooth way to civic corruption, and it's a good bet there are people in your town who live on them. . . .

When the reform mayor comes along and tells these people that the very heart of good city government is equal treatment for all, they get fighting mad. They pass the word: "He's a stinker; we've got to get rid of him." And they will unless you and your neighbors are on the alert. . . .

I was a strictly honest, full-time stinker of a mayor myself—and I nearly went to jail for it. When the favor-grabbers were done with me, I was standing trial on trumped-up charges of obstructing justice, and many citizens of my home town probably thought I was a crook. Even today, more than a dozen years after my acquittal, some decent people in my town of 80,000 might tell you there must have been something dishonest about my administration.

Mine would have been a different story if I'd had public backing throughout my term. . . .

Nobody except the people actually working in my administration knew what a good job we were trying to do. What I needed—what any honest mayor will always need—was a permanent nonpartisan taxpayers' league with a full-time, smart, executive secretary who really knew his way around city hall and could report back to league members with the plain and simple facts. As it was, the citizenry could hear about my administration only through newspapers which were opposed to me.

For example, when I took office, there was a shortage of policemen to guard school crossings, but a permanent staff of cops was detailed to move money for the local banks every morning. Now, the police have no more business delivering money than they have delivering milk. . . . I ordered the police to guard the kids instead of the cash. The bankers, forced to pay for their delivery service, never forgave me—which, of course, was their privilege. The citizens? They never even heard about the matter.

Peeking in Manholes

Then there was the case of the utility company and the underground conduits. An old city ordinance required private companies to pay for the use of city-installed and city-owned conduits under the streets. I found that one of the local utility companies had been using these conduits for fifteen years and had never paid a cent—in theory because nobody could figure out how much of the city's underground plant it was actually occupying.

Well, I was an engineer before I was a politician (and am again), and for a few weeks I got up at five every morning and looked in manholes before reporting to my desk. People must have thought me crazy. When I'd surveyed the conduits I sent the company a bill for fifteen years' back rent. They screamed and pulled political wires and raised such a behind-the-scenes fuss that when they finally paid up the city treasurer was afraid to accept the check! But he did at last, and the people of my city were relieved of that much tax burden. They never thanked me for it. They never knew I'd done it. . . .

I put an end to favor-grabbing in my town. You can do the same in yours, even if you aren't mayor.

First, make your city or town hall a goldfish bowl. Organize your taxpayers' league and persuade someone intelligent, courageous and aggressive . . . to be its executive secretary and go snooping. Even in a corrupt city government most of the clerks, cops, firemen and garbage collectors are absolutely honest. They're only too glad to talk about the waste, inefficiency and crookedness they've seen —if their names are kept out of it. . . .

Snooping, of course, is just one part of the job. Your taxpayers' league ought to insist that all city council meetings be open to the public; star-chamber proceedings, however well intentioned, are potentially a fraud on the voters.

The league ought to demand access to police arrest records, so it can find out when and why people arrested for prostitution, gambling or drunken driving are not prosecuted.

It ought to keep a file of all real estate assessments and get good, solid explanations for any large reductions.

It ought to hound city purchasing offices until all important city contracts are advertised in advance and awarded to the low bidder.

Whenever city hall steps out of line, your local taxpayers' league ought to squawk; even if the newspapers won't print it, having the squawk on record will be useful when the next election comes round. . . .

Publicity will make the honest mayor's job easier, but first he needs sound laws; there are certain basic regulations that your taxpayers' league should fight to get into your city charter. For example, it ought to be illegal for any city official to do business with the city on the side, or to profit from his office in any way except through his salary. It was illegal in my town, but that didn't keep some officeholders from trying to get around the law by operating private enterprises (with which they weren't publicly identified) and trying to get city business for them. I got a ruling from the corporation counsel which put an end to such illegal practices—making a lot more enemies in the process. . . .

Your charter ought to contain minimum professional standards for every important city office. In recent years, in the cities of my state, I've seen a druggist made chief of police, a newspaper reporter appointed street superintendent, a shoe worker put in as parks commissioner and an alcoholic railroad worker made commissioner of public works. . . .

By all the rules, I should have been one of the most popular mayors my city ever had. I owed my election to nobody but the voters, and my administration ran on a policy of absolutely-no-favoritism. In a real economy drive, I lowered the tax rate, reduced the city's outstanding debt—and still supplied added services. I cut the mayor's salary more than 15 per cent, and took on without pay the additional jobs of finance director and commissioner of public safety. I got rid of the mayor's limousines, fired the mayor's chauffeur and drove myself around town, using my own car and gas I paid for myself. . . .

From Hero to Villain

Finally, I even got to be a local hero. A lunatic started shooting up one of the streets from a second-story window; after he'd killed a bystander and a policeman, the other cops were a little reluctant to go up after him. A crowd had gathered and a lot of people were in danger. As a former federal officer and ex-sheriff, I'd been shot at before. I borrowed a cop's gun and shinnied up a telephone pole behind the house to close the trap on the killer. Even the newspapers had to give me credit for that one.

I was a public hero—for a while. Not long afterward I was a public bum, under indictment for conspiracy to obstruct justice.

I had made what some people might consider a mistake—I had refused to order a $1,000,000 assessment reduction on the $3,000,000 worth of downtown real estate owned by one of the city's newspaper executives. I told his representative that I wouldn't force the citizens to pay added taxes on their own properties in order to pad his real estate profits. The spokesman for the executive then told me that he had something on my administration and threatened to "get me" through the newspaper. I ran him out of my office.

The newspaper bigwig set private detectives on me and dug through my entire history as engineer, public works officer, federal prohibition enforcement administrator, sheriff, city councilman and mayor; I think it's the greatest compliment I ever received that after an investigation which cost him $100,000 the only actual evidence he could produce against me was the fact that I had once exaggerated my age when I was a kid trying to get a job.

The executive then played his trump card: he went to certain public officials and showed them what they'd gain if I were out of the way. A few months later they had their frame-up ready.

Basically, the charge was that certain petty-larceny gamblers had paid for police protection, and that I knew all about it. The total money allegedly involved was a couple of hundred dollars split three ways.

Now, it was widely known that in the past, as prohibition administrator for half of my state, I had turned down cash bribes totaling $750,000. What's more, the public record showed that as mayor I had unceasingly harassed the gamblers who—my enemies claimed—had made the payoffs. Nevertheless, the charges got to trial. Even my acquittal —and the breakdown of a prosecution witness, who admitted that an official of the newspaper had urged him to give perjured testimony "or else he (meaning me) will have us all in jail"—couldn't stop the slander. . . .

I'd fight the same fight again, whatever the price.

That's the only way to get good government: fight for it, sacrifice for it. You, as a private citizen, probably will never be put through the wringer I went through. But you'll have to make sacrifices. You'll have to attend frequent meetings of your citizens' committee, taking the time from your recreation or business hours. You'll have to prepare for these meetings in advance, and go out and work for good government when they're over. You'll have to forget about your own political preferences and work strictly for clean government, even if it means hurting some friends (crooked politicians can be very nice guys, personally). . . .

It's just as hard as it sounds—but it's necessary. Good government never did, and never will, just happen. If *you* don't do something about it, nobody will.

Chicago First

Citizens of Greater Chicago, in their *Civic News,* cite the fact that the association is the "first great area-wide organization to coordinate the efforts of hundreds of already active civic groups in a unified crusade for good government; the only nonpartisan group organized to carry out a long-range program of modernization and improvement in all major fields of civic interest; and the best means ever offered the individual citizen to learn the techniques of intelligent good citizenship, broaden his participation in government, and act effectively, with new understanding of citizen responsibility." The *News* recites the organization's progress in its first year and lists the many projects on its program, among them reapportionment, a new city charter, a new judicial article to the state constitution and conservation.

CGC takes action in three ways: By neighborhood initiative through improvement groups, community councils, etc.; utilization of existing laws through pressure on officials, both governmental and party; and by legislation.

A series of bulletins is devoted to reports on candidates running for office, explaining the duties of these officials. Propositions to appear on the ballot are discussed but no recommendations are made.

CGC is arranging a series of "special interest meetings." Two of these are already planned—conservation and redevelopment and law enforcement and the community's relationship with the police district.

Young Men in Government

The Committee for Young Men in Government has been organized "To enlist, on a nonpartisan basis, the active participation in political and governmental affairs of America's young business, industry and farm leaders who have heretofore left politics to the politicians; to help restore dignity and integrity to the federal government now; to aid in a continuing program for sound business principles in government at all levels in the future; and to provide an 'organized reserve' of young men in business, industry and farming who may be called upon to assume positions of leadership in politics and government."

It will function at the national, state and local levels and will urge its members to play an active part in political affairs, running for office, joining in nonpartisan campaigns for issues and candidates by recruiting workers, speaking at rallies and civic meetings, etc. On the national level the committee will serve only as a clearing house and organization body for local committees.

Chairman of the steering committee

of the new organization is H. Bruce Palmer, president of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of Newark and former president of the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Home Rule Struggle

The Citizens' League of Pawtucket, in its October 8 *Know Your City Government,* takes issue with the decision of the Rhode Island Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the provisions of its home rule charter regarding local election procedures.[1]

"The decision was a terrific blow to advocates of full home rule to cities and towns of the state. However, the officers and directors of the Citizens' League refuse to be disheartened. That home rule is now meaningless goes without saying. When a community must depend upon the state legislature for the time, manner and means of electing local officials to office after it has adopted a home rule charter, the very keystone of home rule has been wrenched from its position, and the arch of home rule is certain to crumble soon thereafter. We bring this to your attention in this newsletter, so that if ever you are asked if the state of Rhode Island has home rule, you may have the answer at first hand."

The board of directors of the League has laid out a program to further full home rule. Among the steps advocated is an "immediate constitutional convention for the purpose of adding an amendment to the state constitution enumerating the home rule powers of the cities and towns of the state."

Membership Drive

Already one of the largest civic organizations in the country—it has 5,000 members—the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington, is making a drive for 2,500 new members. "Everyone Should Get into the Act," says the league's *Municipal News.* "The league must continue to grow bigger and stronger because its strength lies in numbers. . . . The price of good government is a strong Municipal League. Just how strong the league is to continue to be is up to you."

Freedoms Foundation Program

Freedoms Foundation is planning its fifth national awards program, in which it offers cash awards as well as honor medals and certificates of merit "to go to individuals, organizations and schools throughout America for their outstanding work in behalf of a better understanding of the American Way of Life."

Ambitious Program

"With the coming of fall," says the *News Letter* of the Citizens' Civic Association of Fort Wayne, Indiana, "Local citizens, refreshed by summer vacations, take a renewed interest in improvements to their homes, businesses and communities, bringing the following civic objectives into clearer focus: (1) Extension of planning and zoning jurisdiction to city's fringe; (2) solution of traffic, safety and parking problems; (3) establishment of a permanent traffic commission by city ordinance; (4) enactment of a city health ordinance related to garbage and refuse; (5) adoption of modernized zoning classifications to changed areas; (6) improved street lighting of residential and business districts; (7) annexation of industrial areas based upon equitable considerations; (8) creation of sanitary districts to extend sewers to suburban areas; (9) improvement of river banks and rivers for recreational use; (10) support of proposed northeast independent conservancy district and flood control."

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[1] See also page 515, this issue.

State, Local Retirement Plans Need Clarifying

Integration with OASI Proves Pressing Issue

THE retirement programs of state and local employees have become thoroughly enmeshed in the intricacies of intergovernmental relations. The retirement benefits of local public servants involve congressional enactments, state constitutional provisions, state legislation, city charters, local referenda and municipal ordinances. The most pressing question continues to be the proper arrangement for integrating local and state programs with the old age and survivors' insurance program (OASI) of the federal social security system.

Donald B. Hayman's study, *Social Security and State and Local Retirement in North Carolina* (University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 171 pages), presents a comprehensive analysis of the fundamental issues involved when the integration of state and local programs with OASI is under consideration.

Since the publication in 1952 of its *Report on the Philadelphia Municipal Pension Fund,* the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research has devoted several issues of its weekly publication, *Citizens' Business,* to the pension problem. The June 8 number was addressed specifically to the question: "Should City Join Federal Social Security System?" One of the recommendations of the bureau's 1953 *Report on the Philadelphia Police Pension Fund* (51 pages) is: "In pension planning, the city should give primary emphasis to integrating the city systems with the OASI system."

The Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities' *Municipal Administration* for July raises the question, "Is Social Security Enough?" The answer points to the necessity of working out a scheme for supplementing OASI benefits. A combination plan is described in an illustrated pamphlet, *Richmond's Retirement Plan,* prepared by the city of Richmond, Virginia, for its employees. Such an arrangement, however, is not possible without a series of expedients to circumvent the technicalities of federal law which extend OASI coverage to state and local employees if they are not under some other public retirement plan.

Robert J. Towle, Richmond actuary, analyzes some of the basic problems involved in "Social Security for Public Employees" (*Alabama Municipal Journal,* September 1953).

The way out of the present chaos of retirement programs is the subject of numerous studies. At the state level some efforts are being made to clarify pension laws, e.g., the Illinois Pension Laws Commission. The federal government is undertaking a number of studies of the social security system. A congressional group, headed by Representative Carl Curtis of Nebraska, is looking into all social security laws. The retirement of federal employees is being studied by a special interdepartmental committee with H. Eliot Kaplan of New York designated by the President as chairman.

A survey recently concluded in the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare resulted in the introduction of a bill (HR-6812) extending social security coverage. Randy H. Hamilton and George H. Deming, of the Washington staff of the American Municipal Association, report in the *Virginia Municipal Review* for August 1953 that this bill, to be considered in January 1954, "extends social security to municipal employees with the exception of firemen and policemen, provided two-thirds of those voting in an election on the subject agree to come into OASI." Many questions are still unanswered by this proposal and it is certain that other bills will be introduced early in the next session of Congress.

At the state level the problem has had extensive legislative consideration. In a summary of 1953 state legislation affecting municipalities, appearing in *Public Management* for September 1953, John R. Kerstetter notes that "relations of public personnel to the federal social security system are encompassed by a score of laws in more than a dozen states." The patterns followed by the new state retirement legislation take three forms: substituting OASI coverage for state benefits, extending OASI coverage only to the employees not covered by another system, and creating a dual coverage program. The last is more in line with advanced private personnel practice but, until federal laws are revised, it will be extremely difficult to arrange in some states.

States and municipalities are forced to cope with retirement benefit schemes in realistic terms because they constitute an increasingly significant item in public budgets. This fact is made clear in the lead article of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau's June bulletin, "Pension Costs—A Factor in Pay Scales." The *Washington Municipal Bulletin* for July 20, dealing with "1954 Budget Suggestions" for cities in the state of Washington, lists three new legislative enactments concerning retirement which have local budgetary implications. Similar situations exist in other states. The Bureau of the Census report on *Retirement Coverage of State and Local Employees* (1953, twelve pages) gives the most recent compilation of the basic statistics on the subject.

In any event the retirement program of public employees is one of the many problems which undoubtedly will be explored by the new federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Bureau Notes

The Institute of Local Government, Pennsylvania State College, has summarized its *18 Years of Service to Pennsylvania Local Governments, 1935-1953* (four pages). This service has been to individual communities, associations of local officials, the commonwealth of Pennsylvania and numerous civic groups.

The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council has published an attractive brochure, *Halt the Mounting Tax Burden—A Program for Better Government 1953-54.* This compact report presents in three-color process graphic charts which "tell a story of the legislative results and council action of the last session of the [Connecticut] General Assembly." These charts were displayed at the council's annual meeting.

WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Accounting

ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES FOR STATE STREET AID FUND (ONE PENNY ACT OF 1953) FOR TENNESSEE MUNICIPALITIES. By William T. Chaffin. Nashville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, 1953. 16 pp.

Annexation

ANTIDOTE FOR FRINGE PROBLEMS: REALISTIC ANNEXATION. By David Goodman. (Digest of address before Annual Convention of the Tennessee Municipal League.) Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, *Public Works Planning Newsletter,* July 1953. 4 pp.

Assessments

URBAN ASSESSMENTS ACROSS CANADA. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* June 10, 1953. 5 pp.

Budgets

Basic Budget Background for Baltimore City Taxpayers. Where the Money Comes From and Where It Goes. A report describing the municipal budgetary system and budget-making procedure, and summarizing statistics on budget trends and allocations. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1953. 13 pp.

Budget Use of Work Load Data. Personnel Requirements Nailed Down. By Allen K. Rosencranz. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* September 1953. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Business

The Business Cycle in South Dakota. By Paul Mathis. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, School of Business Administration, August 1953. 40 pp.

Scientific Method in Business—Some Observations. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1953. 8 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

Personnel and Financial Controls in Council-Manager Government. By Julian H. Orr. New York 16, *The American City,* September 1953. 2 pp.

Economic Development

A Program for Economic Development of Caroline County. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1953. 91 pp.

Education

An Appraisal of Boston's School Lunch Program. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, 1953. 96 pp. Tables.

Is State School Aid Rational or Ridiculous? Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council, *Council Comments,* September 11, 1953. 4 pp.

Kentucky's Education Puzzle. 5,000 Citizens Report on Their Schools. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1953. 13 pp.

The School Board Asks for Taxes. A Pittsburgh Experiment in Direct Democracy. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter,* August 1953. 10 pp.

Fire Prevention

Survey of Texas Laws on Fire Prevention and Control. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 102 pp. $1.00.

Home Rule

Municipal Leaders Have the "Know-how" to Win Approval for Home Rule. By Emmet Guy. Questions and Answers on Home Rule. Nashville, Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town & City,* September 1953. 2 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

Proceedings National Conference on Federal-State Relations. Washington, D.C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1953. 39 pp.

Some Aspects of Intergovernmental Relations. By George H. Deming. (Address before Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York.) Minneapolis 14, League of Minnesota Municipalities, *Minnesota Municipalities,* August 1953. 3 pp.

Legislative Bodies

The Art of Being an Alderman. By Arthur Bromage. Nashville, Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town & City,* July 1953. 5 pp. 30 cents.

The Fifty-Third Texas Legislature—A Review of its Work. By T. E. McMillan, Jr. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 32 pp.

Library Administration

Changing Patterns of Reference Service. Proceedings of the Section on University and Public Library Administration, 17th Annual Institute of Government, 1952. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1953. 40 pp. $1.00.

Manuals

OFFICE MANAGEMENT MANUAL FOR LEGAL AID SOCIETIES. By Junius L. Allison. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service (published under auspices of National Legal Aid Association), 1953. 109 pp. $2.00.

PROPOSED OFFICIALS MANUAL. 101 Questions and Answers Every City Official, Engineer, Architect and Municipal Contractor Should Know. Fort Worth, Texas Construction Council, 1953. 37 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

METROPOLITAN TORONTO. Toronto, Metropolitan Council, 1953. 14 pp. Charts, maps.

THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO—A NEW ANSWER TO METROPOLITAN AREA PROBLEMS. By Frederick G. Gardiner. (Address before the American Bar Association.) Toronto, 1953. 5 pp. (Apply author, Metropolitan Council, Toronto.)

Natural Resources

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF FLORIDA'S NATURAL RESOURCES. By Hubert Marshall and Robert J. Young. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1953. ix, 257 pp.

Personnel

PERSONNEL STORY. Toronto 5 (Ontario), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* September 10, 1953. 6 pp.

Police

POLICE ADMINISTRATION AND THE PROBLEM SOLVERS. By C. Bruce Smith, Jr. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* January-February 1953. 6 pp.

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RELACIONES PUBLICAS PARA EMPLEADOS GUBERNAMENTALES. Un Programa De Acción. By Eleanor S. Ruhl. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1953. 31 pp. $1.00.

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FINANCING ELECTRIC - MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS IN TENNESSEE. By Victor C. Hobday. Nashville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, 1953, 63 pp. Charts.

Recreation

PUBLIC RECREATION AS A MUNICIPAL SERVICE IN ALABAMA. By Robert T. Daland. Montgomery, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, in cooperation with The Alabama League of Municipalities, 1953. 23 pp.

Refuse Disposal

A SURVEY OF REFUSE COLLECTION AND DISPOSAL IN LOWER BUCKS COUNTY, Bristol, Pennsylvania Economy League, Lower Bucks County Branch, in cooperation with the Bucks County Planning Commission, 1953. 66 pp.

Research

THIRD ANNUAL INVENTORY OF RESEARCH IN MISSISSIPPI. Jackson, Mississippi Research Clearing House, 1953. xi, 54 pp. $1.00.

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SALARIES OF MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS IN GEORGIA—1953. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, in cooperation with The Georgia Municipal Association, 1953. 9 tables. $1.00.

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FINANCING MUNICIPAL SEWERAGE SYSTEMS IN ALABAMA. By Robert T. Daland. Montgomery, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, and the Alabama League of Municipalities, 1953. 19 pp.

JOINT ACTION FOR SEWAGE TREATMENT IN THE SYRACUSE METROPOLITAN AREA. Statement of the Case for Areawide Action and a Sound and Lasting Solution. Syracuse (New York), Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., 1953. 31 pp.

PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTING SEWAGE DISPOSAL FACILITIES. A Guide for Municipal Officials for Planning, Constructing and Financing Sewers and Sewage Treatment Facilities in West Virginia. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1953. 39 pp.

Shopping Centers

DOWNTOWN VERSUS SUBURBAN SHOPPING. By C. T. Jonassen. Columbus, Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, 1953. 99 pp. Tables, charts. $2.00.

State Government

KANSAS STATE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1953. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* September 15, 1953. 3 pp. Chart.

Taxation and Finance

CENTRAL COLLECTION AGENCY SAVES TAX DOLLARS. By Leonard S. Hill. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *The New Hampshire Taxpayer,* September 1953. 2 pp.

GENERAL MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA. San Antonio (Texas), Research and Planning Council, *Report to the Citizens,* September 24, 1953. 8 pp.

PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT AND FINANCE IN MARION TOWNSHIP. Columbus 15 (Ohio), Citizens Research, Inc., 1953. 11 pp.

A REPORT ON FINANCING THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI. Prepared for the Municipal Survey Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1953. ix, 104 pp.

REPORT ON ORDINANCE 52-235 TO REPEAL ADMISSIONS TAX and REPORT ON OPERATION OF THE GAS UTILITY. Richmond (Virginia), Citizens Committee on Financial Policy, 1953. 5 and 9 pp., respectively.

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT ON THE TAXING UNITS IN HARRIS COUNTY (1952 Fiscal Year). Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1953. 52 pp.

THE SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND MARINES' FUND. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *News and Views, Your State and Local Government,* May 18, 1953. 2 pp.

TAX AND EXPENDITURE POLICY FOR 1953. A Statement on National Policy. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, Research and Policy Committee, 1953. 20 pp.

YOUR LOCAL TAXES . . . MAYBE TOO LOW. Washington 6, D. C., *Changing Times*—The Kiplinger Magazine, September 1953. 6 pp. 50 cents.

Transit

MASS TRANSIT VS. THE AUTOMOBILE. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 25, 1953. 8 pp. Charts.

Veto Power

CASE FOR ITEM VETO. States permit it . . . should federal government follow lead? New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* June 1953. 4 pp.

Zoning

NEW APPROACH TO SMALL CITY ZONING. By W. G. Roeseler. Los Angeles 17, *Western City,* September 1953. 1 p.

ZONING SURVEY FOR SOUTH HUTCHINSON. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1953. 27 pp.

Books in Review

ABANDONMENTS OF THE MANAGER PLAN. A Study of Four Small Cities. By Edwin O. Stene and George K. Floro. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1953, iv, 107 pp.

These are on-the-spot reports from four small midwestern cities where council-manager government has succumbed recently to heavy fire: Mason City, Iowa; Rhinelander, Wisconsin; Aberdeen and Madison, South Dakota. Madison readopted the plan in April 1951. The authors hope "to assist in making the manager plan more successful," but they do not pretend to have a representative sample of abandonments. As of this date a total of some fifty cities in the United States have given up the plan by popular vote. Stene and Floro find that each of these four cities has had only one manager for an appreciable length of time in recent years. With one exception, the managers had professional engineering training and had served as engineers in municipal government.

The authors find that a common grievance among the people in these places was the tendency toward unanimous council votes, and that may be "a corollary to election-at-large." "Perhaps . . . small governing bodies will seek to reach formal decisions by unanimous vote. . . . City managers also tend to encourage unanimity." But unanimity "is unnatural in a divided community, and most communities are divided."

In all four places chief support for the manager plan came from the downtown business leadership, principally "the younger rising businessmen or the junior chamber of commerce people," while opposition was centered in the lower economic groups. In each case a "crack-pot" appeared as leader of the opposition, a relatively unknown person who felt that the "better people" controlled the government and were excluding him. In no case was this man able to hold his following after his task of persuading abandonment was finished.

In Rhinelander, "perhaps the most important factor in the abandonment of city manager government was the refusal of the supporters to consider a change to the ward system of electing the city council. Labor was convinced that its members were at a disadvantage in city-wide elections. . . . The working people chose to be assured of a minority voice at all sessions of the city council rather than depend upon the remote chance that they might some day elect a majority of the council in elections at large."

"There may be a real question about the desirability of election at large. A complete ward system is usually unwise because councilmen tend to be interested primarily in programs designed to benefit their respective wards. . . . Possible compromise plans might well be supported more often than they are by advocates of the manager system." There is no mention of proportional representation as a method of electing the council, a system which would give the minority, as well as the majority, representation in proportion to its voting strength.

Other features entering into these abandonments of the council-manager plan, according to the authors, include emphasis on the business analogy as justification for the use of the plan and the lack of education on its advantages.

The authors conclude with speculation about the degree to which a manager should assume responsibility for public relations: "Oddly enough, the city manager is more alert to public reaction than is his council."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

MODEL CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR MUNICIPAL HOME RULE. By Jefferson B. Fordham. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1953. 30 pp. $1.25. (With remittance, $1.00.)

The American Municipal Association is to be commended for publishing, and Jefferson B. Fordham for preparing, this draft of a model state constitutional provision for municipal home rule. The several preliminary drafts were reviewed by the association's Committee on Home Rule but the final draft was never "officially approved" by the entire committee and the association. Nevertheless, the model is a significant step forward in the area of state-local legal relations.

The traditional home rule distinction between general and local affairs is abandoned. In its place the draft proposes that a city "may exercise any power or perform any function which the legislature has power to devolve upon a non-home rule charter municipal corporation." No longer, under this provision, would courts be faced with the impossible task of determining which powers of government ought to be exercised by the state and which by the municipality—impossible because in this modern age so many powers must be exercised by both.

The courts would be faced only with the question of whether a power claimed for a city is delegable by the legislature. Surely this is an improvement over present practice in most home rule states, although distinguishing between delegable and non-delegable powers might still prove to be a task of some magnitude. Especially will this be so if the courts choose to construe delegable powers narrowly.

In general the AMA model represents the most advanced thinking available. The proposal concerning city enactment of private law is a real contribution as is the idea of allowing optional charters for those cities wanting to be neither general nor home rule. Furthermore, the draft has attempted to alleviate one of the real sore points of state-municipal relations, i.e., state legislation requiring increased municipal expenditures without provision for additional revenue. To what extent this provision would accomplish its purpose without introducing new complexities into state-local relations probably only experience would tell.

By the AMA model law, charter adoption is dependent on procedure established by the legislature. If the legislature fails to act, the city council of each municipality is empowered to establish procedure. In the absence of council action and upon presentation of a petition, judicial mandate to compel action by the council is available. Even though compelled to act, the council might sabotage intent and for this reason the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution* article on local government includes a self-executing provision.

John P. Keith

The Cincinnati Area Must Solve its Metropolitan Problems. By Doris D. Reed and Thomas H. Reed. Cincinnati, The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, Public Affairs Division, 1953. 44 pages. Map.

A necessary preliminary to broad-scale action on most of our metropolitan problems is better public understanding of their nature. The Reeds in this report have tried to strike a medium between a detailed, scholarly study and a popularization. The result is a good foundation on which the new Cincinnati Committee on Metropolitan Areas can build. The authors look at six "ways of mitigating if not solving the metropolitan problem" which are used in the Cincinnati area.

The pamphlet does an excellent job of highlighting the fiscal and service capacities of the 32 suburbs hemming in the city of Cincinnati. The startling contrast between aristocratic Indian Hill and depressed Lincoln Heights, in terms of rateables, police, water and so on, is a sad story with a counterpart in every large metropolitan complex. How long will it be before it becomes a fighting story?

The Reeds make a strong recommendation that Cincinnatians try a seventh way of remedying their suburbanitis—the untried cure of long-standing reputation, two-level or federated government.

G.S.B.

DIRECT PRIMARY SYSTEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. A Compilation of Primary Laws. New York City, League of Women Voters of New York State, 1953. 102 pp. $1.

For a current study by local leagues of women voters throughout New York State, looking toward improvement of the direct primary law, the state league has collected from other state leagues, as well as boards of elections throughout the country, facts, laws and comment from 47 states in orderly questionnaire fashion. (Connecticut has no primary law.) The answers are compiled in this report, which will be of rare value to any other worker in the field.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Assessments

THE ASSESSMENT AND TAXATION OF UNFINISHED BUILDINGS IN CANADA. A discussion of Canadian laws, practices and the desirability of assessing unfinished buildings. By Douglas H. Clark. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Democracy

THE COMPLEXITY OF AMERICA. The University of Chicago Round Table—NBC Radio Discussion. By Paul Appleby, Morton Grodzins and Charner Perry. Chicago, University of Chicago, July 12, 1953. 16 pp. 10 cents.

Foreign Relations

CONGRESS AND FOREIGN RELATIONS. Edited by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi and Chester E. Merrow. Philadelphia 4, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* September 1953. 177 pp. $2.00.

OUR FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS. A Survey of U.S. International Assistance Programs, 1941-1952. New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1953. 36 pp. Tables, charts.

Highways

HOW TO PLAN AND PAY FOR BETTER HIGHWAYS. Detroit 2, General Motors, 1953. 99 pp.

MASTER PLAN OF HIGHWAYS FOR THE MARYLAND-WASHINGTON REGIONAL DISTRICT. Montgomery and Prince George's Counties. Riverdale (Maryland), National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1953. 30 pp. Maps, charts.

Intergovernmental Relations

SCHOOL-CITY COOPERATION IN THE PLANNING OF RECREATION AREAS AND FACILITIES. By George D. Butler, New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1953. 12 pp. 75 cents.

Legal Profession

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AND ITS WORK. By Edson R. Sunderland. With a Concluding Chapter on The Committee on Scope and Correlation of Work and Its Program. By William J. Jameson. Boston 9, Survey of the Legal Profession, 1953. vii, 251 pp. (Apply Office of the Director, 60 State Street, Boston 9.)

THE LAWYER FROM ANTIQUITY TO MODERN TIMES. With particular reference to the development of Bar Associations in the United States. By Roscoe Pound. St. Paul, West Publishing Company, 1953. xxxii, 404 pp. $5.00.

LEGAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. A Report Prepared for the Survey of the Legal Profession. By Albert J. Harno. San Francisco, Bancroft-Whitney Company, 1953, v, 211 pp. $3.50.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION. (Prepared for the Survey of the

Legal Profession under Auspices of American Bar Association.) By William R. Roalfe. St. Paul, West Publishing Company, 1953. xviii, 471 pp.

Legislative Investigations

LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATIONS. (An Address before the Citizens Board of the University of Chicago.) By Laird Bell. Chicago, 1953. 13 pp. (Apply author at the University of Chicago.)

Municipal Government

FOUR STEPS TO BETTER GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK CITY.[1] A Plan for Action. Report of the Temporary State Commission to Study the Organizational Structure of the Government of the City of New York. New York, the Commission, 1953. 136 pp. Charts.

Natural Resources

WATER & POLITICS. A Study of Water Policies and Administration in the Development of Los Angeles. By Vincent Ostrom. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1953. xviii, 297 pp. Tables, maps. Clothbound $4.00, paperbound $3.50.

Planning

PLANNING ONE TOWN. PETERSHAM, A HILL TOWN IN MASSACHUSETTS. By John D. Black and Ayers Brinser. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. 75 pp. Maps, tables.

TRENDS FOR MODERN COMMUNITIES. By Max S. Wehrly. Washington, D.C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* September 1953. 4 pp.

Population

ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF STATES: JULY 1, 1940 TO 1949. Washington 25, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 8 pp. 10 cents.

ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE, COLOR, AND SEX: JULY 1, 1950, 1951, AND 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 9 pp. 10 cents.

MARYLAND POPULATION FORECASTS THROUGH 1970. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1953. 35 pp. Charts. 50 cents.

President

SELECTING THE PRESIDENT (Two volumes). The NUEA Discussion and Debate Manual—1953-1954. Edited by Bower Aly. Madison (Wisconsin), National University Extension Association, Committee on Discussion and Debate Materials and Interstate Cooperation, 1953. 31 pp.

Public Health

NURSING NEEDS AND RESOURCES OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, Committee on Medical Care, Subcommittee on Nursing Needs, 1953. 63 pp. Tables.

Purchasing

MUNICIPAL INDEX. The Purchasing Guide for City Officials. New York 16, American City Magazine Corporation, 1953. 995 pp. $5.00.

Retirement Plans

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING RETIREMENT SYSTEMS FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES. A discussion of the retirement system movement and of suggested standards for judging a municipal retirement system. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 8 pp. 75 cents.

Services to Outside Communities

MUNICIPAL SERVICES TO FRINGE AREA RESIDENTS. A Survey of Tennessee Practices. By Harlan Mathews. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, Division of State Planning, 1953. 37 pp. $1.00.

State Government

ESSENTIALS OF MISSOURI GOVERNMENT. By Robert F. Karsch. Columbia (Missouri), Lucas Brothers, 1953. 174 pp. Tables, charts, maps.

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[1] For a description of the plan of government proposed, see page 517, this issue.

State Reorganization

Department of Corporations and Taxation. Twelfth Report of the Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. Boston, the Commission, 1953. 99 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Finance Administration—Planning, Execution, Evaluation. New York 22, International Business Machines Corporation, 1953. 20 pp. Illus.

The Pennsylvania Tax Problem. Summary of discussion at Tax Institute Regional Round Table Conference. Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* July-August 1953. 8 pp. 50 cents.

Report of the Interim Tax and Fiscal Revision Committee. Submitted to the Governor of the State of Oregon and the Forty-seventh Legislative Assembly. Salem, the Committee, 1953. 13 pp.

State Tax Collections in 1953. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 10 pp. Tables. 10 cents.

Textbooks

The American Federal Government. By John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. x, 902 pp. $5.50.

The American System of Government. By John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. xii, 1056 pp. $6.00.

Introduction to Government. By Robert Rienow. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. xix, 596 pp. $5.00.

Traffic

Traffic Law Enforcement and the Sixteen Resolutions of the Chief Justices and the Governors. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New York 12, Institute of Judicial Administration, 1953. 36 pp. Maps.

Traffic Safety

Let's Make It Safe! An Inventory of Community Traffic Safety Needs. Washington 6, D. C., The General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1953. 6 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for December 1953: Holiday Hazards. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

Urban Development

More Payrolls for a Bedroom Community. Industrial Council Recommends Controlled Development for San Mateo County, California. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* May 1953. 2 pp.

Urban Decentralization

Are New York's Business Offices on the Way to the Suburbs? New York, The Bowery Savings Bank, 1953 13 pp.

Zoning

Comparative Digest of Municipa and County Zoning Enabling Statutes. For Reference in Communit Planning, Housing, Slum Clearance an Urban Redevelopment Programs. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Hom Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, Division of Law, 1952. xvi, 7 pp. 60 cents.

Gallup Nominated for President

George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, is to be nominated for president of the National Municipal League on November 9 at the National Conference on Government in Richmond, it was announced by the Nominating Committee which met in New York.

Other names to be placed in nomination are John S. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank, and George S. Van Schaick, lawyer and former New York State superintendent of insurance, for reelection as vice presidents.

George H. Gallup

Of the fifteen regional vice presidents, all but three to be nominated are incumbents. Ben B. Ehrlichman of Seattle, Carl J. Gilbert of Boston and Carleton B. Tibbetts of Los Angeles will be proposed as new regional vice presidents.

New members of the League's Council to be placed in nomination are Arthur W. Bromage, Ann Arbor; William H. Bulkeley, Hartford; Gilbert H. Clee, New York; Charles E. Commander, Jr., Jacksonville; L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City; Karl Detzer, Leland, Michigan; Arnold Frye, New York; Thomas Graham, Louisville; R. M. Hanes, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and H. Bruce Palmer, Newark, New Jersey. The terms of new Council members will expire in 1956.

The Nominating Committee is composed of William Collins, chairman; Frederick L. Bird, Lloyd Hale, James M. Osborn and Carl H. Pforzheimer.

90th Birthday Tribute to Lawson Purdy

Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League from 1915 to 1919, received an editorial tribute from the *New York Times* recently.

Honoring his 90th birthday, the newspaper described the former League president and life member of the Council as a man "who has served this community with enthusiasm, foresight and devotion to the public interest for many years. . . .

"The list of Lawson Purdy's good offices is long," the editorial continued. "He was one of the pioneering fathers of the 1916 zoning resolution in New York. He was president of the Department of Taxes and Assessments from 1906 to 1917. Better housing for New York's people of lower income was close to his heart always. He was president of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation, and a leader in the Regional Plan Association, the National Conference on City Planning and the National Municipal League.

Lawson Purdy

"He has been a pillar of strength in charitable and religious works. One of the nicest things ever said of him was spoken by a critic, back in the 1932 days of relief. This critic said he was 'too much of a sentimentalist'."

League Publishes New Model Bond Law

A Model County and Municipal Bond Law, prepared by the League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments, of which Arnold Frye is chairman, has been published by the League and is now available.

Arnold Frye

The model provides a borrowing procedure which, within reasonable limits, "gives local governments a flexible means of borrowing for capital improvements through the use of general obligation bonds," Dr. Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dunn & Bradstreet, and Committee member, writes in an introduction. It also "imposes numerous safeguards against the misuse and excessive use of borrowing power, encourages the planning of capital programs and discourages defective debt administration, incorporates procedural and security provisions that will facilitate borrowing at the lowest possible cost, and preserves for the electorate the right to review and pass on borrowing proposals."

The need for such a law is underscored by Alfred Willoughby, executive director of the League, in his foreword. Because of the great increase in the volume of municipal bonds issued since World War II, "the weaknesses, needless handicaps and abuses in the orderly and economical management of public borrowing have become more apparent," he writes. The law was first drafted in 1939 and has since been reviewed, criticized and refined with the help of many finance experts and used by drafting committees of several state legislatures in what Mr. Willoughby calls "a series of laboratory tests."

The model law is one of a series on local government finance prepared by the Committee that seeks to present a procedure, for adoption on a statewide basis, that will regulate the performance of basic financial functions of local government in keeping with approved modern standards.

Copies of the law are obtainable at the League's office. The price is $1.00.

Visitor from Alaska

Victor Fischer, executive secretary to the League of Alaskan Cities and city planning director of Anchorage, paid a visit to the League offices recently. He was supplied with League pamphlets to inform organizations in Alaska about the council-manager plan. Fischer had extensive talks with all staff members.

Raymond C. Atkinson Dies

Raymond C. Atkinson, member of the League's first Committee on County Government and author of its second report, *Principles of a Model County Government,* published in 1933, died recently in Cleveland. Dr. Atkinson had been an administrative analyst at the Bureau of the Budget since 1939. He also prepared the original draft of the *Model County Manager Charter,* scheduled for early publication.

Childs Aids Brookings Study

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee, recently accepted an invitation from the Brookings Institution in Washington to serve on the advisory committee for a Brookings study of the presidentia nominating process.

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ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

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RICHARD S. CHILDS
EDWARD W. WEIDNER, County and Township
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NEWS for League Members

Conference Reaches Youth

At the 59th National Conference on Government in Richmond, November 8-11, 1,033 persons from 35 states were registered, not including several hundred high school and college students.

The Conference reached every major educational institution in Richmond. Under the general title "Youth in Civic Affairs," sparked by Ed. P. Phillips' local Committee on Civic Education, six Conference speakers addressed seven educational institutions in a drive to bring home to Richmond's youth the desirability of being concerned with their own local and state government. This was in addition to a panel session on Monday morning, November 9, "Youth in Civic Affairs," in which 400 students participated.

The following day Raymond D. Black, executive director of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, spoke at the Richmond Professional Institute of William and Mary College; Charles B. Coates, general manager of the Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report, addressed an assembly at Armstrong High School, and George S. Van Schaick, League second vice president, talked before a special meeting at the Maggie Walker High School.

On Wednesday, George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and new League president, delivered addresses before assemblies at Virginia Union University and Jefferson High School. Later in the day Reuben A. Lazarus, consultant on municipal affairs to the New York State legislature, spoke to a group at Richmond University, and Charles Edison addressed a large gathering of students at John Marshall High School, winding up a program which included a presentation of the "Ballad for Americans."

(Continued on next page)

View of the Conference's Tuesday, November 10, dinner meeting at the Jefferson Hotel.

Annual Membership Meeting Held

The annual membership meeting of the League was held November 9 in connection with the 59th National Conference on Government in Richmond.

George H. Gallup

George H. Gallup was elected president, succeeding Henry Bruère. John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick were re-elected as vice presidents.

New regional vice presidents are Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle, and Carl J. Gilbert, Boston. Re-elected were Lester L. Bates, Columbia, South Carolina; William Collins, New York; John B. Gage, Kansas City, Missouri; Barry Goldwater, Phoenix; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis; A. E. Johnson, Denver; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; John Nuveen, Chicago; E. W. Palmer, Kingsport, Tennessee; Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond, Virginia; Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati; and Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio.

Council members elected were Arthur Bromage, Ann Arbor; E. Bartlett Brooks, Dayton; William H. Bulkeley, Hartford; Charles E. Commander, Jr., Jacksonville; L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City; Karl Detzer, Leland, Michigan; Arnold Frye, New York; Thomas Graham, Louisville; and H. Bruce Palmer, Newark, New Jersey.

Reports were made by the staff, and Dr. Joseph E. McLean, of Princeton University, summarized his report "Evaluating the League." Mayor Hohen Foster of Phoenix and Clint Kanaga, president of the Citizens Association, and Regional Vice President and former Mayor John B. Gage, both of Kansas City, invited the League to hold the 1954 National Conference on Government in their cities. Regional Vice President Ben B. Ehrlichman put in a bid for the 1955 Conference for Seattle, as did Robert O. Hilty on behalf of Toledo.

Conference Reaches Youth

(Continued from preceding page)

Among the more popular of the 22 regular panel sessions conducted at Conference headquarters in the Jefferson Hotel were "Cities and the National Government," with Sherwood Reeder, president of the Pennsylvania Economy League, presiding; "Effective Citizens' Associations," Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids Citizens' Action; "Ethics for Legislators," Belle Zeller, professor of government at Brooklyn College; "Women as Campaigners," Margaret Hickey, of the *Ladies' Home Journal;* "The Citizen and Juvenile Delinquency," Douglas MacNeil, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies; "The Newspaper as a Civic Force," Virginius Dabney, editor, Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, and "Policy-making Machinery in the Council-Manager Plan," John M. Kernochan, Columbia University.

Main speakers at the dinner and luncheon meetings were Karl Detzer, roving editor of *Reader's Digest*; Frank C. Moore, former lieutenant governor of New York; George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and new League president; Spencer Miller, assistant secretary of labor, and Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey and chairman of the League's Council.

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Promising Political Invention

EVERYONE knows that continuing scientific and mechanical invention is essential to the dynamic character of modern science and industry. It is not so generally realized that continuing invention is equally important in government and politics if our institutions are to keep pace with the conditions created by science. Just as scientific inventions release new energies and give new scope to human effort, sound political inventions release pent up civic energy and give new meaning and direction to citizen effort.

A good example of political invention is to be found in the New Jersey optional municipal charter law of 1950. The law was prepared by a commission of experienced citizens who worked for two years under the chairmanship of Bayard H. Faulkner, former mayor of Montclair and member of the Council of the National Municipal League. There are a number of more or less novel features in the act, including the way in which it permits local choice of a variety of methods of electing the council with either the strong mayor or the council-manager plan.

The major political invention embodied in the act adapts the elected charter commission, familiar in constitutional home rule states, to the optional charter system. Whereas the home rule charter commission starts from scratch in drafting a charter, the charter commission in New Jersey determines which, if any, of the ready-made options to submit to the people.

That this New Jersey adaptation of an old institution is an invention of considerable promise was made evident at the elections in November. As a result of those elections, the state's largest city, Newark, replaced its old commission government with a new strong mayor charter recommended by a commission elected last spring. The smaller city of Rahway adopted a similar charter. One township accepted and one rejected commission-recommended council-manager charters.

In advisory referenda, voters of one community endorsed and those of another turned down a charter commission proposal to provide by ordinance for a professional business administrator to assist the mayor and council in an old weak mayor setup. Finally, three other municipalities elected charter commissions to report during the coming year and one municipality adopted the council-manager plan by direct petition without the aid of a charter commission.

Since the Faulkner act was adopted, every campaign to create a charter commission has been successful. This record is doubtless due partly to the fact that the emphasis in the campaigns has been not on the charter commission or even on a new charter but rather on the desirability of a "charter study." It is pretty hard to argue against having five specially elected fellow-citizens make a systematic study of the existing charter and of the possibility of municipal improvement through adoption of one of the available alternative charters. The value of such a study is pretty clear even to many who may be convinced that the community already has a sound charter.

There are indications that for at least some communities the Faulkner act charter commission has distinct advantages over a home rule charter commission. A common weakness in the work of home rule charter commissions is in their failure to support their recommendations with the kind of factual and explanatory material that the people need in order to vote intelligently. A typical home rule charter commission must devote so much time, energy and expense to hashing over details and drafting a complete document that it has little left to devote to packaging and selling its product.

The New Jersey charter commission, however, is not required to worry about details because they are all set up in the options on which the Faulkner Commission worked for two years with its staff of consultants. Each local commission can concentrate on the major questions of what form and what method of providing for a representative city council are best adapted to the needs of its community. Furthermore, it is specifically directed by law to base its findings on a study of the existing charter in the course of which it is required to hold public hearings, sponsor public forums and generally "provide for the widest possible public information and discussion respecting the purposes and progress of its work."

Most of the charter commissions so far set up in New Jersey have taken seriously these injunctions in the law, with the result that their communities have had an important educational experience whether or not they adopted a new charter. The Newark charter commission elected in May worked intensively for 16 weeks during which it held 44 meetings, conferences and hearings attended in most cases by all members of the charter commission and from three to five consultants. Public hearings were held both at city hall and in the several major areas in the city.

The commission issued a preliminary report covering part of its recommendations and raising questions which it was still studying. After public discussion of that report it issued a final report of 111 pages which included not only the text of the proposed charter but also a thorough exposition of the proceedings of the charter commission, the failure of the commission form of government in Newark, the arguments for the recommended charter and additional suggestions for the guidance of the mayor and council in launching the new charter.

The charter commission also issued a short popular summary report, which was distributed to all the voters. Members of the commission held themselves available throughout the campaign to explain and defend their work at public meetings, on the air and through the press.

(Continued on page 554)

Our All-America Citizens

Gallup finds many willing to volunteer services to promote civic progress, calls for sustained effort.

By GEORGE H. GALLUP*

FOR nearly 60 years the National Municipal League has carried on a continuous struggle to improve government at the local and state levels. It is probable that within the next 60 years the League will be meeting again in this same city. And, if it does, it is a good guess that two of the chief problems under consideration will be how to improve the structure and administration of local and state governments and how to arouse citizens to greater activity in governmental affairs.

These problems, like sin, are always with us. We have made great progress but it is my impression, as I look back over the 60 years of the League's existence, that we have achieved greater success in the first area than in the second. We have been more resourceful, more inventive in dealing with the structure of government, than we have in creating greater interest in government on the part of our citizens.

These two problems are, of course, closely interlocked. Unless we arouse interest in good government, it is difficult to get improvements in government accepted by the electorate, and it is often difficult to keep improvements in force once they are adopted.

Why is it that so many persons take so little interest in government? There is no easy answer to this question, but certainly we can agree that the person who thinks that government is far removed from his vital interests will almost certainly take little interest in government, and will do little to change or improve it. Usually this person will rationalize his lack of interest and effort by claiming that his vote makes little difference, that politics is a dirty business and therefore should be shunned, that it is of little importance who is in power, that one side is as bad as the other anyway.

The League, and other groups interested in good citizenship, have carried on a vigorous educational program in recent years to correct these misunderstandings. We must carry on this program even more vigorously. But at the same time we should devote more study to the reasons why so many people regard government as something remote from their own vital interests.

I believe that the whole area of citizen participation in community and state affairs has not been sufficiently explored. We cannot expect people to keep their interest high if their only chance to play their part in good government is in casting a vote at election time. We must develop ways by which more citizens can help with local and state problems. One way to do this is to encourage local and state authorities to create citizens' committees. We have witnessed the development of such committees in recent years and certainly the record to date has been sufficiently encouraging to give hope that this movement can be greatly expanded.

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*Dr. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, is the newly elected president of the National Municipal League. This article is his presidential address before the National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, November 10, 1953.

An important point to bear in mind is that a great majority of the people of the United States would like to devote some of their time and energy to dealing with governmental problems. In a survey made a few years ago, it was discovered that a substantial majority of persons would be willing to give time each week, without pay, to helping solve such local problems as housing, health, crime, relief and the like. As a matter of fact, the survey found that the busiest people were the most willing to devote time and effort to these local problems.

This desire to participate in some activity related to government can, on occasion, reach an almost pathetic urge. I remember one such incident when a public opinion interviewer talked to an elderly man in a small California community. The interviewer had found him in his garden, hoeing weeds. When the interviewer had finished plying him with questions on issues of the day, the old man turned to him and said, "You know, the two greatest things in my life have happened to me this last week." The interviewer looked at him quizzically as the old man, leaning on his hoe, continued, "First, I was asked to serve on the jury and now I have been asked to give my opinions on the issues of the day."

This man is just one of millions who would like to do something to make his own contribution to government, even in a small way. Is there not some way to harness this energy? When one thinks of the millions of persons in this country who have special training and skills and who are just as ready as this old man to serve their local communities, one can only conclude that this energy is our greatest untapped natural resource.

Is there anyone who doubts that the quality of government in most localities wouldn't be measurably improved if citizens' committees were named by the local authorities to deal with the problems which every community faces?

Voting Intelligently

During the presidential campaign last year I listened to many discussions on the question of how to get more people to the polls on election day. I have heard many debates on the merits of compulsory voting, on permanent registration and upon other aspects of this problem. To me, the vital point in these discussions is often overlooked. While there may be some good which comes from establishing the habit of voting, the real problem is how to get the people to vote intelligently.

To vote intelligently, people must have a reasonably good understanding of the issues, and information on the candidates. Too often they do not have this information. And this applies to local and state elections as well as to national elections. In this struggle to develop a better informed electorate, we must use every resource at our command. The schools must do a better job of teaching basic facts about the structure of government; parents must recognize their duty to "keep up with the times" and to develop in their children an interest in current events.

In this process of teaching people how to vote intelligently, we must remove some of the obstacles to intelligent voting. We know from surveys that where ballots have been shortened, where the voter's task has been simplified, the citizen feels better able to select candidates intelligently than in those situations where he has to vote on a long list of candidates, many of whom he has never heard of.

Recently, at the request of the National Municipal League, the American Institute of Public Opinion conducted a poll which found a greater lack of awareness among voters where the long ballot prevails than where the ballot is short.

Short Ballot Aid to Voter

In Ohio, where the ballot listed 38 to 50 offices to be contested in the 1952 election, only 31 per cent of voters questioned could name the present congressman from their district. In Virginia, where five or fewer offices appeared on the ballot, 57 per cent, or nearly twice as many, could identify the representative from their district. Is that because Virginians are smarter than Ohioans —or is it that their job has been made easier for them?

If we are to arouse citizens to greater activity, then, we must find ways of recognizing and rewarding their efforts. I remember discussing this point at the League conference twelve years ago in St. Louis. At that time we decided that we needed something akin to a Nobel prize for constructive citizenship.

In 1949, at our St. Paul conference, a characteristically American scheme of recognition was proposed. Why not an All-America team of the outstanding players in the game of civic progress? Thus began the All-America Cities competition. The first year the "team" was chosen without the mechanism of formal nominations. The National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Tribune* sponsored the awards for 1949, 1950 and 1951. They attracted national attention.

Appropriately, *Look* magazine, with its large national circulation, took over the sponsorship in 1952. Now the League and *Look* invite nominations for the awards. This year more than a hundred preliminary nominations were received. Twenty-two finalists were invited to present their cases before the jury at this conference.

For three years I have been a member of the jury and have heard spokesmen tell their inspiring stories of "energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen effort" in communities from coast to coast. It has been difficult to say which eleven should compose the winning team. Cities, large and small, provide an impressive procession of living democracy. Shortly after the first of the year the 1953 team will be announced. The pride of the winners will be amply justified, but likewise the others who have been heard should be proud of having recorded significant civic progress.

It is appropriate to talk about recognition of citizen achievement from a platform in Richmond. To all of you who live here the story is familiar. Many of you have helped to make it a classic in civic progress. The inspiring efforts of the Richmond Citizens Association and its allies made Richmond a member of the All-America team in 1950. The need for discarding the bewilderingly complex old charter was highlighted by the small number who turned out for municipal elections. The charter revision has been followed up by subsequent successes. The continued civic consciousness of the citizens of Richmond is demonstrated by the tremendous local effort that has gone into the preparations for this conference.

No Letdown for Citizen

I have had the pleasure of presenting All-America certificates at ceremonies in a number of winning cities. Each time I have done this I have had a feeling that somehow I must convince the recipients that citizen effort must be continuous; a single impressive effort followed by relaxation and return to the old, easy ways of silence is civic tragedy. Many of you have heard the story which our friends in Kansas City tell, of momentary victory for the forces of good government in the mid-twenties. The dark ages of Pendergast rule continued because the citizens who were able to win an election did not remain vigilant. The road back was a hard one, but once the Citizens' Association won in 1940, it maintained itself as a year-round organization to preserve good government in Kansas City and to prevent the return of machine rule. In two different years, the citizens of Kansas City received All-America honors.

I hope the citizens of Richmond and other cities which have more recently won their civic victories will remain active and effective over the years to come—that here in Richmond the Citizens' Association will continue to keep the people of the city informed and alert, continue to keep the government on its toes and make sure that good people always are sought as candidates for the council. These candidates must not only be supported at election time, but they must have citizen backing for their good works as they remain in public office. With this sustained citizen action will come civic progress unlimited.

I wish I could tell in detail the stories of every member of each of our All-America teams. Each has its own distinctive lesson and each shows what citizens can do if they want to badly enough. This year the jury heard how citizens have met both natural and economic disaster; how improvements in governmental structure have been made against strong opposition from entrenched forces; how blight has been eliminated by urban redevelopment; how many improvements have been undertaken to bring physical facilities into line with the needs of a growing population which insists upon being motorized and airborne.

We have seen how local revolutions have repudiated rule by racketeers and replaced them with respected public officials; how citizens have fought legislative and court battles as well as intense election campaigns to modernize the schools; how the often maligned property tax has been modernized; how local party organizations have been reformed; how citizen groups have studied their communities with a thoroughness that gets to the core of basic problems.

As these stories were told I realized we were listening to the voices of All-America citizens. These were the voices that had been raised in their communities. Not long ago some of them were silent, but now their power has been demonstrated. Other silent citizens have been stirred and are joining the ranks of the vocal. They are realizing that free activity of free citizens is a vital part of the American heritage, too important to go unused.

Over the years the League has had as a primary objective the encouragement of citizen action. Its latest contribution is the publication of two civic manuals to show how citizen groups from one end of the country to the other have banded together to make themselves the most effective kind of politicians—and I use that word in its finest sense. These and other tools can be used to increase citizen participation. We must bring more and more people into the act. Our pride in achievement must never prevent us from sharing our endeavors with as large a group of our fellows as possible.

Civic progress should be the goal of all citizens. To achieve that goal requires sustained effort of the sort that we have seen in our All-America Cities. It requires the "energetic, purposeful, intelligent" effort of All-America Citizens.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 549)

A distinct advantage of the Faulkner act commission in a smaller municipality lies in the fact that it obviates the necessity for a technical draftsman. In many small municipalities the problem of obtaining a competent draftsman is a serious one. It may seem impossible to engage a highly qualified man from a distance and it may be impossible to find a local person who has both the technical competence and the objectivity to draft a new charter which differs radically from that to which the community is accustomed.

It is not suggested that the New Jersey type of charter commission, with a limited mandate to recommend one of several optional forms, should replace the home rule charter commission. It is clear, however, that the New Jersey system has advantages in certain situations and is worthy of serious study by any state considering adoption of an optional charter law. Moreover, there is every reason why home rule charter commissions should more generally adopt some of the study and reporting procedures which have come naturally to charter commissions in New Jersey.

The Obligation to Be Strong

Ignorance, fear, inertia and lack of cooperation must be overcome if we are to get good government on home front.

By **CHARLES EDISON***

WE OFTEN learn more from our enemies than we do from our friends. The American people and the other nations of the free world have learned a great deal from the enemies we have been battling for practically a generation. Dictators and would-be Caesars of the right and the left have taught us much about both the values and the obligations of freedom.

We have been brought up to believe, as the Declaration of Independence says, and the Constitution of the United States provides, that freedom is the natural state, the divine right of man. We have been taught also that freedom is the way to the good and more abundant life.

These are great truths, but we have not always understood them properly. We have sometimes acted as if they guaranteed benefits without effort, rights without obligations. For these things are true, not in a literal but in a moral sense. Man is not born free physically or materially. Rather, man is born with the right to achieve and enjoy freedom through merit and effort. That is the great truth we sometimes forget in years of complaisance or of concentration on the material things that, rightly or wrongly, we associate with the good life. That is the lesson that the founders of the Republic knew well and that our enemies have helped us to remember.

What then is the essential price of liberty? What is the great obligation of the free? It is, I believe, the obligation to be strong, to be strong in the best, the most comprehensive and most generous sense of that word.

Our enemies, or rather our military, economic and political battles with our enemies, have taught us more. They have helped us recognize some of the fatal weaknesses that are the opposite of strength.

Let me call attention to four of these weaknesses that sap the strength that is the necessary foundation of freedom.

First is ignorance, for knowledge is power. At least there can be no effective, well directed power without knowledge—knowledge of the objective, of the obstacles in the way and of the means of overcoming them.

Second is fear. Not all fear is weakness, but there are two kinds of fear that corrode strength as truly as rust corrodes iron. One is the fear of loss of a selfish advantage or comfort. The other is that most corrosive of all fears, fear of ourselves, which makes us fear also our true friends.

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*Mr. Edison, former Secretary of the Navy and former governor of New Jersey, is chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League and a past president. This article is Mr. Edison's address before the National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, November 11, 1953.

Third is the dreadful illusion that we can alone carry the torch for good government without the help of those who are ready and willing to assist.

Fourth is unwillingness to "go all out," to try greatly, to make a sustained effort enough in excess of the calculated odds to provide a margin for error.

I believe we have made important progress during the last few years in recognizing and overcoming these weaknesses in our dealings directly involving foreign enemies. I am not so sure we have applied these lessons as consistently as we should at the home front, especially at the most important sector of the home front, right in our home communities and states.

Begin on Home Front

The obligation to be strong must begin in the home towns where men, women and children form their political and moral ideas and first exercise their muscles as citizens. In our system the strength and soundness of the whole depends at least as much on the local and state governments as on the government in Washington.

Politics and government within our states provide the recruiting ground for those who are called to run the government of the nation. The quality of our national administrations and of our world leadership depends largely, therefore, on the kind of practice we give our chosen representatives in precinct, city hall, court house and state capitol.

There is another reason which, in my judgment, becomes more important every day, why our first obligation is to keep our institutions strong at the grass roots. That is the danger of the system becoming top-heavy at the center, with too much power and responsibility concentrated in one place.

People have long viewed with alarm the continuing growth of the federal government and its tendency to take on more and more functions. No one has deplored this trend more publicly than I. But I am uneasy at the tone of many of the complaints. Too often they are nothing but laments over the loss of "state's rights." This lament was not powerful enough to prevent the great unpleasantness known as "the war between the states." It surely will not be powerful enough to stop or seriously retard the twentieth century trend towards Washington.

Neither wishing nor invective will solve this or any other tough problem. It takes determined action.

At the National Conference on Government in San Antonio last year, I discussed this question of the role of the states in the nation at some length. I suggested that the president appoint a commission to conduct a "major national inquiry into ways and means of strengthening the states and municipalities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government."

Since then the first steps toward action have been taken in the establishment of two commissions. The first, sometimes called Hoover Commission No. 2, has been asked to examine federal functions and programs and advise on which ones might be cut out, reduced or transferred to the states or communities. The other, the Commission on Federal-State Relations, is charged specifically with studying grant-in-aid and other programs involving federal and state governments with a view to decreasing the extent of federal responsibility and participation and increasing state and local responsibility.

These projects are all well and good as far as they go, but I am not sure they go far enough. The results will be disappointing unless more and more attention is paid to preparing state and local governments to carry a heavier load in a manner satisfactory to the people.

Make States Strong

The hard truth is that the states themselves are in large part to blame for the growth of the federal government. It is their repeated failures to meet the needs or satisfy the desires of their own people that have built up pressures on Congress for the expansion of federal functions.

Many states and cities have been so inefficient, so unresponsive to the people, in some cases so boss-ridden or tainted with corruption, that the people have often concluded that administration of a service by the federal bureaucracy was the better, if not the only, way to get an important job done. We cannot hope for a permanent roll-back of the federal establishment unless we make at the same time substantial and progressive improvements in state and local government.

This idea is not new. Thomas Jefferson expressed it well. He pointed out that the only effective way to erect a barrier against federal encroachments was "to strengthen the state governments." "The only barrier in their power," he added, "is a wise government, a weak one will lose ground in every contest."

I learned this lesson first as a federal official, later as governor of New Jersey. It was for that reason that I initiated the movement for a new constitution. By dint of the effort of thousands of good citizens, almost all of the major citizen groups, and my two successors in the governor's office, and with some important assists from the National Municipal League, New Jersey, after some seven years of sustained effort, won a new and much improved constitution. It is far from perfect, but it represents the kind of progress that needs desperately to be made in most states, and then followed up with still more progress.

People in Virginia may not realize that few states have ever had the substantial modernization of state administration achieved under the leadership of Governor Byrd over twenty years ago, or that Virginia is the only state in which every city but one has the modern, responsible council-manager plan of government. The point I am making is that if, as many Virginians have told me, government in Virginia has not kept entirely up to date, governments in most of the other states are farther behind the times, and less secure in the confidence of their people.

Unfortunately, deficiencies in state governments are reflected in weaknesses at the county and municipal levels. Local governments are essentially creatures of the state. Local self-government and local progress are limited or completely stymied in thousands of communities because of inaction or unwise action by the states. In Rhode Island a home rule amendment overwhelmingly adopted by the people two years ago has been made a mockery by the entrenched machine politicians in the legislature. The legislature of the great state of Pennsylvania has for many years forced all of its third-class cities—all cities except Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Scranton—to struggle along under the thoroughly discredited commission form of government.

Unrepresentative Legislatures

Every believer in representative government should be especially concerned at the bad reputation generally attached to our state legislatures, particularly since this reputation is largely deserved. Most legislatures are so unwieldy and cumbersome that they lend themselves much better to manipulation by professional self-seekers and pressure groups than to full and orderly deliberation among the elected members. The fate of many measures of great public importance is decided not by open debate and record vote but by decree of some caucus or "steering committee" working in secret. Still more primitive perversions of the legislative process are not uncommon. During the last session of the Connecticut legislature, for example, several bills were hijacked while in transit between the two houses during the end of session confusion. In other words, they just disappeared.

Most legislatures are constitutionally so unrepresentative of the people, especially of the people of the cities, that one wonders when some of our city people will raise the old cry of Revolutionary days, "No taxation without representation!" As a matter of fact, the unrepresentative and often irresponsible character of state legislatures is a major cause of the popular demands that have resulted in new and expanding federal programs. A majority of the people of a majority of the states are now city dwellers. This means that the United States Senate, elected from each of the states at large, is actually more responsive to some of the basic needs and desires of the people of many of the states than their own rural dominated legislatures.

All the preaching in the world will not persuade either city dwellers or farmers to stop running to Congress for a hearing they have found they cannot get from their own legislatures. Power gravitates to those who will exercise it. If we really want to strengthen our system of representative government at the state level the first job is to make it truly representative. This may prove to be the acid test of the strength of our republican principles.

Again, let me recall advice given by Thomas Jefferson in 1791: "Render the legislature a desirable station by lessening the number of representatives . . . *and proportion them equally among the electors.*"

The sooner we take this advice by the sage of Monticello, the surer we will be to realize his conception of a union of strong and indestructible states. This is the most important piece of unfinished business in many states, including New Jersey where we have modernized almost every part of the constitution except that dealing with the legislature.

At the same time state legislatures are rendered more "desirable" and more representative they should be freed from many constitutional shackles that make it difficult or impossible for them to meet legitimate demands for action promptly and effectively.

Past scandals have resulted in a gradual piling up of constitutional prohibitions that have been more effective in preventing active government than in promoting clean government at the state level. Many states are virtually hog-tied, especially in financial matters, which is one reason why they often find it easier to hold their hands out to Congress than to reach into their own pockets to meet local needs. Thus limitations in state constitutions encourage both federal centralization and public extravagance at the same time. And thus our fear of ourselves and of our own representatives saps the foundations of good government.

Well, then, why doesn't every red-blooded American citizen roll up his sleeves and do something about it? I think the answer lies in part in our failure to take seriously the obligation to be strong at home as well as abroad.

In New Jersey, as we worked toward a more modern constitution, we had to meet the four weaknesses that I spoke of earlier.

First, we had to overcome ignorance—ignorance of the serious nature of the built-in defects of the old constitution and the way in which they could be corrected. This we did by a comprehensive, long range, well financed campaign of education for citizens young and old.

Second, we had to overcome fear, especially the fear that the people could not trust themselves to have a constitutional convention lest they betray themselves to the enemy by writing fascist or communist ideas into their own constitution. What an idea! This obstacle was overturned by the basic good sense of the people, but not without a struggle.

Sustain Citizen Effort

Third, we had to convert many of those citizens and groups that gloried in their independence to the gospel of working together for a common good.

And, finally, we had to drown out the chorus of those who said it wasn't worth a big effort. Fortunately, we found enough people who recognized that, if our system of government was worth fighting for, it was certainly worth hard work to preserve and strengthen it.

This kind of effort is needed now throughout the land to make our states and cities and counties and towns the bulwarks of strength they must be to keep the nation strong

(Continued on page 590)

Citizens Put to Work for State

Unpaid committees tackle knotty problems in New York, win approval of solutions from people and legislators.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Speaking before the annual dinner at the National Conference on Government, November 10, Dr. George H. Gallup, the League's newly elected president, stressed the desirability of the use of citizen committees in the working out of governmental problems on both the local and state levels. (See his address, page 550.) Here is how one state, New York, has successfully made use of such committees.

RECOGNIZING the urgent need for greater citizen participation in the affairs of government, New York State has developed a technique of using committees of its citizens to solve some of the difficult problems that have confronted state government in the last decade.

Within recent years we have been increasingly aware of the failure of our people to accept their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy and have recognized the need for revamping our educational system to provide citizens better equipped and more eager to accept their responsibilities in their community, state and nation.

If we want better performance of their duties as citizens, we should increase our citizens' understanding of their government, their duties and their opportunities for participation in government. We should turn to our citizens for more help with the problems of government.

In New York State we found that citizen participation in government affairs could be stimulated and encouraged through the committee method. Citizens who participated were glad and eager to serve again while others enthusiastically offered their help.

In New York, we proved that men and women, upstaters and downstaters, Republicans and Democrats, public officials and taxpayers, educators and businessmen could work together successfully for solution of tough governmental problems.

Committees Evaluated

We have abundant evidence of the value of this form of citizen participation in government. For instance:

1. By the committee method we have brought about a new system of state assistance to the localities which has been appraised as the best in the nation.

2. Another committee of citizens, appointed in 1947 and effective until October of this year, successfully sponsored a series of amendments to modernize the provisions of the state constitution restricting the powers of municipalities to borrow and to impose taxes on real property. After 40 years of unsuccessful effort by others, this committee also brought about a separation of city and school finance in the 56 cities having less than 125,000 population.

The article above is a synopsis of the address of FRANK C. MOORE before the National Conference on Government at Richmond, Virginia, November 10, 1953. Mr. Moore, who has been both lieutenant governor and comptroller of New York State, is president of the Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., and a member of the Council of the National Municipal League.

3. Another committee reviewed the powers of the localities to impose local non-property taxes and sponsored legislation which has eliminated administrative difficulties and obstacles to their use.

4. In late 1949, it was claimed that our school districts could not meet their school building needs unless the state provided immediate state assistance in an amount variously estimated from $200,000,000 to $600,000,000. A representative group of citizens in less than three months carefully analyzed the needs and resources of our school districts and unanimously agreed that less than $1,000,000 was required for the following year.

5. Another committee tackled the problem of teachers' pay, the so-called merit law for the advancement of teachers' compensation and the revision of our state aid for education formula to assist the localities in financing increased teachers' salaries. This committee completed its assignment in less than two months. Its recommendations were praised by the New York State Teachers Association as an outstanding advance in our education history.

Without exception, every recommendation by these committees—and they aggregated numerous changes in our constitution and statutes—for legislative action has been approved by the legislature. The statutory changes were all approved by the governor and the constitutional changes were all approved by the people by large majorities.

In setting up and operating the committee, there are important basic steps:

1. Define the problem as precisely as possible.

2. Carefully determine the personnel of the committee, have women as well as men members and persons whose stature would favorably impress the body having power to act upon the committee's recommendations. Give weight to geographical and political distribution. Do not appoint persons who would have to clear their views and vote with an organization. Do not select persons who would stand to profit personally from the committee's action.

Speed Work

3. Get committee meetings under way swiftly and get work done by frequent, long meetings over a short period of time. Have the meetings at an unattractive, business-like and not too comfortable place.

4. Obtain with maximum accuracy and speed up-to-the-moment factual information and devise a plan for keeping it up to date as the study progresses.

5. Have experts present all the facts to the committee before anyone is permitted to express his views or get into fixed position. After discussion, peg down points of agreement and segregate for further discussion points of disagreement. Often the facts will clearly show the way toward answers.

6. Never forget your target is solution of the problem—not merely publication of a report. A report should be published, however—clear, concise and correct, easily read and understood, attractively presented and widely distributed. It should be a means to effective action by the legislature, governor and people.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Tennessee Amends 1870 Constitution

Home Rule Aided by Three Out of Eight Amendments

FOR the first time in 83 years voters of Tennessee succeeded in amending the state constitution adopted in 1870. Eight amendments submitted by a limited constitutional convention,[1] elected in November 1952, were approved by majorities of nearly two to one in a relatively light vote on November 3. The amendments are briefly described below. Numbers 6, 7 and 8 give a substantial measure of local home rule.

1. Specific provision made for constitutional conventions, limited or otherwise, and for popular vote on resultant proposals, ratification to be by a majority of those voting thereon. Conventions to be not less than six years apart. Submission of amendments by two successive legislatures also provided for, popular ratification to require a majority of those voting for governor instead of for state representatives as at present.

2. Legislators' salaries increased from $4 to $15 per day (including $5 for expenses) plus $4 for each 25 miles of travel to and from the capitol. Two successive legislatures can increase the pay; one can reduce it.

3. Governor's term increased from two years to four; no immediate successive term.

4. Governor given time (ten days) after adjournment of legislature to act on bills passed in the last five session days; he must file reasons for refusal to sign any such bill. He may veto or reduce parts of appropriation bills.

5. Voting requirements limited to age, citizenship and residence, thus prohibiting poll taxes. These were abolished by legislation in 1951.

6. Legislature prohibited from passing private acts removing local officials from office or changing their term or salary while in office. All local bills must be ratified by majority vote of the people in the locality affected or by two-thirds vote of the local legislative body.

7. Municipalities can become home rule cities by local referendum, whereupon the legislature can deal with them only by general laws. Charter changes in such cities, except as to tax powers, may be made locally, subject to majority popular vote thereon.

8. Legislature may provide for complete or partial city-county consolidation subject to majority vote of the people in the city and in the county.

New York Approves Nine Constitutional Amendments

All nine proposed amendments to the constitution of New York State[1] were ratified at the November 3 election by large majorities ranging up to more than three to one. The smallest majority was for No. 3, whereby the candidates of the various parties for governor and lieutenant governor are to be linked together for voting purposes; this carried by approximately 900,000 to 600,000.

New Mexico Approves Seven Amendments; Rejects Four

At a special election on September 15, the voters of New Mexico passed upon eleven proposed amendments to the state constitution. In its 39 years of statehood, New Mexico has voted 23 times on constitutional amendments, approving 34 out of 87 proposals, according to the Department of Government of the University of New Mexico. The latest eleven and the results are as follows:

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1952, page 400; July 1953, page 339.

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1953, page 401.

1. Municipal bond elections to be held at any time; veterans exempt from property taxes to be permitted to vote at such elections. Defeated, 14,546 to 12,698.

2. Eliminate restrictions on sale of liquor to Indians. Carried, 18,410 to 11,875.

3. Governor to have twenty instead of three days to act on bills presented to him by the legislature in the last three days of session. Carried, 17,787 to 10,351.

4. Legislative vacancies to be filled by the county commissioners in one-county districts and by the governor in multi-county districts from a list submitted by county commissioners (one name per county). Carried 16,749 to 10,758.

5. Legislators to receive $20, instead of $10, per day. Carried 13,822 to 13,567.

6. Present veteran's property tax exemption to extend to veterans of "armed conflicts under orders of the President" (covering the Korean engagement). Carried, 20,700 to 7,900.

7. Regular legislative sessions (in odd-numbered years) extended from 60 to 90 days; a 30-day session to be held in even-numbered years, to consider specified topics only. Defeated, 17,241 to 9,562.

8 and 9. Salaries of members of Supreme Court and district courts to be set by the legislature. Carried (8) 14,727 to 12,114; (9) 13,611 to 12,998.

10. To provide for absentee voting. Lost, although 20,668 votes in favor and 7,108 against. Attorney general ruled that as the amendment failed to receive a two-thirds majority in ten counties, it did not meet constitutional requirements.

11. To establish a permanent trust fund from severance taxes on natural resources, with certain restrictions on handling and use. Defeated, 16,225 to 10,404.

New Jersey Legalizes Bingo and Raffles

New Jersey voters gave overwhelming approval on November 3 to a constitutional amendment to legalize bingo and raffles for religious, charitable, educational or other "public-spirited" purposes in any municipality in which a voting majority gives approval.

No Rewriting of 1874 Pennsylvania Constitution

A proposal to call a convention to rewrite Pennsylvania's 79-year-old constitution failed of adoption at the November 3 election. It was supported by the two major political parties but was opposed by the State Grange and other groups. Philadelphia favored revision by a substantial majority, which was overcome by adverse votes in other parts of the state. Similar proposals were voted down in 1891, 1921, 1924 and 1935. Many specific amendments have been approved, however.

Nebraska's Unicameral Legislature Threatened

Republicans and Democrats in Nebraska have joined in a bipartisan committee to sponsor a constitutional amendment which would restore the old two-house legislature. The group proposes to circulate petitions and put the proposition on the November 1954 ballot, thereby asking the voters to scrap the nonpartisan one-house legislature which was adopted nearly twenty years ago.

This comes as a direct result of a long 1953 regular session, the longest in the history of the state—113 legislative days —a session marked with some public dissatisfaction over legislative handling of the recurring problems of taxation and finance, highways, water diversion and the largest budget in history.

If successful at the polls—assuming the petition itself is successful—there would be a House of Representatives having not less than 80 nor more than 100 members, for a two-year term, commencing in 1957, and also a Senate, with 30 to 40 members. Both would be elected on a partisan ballot. Representatives would be apportioned on a population basis of equal numbers while the Senate would be selected on a district basis, using the four congressional districts as a basis for equal geographical distribution. A provision for compulsory redistricting, similar to one used in Missouri, would be included in the plan.

Until the 1953 legislative session most observers had concluded that the controversy over the adoption of the unicameral plan had largely subsided. Throughout the sixteen years of operation, however, there has been a sizable group which accepted it belatedly and grudgingly. Among the more vocal are veterans of the old two-house legislature, some of whom never served in the one-house body. On the other hand, the great opponent of the one-house plan twenty years ago was tradition and it may now become a force in favor of retention.

The old arguments against the 1934 unicameral amendment have been dusted off again and will be heard during 1954. Most of them center upon lack of party responsibility and political leadership, while others claim that the present legislature of only 43 members cannot do all the work required, whereas with two houses the work could be divided. Rural political leaders have always maintained that the urban areas have more than their share of representation, although the reverse is actually true.

Supporters of the unicameral legislature already have commenced a campaign in its defense and it is likely to be vigorous.

A. C. Breckenridge
University of Nebraska

Wisconsin 'Areacrats' Blocked by Court

The area-population apportionment amendment to the Wisconsin constitution, approved in a referendum on April 7, as well as legislation based on it,[1] was declared invalid on procedural grounds by a decision of the State Supreme Court on October 6. The court unanimously held that the amendment contained several separate questions that should have been presented separately to the voters; also that the referendum question did not correctly describe the amendment, particularly in that the use of town, village or ward lines as boundaries of apportionment districts was indicated as mandatory, although in the amendment it was discretionary with the legislature.

Along with the amendment the 1953 statute redistricting the State Senate on a basis including both area and population, became ineffective.

The largely rural "areacrat" majority in the present legislature had recessed the 1953 session so that it could take further action on reapportionment in case the court decision went against it; but the court is reported to have said, in effect, that no further legislation was possible until 1961, after the next federal census, or until a valid constitutional amendment may be enacted, including a change in the provision that only one apportionment may be made in each ten-year period.

The court decision places in effect the so-called Rosenberry reapportionment act of 1951, based on population as required by the constitution. No reapportionment had been made either in 1931 or 1941, largely because of rural opposition.

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[1] See the Review, June 1953, page 285.

Arizona Apportionment Meets Snags

The constitutional amendment providing reapportionment in Arizona, adopted at the polls on September 29,[1] has run into legal difficulties. In the closing hours of the special legislative session called by the governor,[2] the Senate failed to act upon the question of seating two newly appointed legislators from former single-member counties whose quotas were increased to two each by the amendment. This may open the way for a court test to determine the effective date of that part of the amendment dealing with the Senate. The section apportioning two senators to each county, unlike that limiting the size of the House to 80 members, is silent on the question of date of operation. The president of the Senate has indicated he will initiate quo warranto proceedings asking the two appointees by what right they requested seats in the special session.

A suit has already been filed in the Maricopa Superior Court challenging the constitutionality of the amendment on the ground that it contains more than one subject.

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

Overdue Louisiana Districting Further Delayed

Reapportionment of the state of Louisiana for legislative elections, which the legislature has failed to accomplish since the 1930 census despite a constitutional mandate, remains undone three years after the 1950 census, and the governor, according to the U. S. Conference of Mayors, suggested a delay until after the 1960 census and the enactment of legislation as to procedure. In that case the legislature will have failed to reapportion for 30 years after being called upon to do so by the state constitution.

Massachusetts State-local Conference Made Permanent

A conference of state, county and municipal officials in Massachusetts, called by Governor Christian A. Herter, was held in Boston on October 27 and was attended by over 300 such officials. Panel discussions of common problems were conducted. A resolution to make the conference a semi-annual or more frequent event was adopted.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The township of Parsippany-Troy Hills, New Jersey, (1950 population 15,290) adopted a council-manager charter on November 3, in place of the existing township committee form of government. The vote was 2,279 to 1,684. The charter was drafted by a commission of five members and submitted to the citizens at a town meeting on July 30.

Wethersfield, Connecticut, (12,533) voters adopted a town charter providing for the council-manager plan, 3,431 to 2,291. It will go into effect July 1, 1954.

Brawley, California, (11,922) the city council of which has established the position of city administrator, as reported in October (page 462), has been placed by the International City Managers' Association on its official list of council-manager cities.

The town of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, (10,594) adopted a selectman-town manager plan of government by a vote of 1,963 to 880. The plan had previously been passed on by the state legislature.

Mt. Holly, New Jersey, (8,206) adopted the manager plan on November

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[1] See the Review, November 1953, page 514.

[2] See page 577, this issue.

3, according to the close unofficial count of 1,260 to 1,227.

St. Marys, Pennsylvania, (7,846) has recently adopted the council-manager plan.

Oak Park, Michigan, (5,267) which has had a modified manager plan for several years, has adopted a council-manager charter.

Herndon, Virginia, (1,461) recently adopted the manager plan.

Cordova, Alaska, (1,165) adopted a manager ordinance on October 6, under the provisions of territorial law. The vote was 158 to 151.

Dorval, (8,300) and Victoriaville, Quebec, recently adopted the council manager plan.

On November 3, Haverhill, Massachusetts, voted 8,621 to 6,351 to retain the council-manager plan.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, on November 3, the voters rejected the council-manager plan by a margin of 5,680, while electing Mayor D. B. Brunton, Democrat, to his fifth two-year term, 32,839 to 21,248. In a Democratic sweep only two Republicans were elected to the 26-member city council. Springfield defeated a manager proposal in 1949 by a margin of 3,660.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, the ruling of the board of registrars that there were insufficient valid signatures on a petition for replacing the council-manager plan by the mayor-council plan has been sustained by the appeal board.

The appeal board in Brockton, Massachusetts, dismissed a petition for a vote on the council-manager plan which had been certified by the board of registrars as having sufficient valid signatures. The Brockton Taxpayers Association petitioned the Superior Court for a review; the court set the matter for November 19, thus keeping the referendum off the ballot at the November 3 election. If a favorable decision is obtained, the question will appear on the ballot in November 1955.

The town of Concord, Massachusetts, will vote February 22 on adoption of a selectman-manager form of government.

In Hartford, Connecticut, partisan politics was injected for the first time in the nonpartisan elections under the council-manager plan, adopted in 1947. The Democratic organization endorsed a slate of council candidates, five of whom were successful on November 3, making a majority of the nine-member council.

In Rome, New York, nonpartisan candidates won six of the nine seats on the city council that will take office in January to inaugurate the council-manager plan approved in 1951 and appoint the manager. Republican candidates for the council had been pledged to name the present Republican mayor to the post of manager if they obtained control of the council.

Fulton, New York, defeated a proposed council-manager plan on November 3, 2,769 to 913.

The township of Bridgewater, New Jersey, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on November 3. Englewood, in the same state, approved an advisory referendum on appointment of an administrator; Ramsey turned down a similar proposal. Irvington, Moorestown and Cedar Grove have elected charter commissions.

West Palm Beach, Florida, voted 4,776 to 1,708 on October 27 to retain its council-manager form of government. A proposal for an appointive, instead of elective, police chief was defeated 3,673 to 2,816, and a proposed Palm Beaches Water District, to acquire and operate a water system, was approved 3,791 to 2,612.

The Huntington, West Virginia, Chamber of Commerce board of directors, on October 16, instructed its municipal affairs committee to make a study of the council-manager plan and report to the board.

The DULUTH, MINNESOTA, League for Municipal Franchise, which has been studying various forms of city government, announced in October that it has come to favor the council-manager plan.

A petition signed by some 400 persons, calling for a referendum on the question of abandoning the council-manager plan, has been filed with the NEOSHO, MISSOURI, city council. The plan went into effect in Neosho in 1944.

Voters of HANNIBAL, MISSOURI, which adopted the council-manager plan in 1947, voted November 6 to abandon it, 2,599 to 2,029.

In GRENADA, MISSISSIPPI, which adopted the manager plan in 1951, a proposal to abandon the plan was defeated on October 24 by 681 to 286. The plan has been vigorously supported by the *Grenada County Weekly*.

A council-manager proposal for GERING, NEBRASKA, was defeated 595 to 166 on November 3.

In TRACY, CALIFORNIA, a citizens committee is studying the manager plan.

The MARYSVILLE, CALIFORNIA, city council has approved a majority report of the charter revision committee, which proposes various revisions under the existing form of government. Three of the fifteen committee members favored adoption of the manager plan and proposed a referendum on the issue. This proposal was rejected by the city council four to one.

In MAINE, where there are more managers than in any other state, organized in the Maine Town and City Managers' Association, six local groups or associations of managers in various areas of the state have been formed in the last five years, from the Aroostook association formed in 1948 to the Western Maine association in July 1953. Maine has 120 manager communities.

In IOWA fifteen of the seventeen managers met at the State University of Iowa October 23. A new constitution and by-laws were adopted.

In VERMONT fifteen of the state's twenty managers recently met at Northfield to discuss current problems of their communities.

New York Mayor-elect Picks 'City Administrator'

Mayor-elect Robert F. Wagner of New York City, Democratic candidate elected on November 3 by a large plurality, announced on November 10 that he plans to appoint Dr. Luther H. Gulick as so-called city administrator, when such position is created by necessary legislation. Dr. Gulick was director of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey during its three-year study. The committee's report, issued in March and April 1953,[1] included a recommendation for a coordinating officer with the title of city administrator.

The proposed office is fundamentally different from that of a city manager under the council-manager plan, who is appointed by the council and has full administrative authority. Mr. Wagner stated:

"I believe that a city administrator can be of great assistance to the mayor and to various commissioners and department heads of the administration. With responsibilities and functions along the lines of those recommended in the management survey report, the city administrator would assist the various commissioners without in any way intruding upon their authority.

"He would not have the power of appointment and the budget director would continue to report directly to the mayor and the board of estimate.

"It is to be understood that creation of the office of city administrator would be in addition to the post of deputy mayor."

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1953, page 232.

Mr. Wagner had previously announced that he would retain Robert Moses, from the present administration, as city construction coordinator, parks commissioner and various other titles. Mr. Moses had been a member of the management survey committee but resigned over a year ago.

Rhode Island Cities Win Nonpartisan Vote

Pawtucket and Central Falls, Rhode Island, will hold nonpartisan elections on January 19 for city officials, as provided by their new home rule charters, as a result of action by a special session of the state legislature.

The nonpartisan election provisions of the two charters having been held invalid by the State Supreme Court,[1] on the score that the legislature alone can pass election laws, Governor Roberts, at the request of Mayor Reynolds of Pawtucket, called a special session for November 13 to deal with the problem. The charters of the two cities provided that all existing offices would become vacant on January 4, 1954.

At the second and final day of the special session, bills were passed for both cities providing that nonpartisan elections be held January 19 and thereafter in November of odd-numbered years—unless the voters decide in a November 1954 referendum to return to partisan voting for local offices at regular general elections. The new officials will take office February 1 instead of January 4 as provided by the charters.

Newark and Rahway, New Jersey, Vote Mayor-council Charters

After a bitter campaign the commission plan of government in Newark, New Jersey's largest city (1950 population 438,776), was discarded in favor of the mayor-council plan by a vote of 53,739 to 28,142 on November 3. The change was opposed by three of the city commissioners and favored by two as well as by various civic, business and labor groups.

Under the new charter, which follows one of the plans provided for in New Jersey's optional municipal government law, one councilman will be elected from each of five newly established wards, and four will be elected at large, all on a nonpartisan ballot. The election will be on May 11, 1954, and the officials will take office on July 1.

The mayor must receive a majority of the total votes in the city and the five ward councilmen must have majorities in their wards, otherwise a run-off election will be held. Similarly, unless two or more of the candidates for the four at-large council posts receive majorities of the total vote, a run-off will be necessary.

The mayor will appoint department heads subject to council approval and also a business administrator, who may be given supervisory duties in addition to statutory responsibilities with respect to budget preparation, central purchasing and personnel.

The five present city commissioners were elected on May 11, 1953, supposedly for four-year terms.

The voters of Rahway, New Jersey, (21,290) also gave up the commission plan of government in favor of a mayor-council charter. The vote was 3,659 to 1,760.

Candidates Now Nominated by Petition in New London

New London, Connecticut, now votes for candidates nominated by petition. In November 1952, the voters favored nomination by petition but their decision was invalidated since the majority which voted in favor did not constitute a majority of the number voting at the entire election. On June 22, 1953, a further referendum was held under a special legislative act, and nomination by petition was legally authorized.

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1953, page 515.

New Jersey Communities Refuse to Merge

Princeton Borough and Princeton Township, New Jersey, both declined to merge at a local referendum held on November 3. The township surrounds the borough.

Ogden, Utah, Sends Employees to College

More than 300 city employees of Ogden, Utah, have been taking evening courses at a local state college, to aid them in their city work. The cost to the city is about $2,500 this year. Each worker will get a certificate when he successfully finishes the course.

The broad training program grew out of Ogden's experience last year with two courses for specific employees. The first was a nine months' course for 60 police officers. The second was a special session for department and division heads on the technique of city administration, based on the training manual of the International City Managers' Association.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 6, 1953

Dear Mr. Marlowe:

I am delighted to send greetings to everyone participating in the 1953 National Conference of the National Municipal League.

You know, I am sure, how enthusiastically I share the philosophy which motivates your meeting. The strengthening of local government, the enhancement of individual self-reliance in our society, the retention in the home, the community, the municipality, the state of those responsibilities properly residing there, are the very essence of sound governmental philosophy in our Republic.

As I have said before, distance in governmental affairs does not lend enchantment; it merely breeds indifference. Worse, it spawns that passion for power for its own sake which sets the stage for the ultimate destruction of American freedom.

In your meeting of municipal officials, of educators and other private citizens eager to promote good local government, you will surely strengthen the means of implementing community activity and of solving many of the problems facing those who practice it.

My best wishes go to all of you. May your meetings, important in concept to all of our people, be successful and instructive to all.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Mr. L. E. Marlowe, General Chairman,
National Conference on Government,
Richmond, Virginia

County and Township . . . . Edited by *Edward W. Weidner*

Onondaga County Defeats Proposed Charter

Would Have Provided for Appointment of Director

THE optional county director form of government, one of four available to New York counties under a 1952 law, was defeated in Onondaga County where it was submitted to referendum on November 3. The vote was 32,619 to 25,791. The proposal carried in the city of Syracuse, 18,060 to 16,129, but was heavily defeated in the nineteen towns, 16,490 to 7,731.

The plan provides for the appointment, by the board of supervisors, of an executive who would be responsible to it. He would be general coordinator of services and have certain special powers over county finance. The plan is somewhat similar to the manager option provided by the same law except that the executive does not have the same powers of appointment or of initiation of organizational change as does the manager.[1] The law also provides that the director must be a resident of the county.

The spark for the movement to secure the director plan was provided by the Governmental Research Bureau of Syracuse and a Citizens Committee for County Director. The latter conducted a vigorous campaign for its adoption.

Manager Plan Suggested for Wayne County, Michigan

Some of the members of the board of supervisors of Wayne County (Detroit), Michigan, have suggested that a county manager or single executive head be set up for the county. At a recent meeting of the ways and means committee of the very large board of supervisors the proposal was advanced by a board of commerce secretary and supported by the mayor of Dearborn.

Under the present setup, a three-member board of auditors, each paid $13,500 a year, has many functions akin to general administrative supervision of the county. If a single executive were put in its place there would be a substantial saving of money.

Up to now the proposal has not received appreciable or serious political support but rather has been used as a minor political football in Wayne County's pattern of local politics.

King County to Try Again?

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington, is again interested in a home rule charter for the county. A proposed county manager charter, defeated by the voters in November 1952, was strongly supported by the league and a recent issue of its publication, the *Seattle Municipal News,* featured the question of a new proposal.

The *News* cites the experience of Montgomery County, Maryland, where the citizen movement for a home rule charter was turned down in 1944. A new commission was elected in 1946 and its proposed county manager charter was approved in 1948.

In King County a commission of freeholders could be elected to draft a new charter at the 1954 election. The board of county commissioners could submit the question or it could be brought about by means of a petition. The commission would then go about its work of drawing up a new charter to submit to the voters in the fall of 1956.

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[1] See "New County Plans Offered," by Richard A. Atkins. The REVIEW, June 1952, page 288.

Tennessee Amendments Affect Counties

Three of the eight constitutional amendments adopted by the voters of Tennessee on November 3 have an important bearing on counties.[1] Amendment No. 6 (unofficial vote, 106,687 for to 44,019 against) aims at prohibiting "ripper" legislation. This term refers to private acts designed to remove municipal and county officials from office or to change their pay or terms of office during the period for which they have been elected. Tennessee has had a long history of abuse of local self-government by way of legislative interference in local affairs, particularly the legislative reversal of decisions made by the voters. The amendment also provides that no future private acts can go into effect in any municipality or county unless approved by the local voters or by a two-thirds vote of the local governing body.

Amendment No. 8 (101,517 to 46,394) provides for the consolidation of certain municipal and county functions. While the legislature has had power to provide for such consolidation in the past, the new amendment states that a majority of city voters as well as of county voters must approve any such consolidation before it goes into effect.

Missouri County Road Program Progresses

Under county aid highway legislation passed in 1946, as amended on several occasions up to the present time, counties in Missouri have made considerable progress in improving some 13,000 miles of local roads. A detailed study of the Missouri experience is included in the October 1953 issue of *Better Roads*.

Considerable pressure was brought to bear on the legislature to provide increased state aid in the years following World War II and the net result has been a progressively more generous state aid policy. Local interest and participation have remained at a high level; counties have even contributed more than they have been required to. Planning a general county-wide road system has been encouraged as well.

Counties Get Cut in Airport Funds

Counties in a number of states have been severely hurt by the cut-back in federal funds available for the construction of airports. For example, four counties of North Carolina that had formed a joint airport authority now believe their program of airport construction will probably not go ahead because it was conditioned on the idea of substantial federal support.

Wisconsin Forest Aid Payments Challenged in Courts

A legal issue involving payments from the state of Wisconsin to its local subdivisions has been presented to the State Supreme Court. Under legislation in effect for more than a quarter of a century, Wisconsin has subsidized, from general state funds, the towns, counties and school districts in areas affected by the state's forest crop law. The payments are made in lieu of taxes.

The forest crop law provides for a system of tax benefits by which land owners are encouraged to grow tree crops on a long-term basis. They are taxed at the rate of ten cents an acre, which is considerably lower than the local property tax rate. The state has subsidized such towns for tax losses at ten cents an acre as a property tax replacement.

The issue before the court, according to *Wisconsin Counties* (publication of the Wisconsin County Boards Association), is whether the state can legally appropriate such subsidies out of the general tax fund, in view of the fact that there is a special forestry tax, levied under a constitutional amendment, to support the state's forestry program.

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[1] For an account of the referenda see page 562, this issue.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cambridge Votes Again to Retain P. R.

Six Cities Elect Their Councils by Hare Plan

THE November 3 elections found P.R. very much in the news, particularly in Massachusetts, and the news is good. Elections under the Hare system for city councils and school committees were held in Worcester, Cambridge, Revere and Lowell. City councils were elected in Cincinnati and Hamilton, Ohio. All these cities have council-manager charters, under which the council appoints the manager and controls the city government.

In Worcester the nonpartisan Citizens' Plan E Association elected seven councilors out of nine for the second time in a row. In Cincinnati the corresponding City Charter Committee came back from two years in the minority to elect five councilmen out of nine. Both groups have been the foremost champions of P.R. in their cities. We expect to have full accounts of these and other P.R. elections in future issues.

In Cambridge a second attempt to repeal the use of proportional representation was submitted to the voters, who retained it by a wider margin than they did a year ago. The vote was 19,372 to 16,495, as compared with 25,068 to 23,030 in 1952. Under the law opponents of the plan are barred from trying again for four years.

Leaders in the Cambridge campaign report that the fight to retain P.R. was aided greatly by the adverse publicity on the Boston primary this fall, in which only some 23 per cent of the voters came out. Boston has the same system which Cambridge would fall heir to should proportional representation be voted out. (See Boston story below.)

Editorializing on the subject, the Cambridge *Chronicle* for November 12 commented: "This makes the second consecutive year in which Cambridge voters have voted to retain P.R. Last year P.R. was retained by 2,038 votes and this year it won by 2,877. These two results show clearly that P.R. voting is more popular and has more friends in Cambridge than its outspoken enemies have ever been willing to admit. It also shows that a decisive number of Cambridge voters agree with us that P.R. is a vital and essential part of the machinery that has made our city manager plan work so well."

Lowell Holds Sixth P. R. Election

Two incumbent councilors (city councilmen) were defeated and three new members elected in the P.R. election of the nine-man city council of Lowell, Massachusetts. The count was close at several junctures, resulting in requests for a recount. The closest turning point was the elimination of John J. Mullen by a margin of one vote after the 25th counting operation. Councilor Nicholas C. Contakos was defeated by a margin of seven votes on the 29th counting operation.

No candidate received first choices in excess of the quota of votes necessary for election, 3,683. Councilor John Janas led the poll of first choices with 3,422. He was followed in the initial standings by Councilor Samuel S. Pollard, former Councilor and Mayor George A. Ayotte, Councilor Vincent Hockmeyer and Mayor

Henry Beaudry, all of whom were subsequently elected.

Another former mayor, Woodbury F. Howard, stood sixth in the tally of first choices but was outdistanced on subsequent transfers resulting from defeat of other candidates. He remained in the race to the end, however, and was the last to be declared defeated, at which point he stood 199 votes lower than the last candidate elected, George B. Murphy, Jr., who had stood only thirteenth in the field of 42 candidates in the tally of first choices.

The effectiveness of the Hare system of P.R. in concentrating the vote on the really popular candidates without prematurely narrowing the field of preference is shown in this contest by the election of Councilor Francis P. McMahon at an early stage although he had stood only eleventh in the count of first choices.

Others elected besides those mentioned above were Samuel A. Sampson and Councilor Bartholomew J. Callery, Jr. Following the count of council ballots, the votes cast in the school committee election were tabulated. All stages of these counts were reported in the Lowell *Sun* with its usual wealth of detail on election news.

Boston Dissatisfied with Election Process

Boston's 1949 reform charter is the subject of revision proposals to make the nine-member city council and the five-member school committee more representative. The charter now provides election of both bodies at large with run-off primaries to limit the candidates in the final election to twice the number to be chosen.

No Republican has been elected to either body in the two elections held under the present charter despite the fact that 111,500 Republican votes were cast against 235,000 Democratic in the city in the last state governorship contest. Only one of the eighteen candidates for council who survived the poorly attended primary election last September was an avowed Republican, and he ran thirteenth in the subsequent election. Not one of the ten candidates for school committee positions nominated at the primary was a Republican.

Limited Vote Suggested

Republican Senate Majority Leader Charles J. Innes of the Back Bay section accordingly has filed a bill to set up a "limited voting" arrangement in Boston municipal elections. This would limit voters to casting no more than five votes for council candidates instead of nine and three votes for school committee candidates instead of five. There is some question whether even this would assure the election of a Republican, representing less than a third of the voters, unless the party can succeed in establishing greater discipline among its voters than its rivals.

Democratic legislators likewise look askance at the Boston election returns, finding fault with the geographic distribution of the residences of those elected. Representative James A. Burke of Hyde Park has introduced a bill for a ward system of election, a measure which would also increase the size of the council to eleven. Representative Burke found that despite the affiliation with his party of most of those elected under the new charter, "a privately-designed political machine, disguised as a virtue-promoting civic betterment organization, is attempting to seize control of city agencies for personal and group advantage." He gave the Republicans credit for the success of the New Boston Committee, which he deplored in his remarks, adding: "This substitution of a so-called reform charter is nothing else but a creation of a Republican-controlled legislature to try to prevent control of Boston's affairs by a government repre-

(Continued on page 577)

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Census Bureau Estimates Revenues for 1952

Compares Tax Yields for All Government Levels with 1942

COMBINED federal-state-local tax collections in 1952 reached a level nearly four times that of 1942, according to an analysis prepared by the Governments Division of the United States Bureau of the Census. By far the largest increase by jurisdictions was in federal taxes, while by type of tax the individual income tax was far in the lead; federal tax collections in 1952 were nearly five times those of 1942 and individual income taxes were more than eight times those of the earlier year.

Total tax collections by all levels of government in fiscal years ending in 1952 were roundly $79,067,000,000 compared with $20,797,000,000 in fiscal 1942. This was a gain of 280.2 per cent. Taxes only are included—individual income; corporation income; sales, gross receipts and customs excises; property taxes; death and gift taxes; and licenses, permits and similar compulsory tax charges. Excluded are such important state-local revenues as service charges, fines, fees, rents, interest and the like, as well as fiscal aid.

Federally-collected taxes alone totaled $59,744,000,000, up 386.9 per cent from the $12,270,000,000 for 1942. State collected taxes amounted to $9,857,000,000, up 152.5 per cent from the $3,903,000,000 for 1942, while locally collected taxes were $9,466,000,000, up 104.7 per cent from $4,624,000,000 for 1942.

By far the leading tax was the individual income tax, which accounted for $28,919,000,000 in 1952 compared with $3,527,000,000 in 1942, a gain of 719.9 per cent. The gain in the federal income tax was of course the greatest—this item was $27,021,000,000 for 1952, 758.8 per cent higher than in 1942. State income taxes totaled $913,000,000, up 266.1 per cent from 1942, while local income taxes were a mere $85,000,000, up 213.0 per cent over the decade.

Second in yield, and in gain over 1942, were corporation income taxes, computed to include excess profits taxes as well as normal and surtax collections. Corporation taxes in 1952 totaled $22,072,000,000, up 341.6 per cent from 1942, an increase, it is to be noted, only half that shown by individual income taxes. Federal collections represented $21,226,000,000 of the total and were 349.1 per cent higher than in 1942. State collections were $846,000,000, up 211.8 per cent, and local collections were $8,000,000, up 159.1 per cent.

Income Tax Collections

The income tax collections, individual and corporation combined, represented 82.2 per cent of total federal tax receipts, it is to be noted, but only 9.5 per cent of the state-local total. Leading revenue producers among state taxes were, of course, the sales and gross receipts taxes, producing $5,730,000,000 in 1952 compared with $2,218,000,000 in 1942, an increase of 158.4 per cent. However, federal sales and gross receipts taxes, including customs, exceeded the state collections and amounted to $9,332,000,000, up 179.9 per cent from 1942. Local collections of sales taxes, etc., was $627,000,000, up 371.3 per cent from 1942. In total for all levels of government, sales and gross receipts taxes amounted to $15,689,000,000, 176.0 per cent higher than in 1942.

The final major component of the tax collections was the property tax, aggregating $8,652,000,000, an increase of 90.7 per cent over the $5,685,000,000 in 1942.

The bulk of the property tax receipts were for local governments, $8,282,000,000 or 93.8 per cent above 1942. State property taxes accounted for the remaining $370,000,000 and were 39.9 per cent higher than in 1942.

The other two components included in tax receipts as compiled in the study were death and gift taxes, aggregating $1,032,000,000 or 94.8 per cent above 1942, and licenses, permits and similar compulsory charges, $2,703,000,000 or 77.7 per cent above 1942. About three-fourths of the death and gift taxes accrued to the federal government, while of the licenses, etc., the states received $1,795,000,000, the local units $462,000,000, and the federal government $445,000,000.

Non-tax Receipts

Tax receipts alone fall short of disclosing the total revenues available for governmental purposes, of course, since there are receipts at all levels of government from a variety of other charges and collections, as well as intergovernmental payments representing fiscal aid and reimbursements. Governmental revenues from all sources except fiscal aid in 1952 were estimated to total $101,105,000,000, including the $79,067,000,000 taxes above discussed, $10,188,000,000 from service charges, sales and other miscellaneous sources, $3,140,000,000 from state and local liquor stores and water, electric and transit enterprises, and $8,710,000,000 from employer and employee contributions for insurance trust systems and the investment earnings of such systems.

The total of such governmental revenues was divided $72,625,000,000 federal, $10,944,000,000 state, and $11,671,000,000 local. In addition, there was in the aggregate approximately eight billion dollars of intergovernmental payments, largely subventions and grants and other fiscal aid. The federal government transferred roundly $2,600,000,000 to state and local governments. The states received about $2,500,000,000 from the federal and local governments, and distributed $5,000,000,000 to their local governments. Local governments received about $5,300,000,000 from the state and federal governments, and in turn distributed about $500,000,000 to the states and other local governments.

Data on expenditures are less informative from the fiscal point of view, since the study substituted capital outlays for debt redemption. The resulting aggregates are of importance to economists and others interested in the impact of governmental expenditures on the national economy as a whole, but present an unrealistic picture as to local governments and in part as to the states. This is because local governments almost wholly, and the states to a substantial extent, finance their capital improvements mainly from the proceeds of borrowings, raising the money by issuing bonds which have stated maturities which must be met. Bond redemption is thus an important component of state and local expenditures, but is not reflected in the expenditure statistics as presented in the Census Bureau study.

Total expenditures in 1952 for current expenses, interest on debt and capital outlays were $101,451,000,000. The total was divided $56,125,000,000 for current expense of operation, $24,873,000,000 for capital outlays, $8,387,000,000 for assistance and subsidies, $6,577,000,000 for interest on debt, and $5,489,000,000 for insurance-trust system benefits and withdrawals. The federal government accounted for $70,568,000,000 of the total, the state governments for $10,790,000,000, and the local governments for $20,093,000,000.

The study represents the second compilation by the Census Bureau's Governments Division in recent years, attempting to provide aggregate data on federal-state-local revenues and expense set up to permit valid comparison between the three levels of government, and it incorporates numerous refinements as compared with the 1951 study to increase the comparability of the statistics. However, it falls far short of providing the essential data needed by students of local government on the trend and nature of revenues and expense set up on an informative and comparable basis to permit analysis of the changes which have occurred since 1942, when the last Census of Governments was taken.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that actual and comprehensive figures were available to the Bureau only for the federal government, the 48 states and the cities of over 25,000 population on which it regularly reports. Data for smaller cities and for the thousands of other local governments had to be estimated on the basis of sampling.

The techniques employed permit the presentation of national totals only, and leave state-local government officials and the host of other groups having a vital interest in up-to-date financial statistics still in need of state-by-state information. The lack is particularly discouraging because of the fact that had the 1952 governments census been taken as urged by numerous state-local official and advisory groups there would have been available by this time at least preliminary data to provide the badly needed bench-marks to supersede the outmoded 1942 census.

Few State-local Propositions Presented at Elections

The November 1953 elections saw the presentation of the usual assortment of propositions seeking authorizations for issuance of bonds, but relatively few proposals to amend state constitutions and city charter provisions respecting finances and financial administration. The only major constitutional change affecting financial matters so far reported, in fact, was an amendment to the Tennessee constitution. Among eight amendments approved by Tennessee voters was one abolishing the state's poll tax.

According to preliminary compilations by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* state and local voters were called on to decide whether bond issues aggregating close to one billion dollars should be issued. Despite rather overwhelming opposition to such proposals in some sections—in Colorado press reports state that only one authorization was granted—it appears that actual ratification ran between 80 and 90 per cent of the total submitted. Largest single authorization was approval by Ohio voters of a $500,000,000 highway bond issue. Two years ago, voters of the same state had approved $300,000,000 for a toll road, the bonds payable solely from tolls; proceeds of the recent authorization will be used for free roads.

Other major issues approved include $76,400,000 by voters of Philadelphia for a variety of improvements; $38,956,000 by voters of St. Paul; $36,000,000 by voters of Chicago; $35,000,000 by voters of Cleveland for subways; and $20,000,000 by voters of Detroit, for sewer improvements. Apparently the largest proposal to be defeated was that of San Francisco to issue $16,684,000 for various purposes, including improvements to the street railway system.

At the election in November 1952, approvals of state and local bond issues had totaled about one billion dollars. While this year's approvals evidently will fall somewhat short of last year's total, the volume is so large as to indicate continued large-scale borrowing by state and local units for many months to come. For the first ten months of 1953, approvals by voters aggregated approximately $839,251,000, according to *The Daily Bond Buyer*'s compilations, compared with $1,003,818,000 for the same 1952 period. Authorizations for all of 1952 had been $2,383,970,000.

By way of comparison, actual sales of new bonds by state and local units totaled $4,360,576,000 in the first ten months of 1953. For the comparable 1952 months, the total had been $3,768,378,000. The current year was set to establish a new financing record of sales well over the four and one-half billion dollar mark, and perhaps come very close to five billion. In all of 1952, new issues had totaled $4,401,317,000, the first total to go over four billion dollars.

Arizona Special Session Accomplishes Little

The special session of the Arizona legislature was adjourned on November 3 after 22 days of fruitless wrangling during which it failed to enact legislation to implement any of the proposals in the governor's original call. That call asked for revision of the state income, sales and luxury tax laws, the levying of a use tax and the assessment of real estate throughout the state at 50 per cent of market value.

The session enacted one law, requested by the governor in addition to his original call, which provided for a $41,321 supplemental appropriation for the State Health Department.

The total cost of the special session amounted to approximately $75,000.

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 573)

sentative of the people." Burke warned[1] against the limited voting proposal as a further attempt to limit the choice of the electorate and counted on his proposal to restore the ward plan to yield the kind of representative government he favored.

An editorial in the Worcester *Gazette,* commenting on the Boston primary election, at which only some 23 per cent of the eligible voters turned out, presented a third view of the shortcomings of Boston's election system:

"Boston's experience shows the value of proportional representation voting, which Worcester has, as against the run-off system of Plan A. The Boston primary named 28 nominees, from which the voters in November will choose nine councilors and five school committeemen. Such a primary is superfluous. Under P.R. Worcester elects both council and school committee with absolute fairness and equal opportunity in one trip to the polls."

P. R. League Holds Discussion, Elects Officers

The Proportional Representation League met in Richmond, Virginia, November 11, in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League. Presiding was Andrew B. Holmstrom, mayor of the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, who was elected president of the P.R. League last year. The meeting was devoted to a survey of the year's developments and an informal discussion of the problems of P.R. and their solution. The need for more activity on behalf of the principle was emphasized.

Reelected to office were five of seven trustees: Richard S. Childs of New York, chairman of the executive committee of the National Municipal League; Robert P. Goldman of Cincinnati, attorney; Mr. Holmstrom; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the League; Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, its vice president. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, and Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers (New York) *Herald Statesman,* were elected to the board to fill the vacancies caused by the resignation of Paul H. Douglas, U. S. Senator from Illinois, and the death of J. Henry Scattergood, of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania.

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[1] As quoted in the Boston *Globe* on November 5.

NACS Makes Civic Awards

Citizen Publications Cited for Appearance and Content

AT THE annual meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, five publications of local and state civic groups received citations. First place went to the Civic Club of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh; second to the Citizens Union of the City of New York; and third to the Toledo Municipal League. Commendation was given to the Citizens League of Pawtucket and the Mississippi Economic Council.

The organization held two sessions on November 8 and 9 in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Richmond, Virginia. Officials for the coming year were elected and members participated in a workshop on building membership.

In making the awards the judges offered these observations:

"It was a joy for us to note the work accomplished even by the least attractive of the presentations, because the communications work of civic and citizen associations is so very important that any kind of publication would be better than none.

"All the examples of communications before us show that a great deal of hard work had been accomplished—in many instances, we suspect, through the diligent and devoted effort of executive secretaries and those of similar title, who were already burdened with numerous other administrative duties.

"Throughout most of the entries, however, there appeared one outstanding fault: Not enough attention was paid to making the publications attractive in order to obtain the largest possible readership. Thus, in presenting the biographies of candidates for public office, larger type should have been used in most cases so as to make the information easier to read by persons of all ages and in all stations of life. Photographs of candidates should accompany such sketches.

"Furthermore, in some instances, the language used might be termed a bit too technical except to those who are accustomed to think in terms used by municipal governmental authorities. A better effort should have been made in some instances to bring the language down to the level of the average or ordinary citizen, whose interest and concern must be sought just as much as the better informed and more intelligent.

"Your judges would be unfair in offering these suggestions unless we accompanied them with some plan for correcting the conditions noted. We are quite aware that most citizen associations operate on limited budgets and are unable to publish literature and other pieces of information in the style which they would like. Realizing that situation, we are not suggesting the use of any de luxe presentations, such as one would expect from big business and industry.

"Rather we are suggesting to these associations that they make an earnest effort to obtain the services of professional publicity, advertising and public relations people to assist them with layout and content. Surely, there are such concerns in practically every city and surely some representatives of these concerns would be honored with the opportunity to contribute their professional talents to the cause of good municipal government in this way. If these services cannot be obtained gratis, then we are confident that they could be obtained at cost. These people have the skills to enable the associations to get the most from every publication dollar expended.

"The important thing to remember here is that it is extravagant to publish information unless it is read. To be read, information must be attractively presented. In the face of all the published information thrown at the citizen today, it is only that which is attractively laid out and presented that has a chance. Too much of the other goes in the waste basket, or receives minimum attention.

"The judges also feel that there should have been more than ten entries. A greater effort should be made in the future to encourage more citizens' associations to enter this competition."

Chairman of the judges committee was Richard S. Gillis, director of public relations of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. Other members were J. Stuart White, of the advertising firm of Alexander Hudgins Associates of Richmond, and George C. Robinson, executive secretary of the Richmond Retail Merchants Association.

Elect Officers

Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was elected president of the association. Other officials elected were: Raymond D. Black, executive director of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League, and S. R. Jeffers, manager of the Research Department of the Mississippi Economic Council, vice presidents; Mrs. Charles G. Wilder, executive secretary of the Citizens Association of Kansas City, secretary; Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president of the San Antonio Research and Planning Council, treasurer; and Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Toledo Municipal League, chairman of the board.

Members of the nominating committee included Allen H. Seed, Jr., assistant director of the National Municipal League, chairman, Hazelle B. Scott, executive secretary of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, and Guy C. Larcom, Jr., former director of the Citizens League of Cleveland.

Efforts of Massachusetts Citizens Bring Success

"Possibly helpful to those who may be thinking of doing something about a citizen's committee to help elect a good representative Plan E[1] city council is the story of what's going on in Cambridge," says the Gloucester (Massachusetts) *Times* of October 5.

"The Cambridge Civic Association was organized in 1945 by leaders of the Cambridge Plan E Committee, the Taxpayers Association and other groups seeking improved government. It is now a nonpartisan group of more than 3,000 members.

"The C. C. A. is under the leadership of Alan Steinert, a business executive. It is represented on the city council by five of the nine members. . . .

"Through a series of meetings, the endorsement committee of the Civic Association has carefully screened all the candidates and has come up with a slate which it feels will work for efficient and responsible government. . . . The endorsed candidates were presented to the public at an opening rally.

"The association 'has been able to encourage increasingly large numbers of competent, worthwhile citizens into seeking public office,' according to Mr. Steinert."

The Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, "is an amateur, volunteer organization whose members believe that good city government is not an accident but the result of hard work and careful planning," says the organization's *Election Guide*. In two elections by proportional representation the CEA has successfully backed a majority of the candidates elected to the city council and the school committee.[2]

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[1] The city council of Cambridge is elected by the Hare system of proportional representation.

"The CEA is a nonpartisan group whose sole interest is good government for Worcester. It favors no political parties, it engages in no political 'deals,' it has enjoyed the abuse of professional politicians who fondly recall the days of the previous city charter—drawn up in 1848 and providing for the second most unwieldy form of municipal government in the United States."

Membership in the organization is open to any resident of Worcester who is a citizen of the United States. Annual dues are one dollar, "deliberately set at that figure to encourage membership from all sections of the city and from all walks of life." Activities include civic affairs, the state legislature, membership, finance, publicity, education, candidate selection, research and speakers' bureau. CEA has one full-time employee and one part-time employee. The rest of its work is performed entirely by volunteers.

Improving the County

Your Stake in Your County (six pages), published by the Oakland [County] Citizens League at Pontiac, Michigan, describes the work the league is doing to improve county government. "The Oakland Citizens League has exercised a sobering influence for many years," says the leaflet.

"Among its achievements have been securing a grand jury investigation of racketeering in Oakland County; exposing irregular and illegal practices in connection with registration of voters in Pontiac; challenging the retention by county clerks of fees collected for naturalization; and putting the light of publicity on whether elected public officials need to provide service to be entitled to a salary. In addition to exposing inefficiency and corruption the league commends good public officials with the result that the league enjoys the respect and confidence of government officials who are doing a good job. And at election times more and more people look to the league for their appraisal and guidance when voting."

The September meeting of the Illinois Civic Exchange was devoted to a discussion of improving county government in Illinois. Panel speakers included Professor Clyde Snyder, of the Political Science Department of the University of Illinois, who spoke particularly on the county executive officer. He commented that most students of government agree that the most serious weakness of the present county structure is the absence of such an executive. He discussed four means of securing a county executive: the county manager plan, the appointive executive officer plan wherein the executive does not have as wide powers as a manager, an elective county executive plan, and the strengthening of one of the existing elective offices.

Other panel participants included Bert Vandervleit, who discussed the centralization of functions at the county level, and Elias S. Cohen, who talked on improving local welfare administration. The remarks of the panel members were followed by a general discussion. An eight-page mimeographed report of the meeting is available from the organization's secretary-treasurer, Samuel K. Gove, 1209 W. Illinois Street, Urbana, Illinois.

Letter to a Politician

The September issue of *Civic Affairs,* outspoken organ of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, is an open letter to the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican committees of that city. The letter points out that the November election celebrates the 99th anniversary of the territorial consolidation of the city and county of Philadelphia in 1854 and consolidation of the overlapping county governmental units into the city in November 1951.

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[2] This statement now applies also to the November 1953 election. (Ed.)

"The first is now an historical fact," says the bulletin, "but among us, do you think the people have anything to celebrate concerning the second. They must again elect the old county officers in November and support them and their employees under the new title of 'city' officers and 'city' employees. Remember, gentlemen, those offices were to be abolished, taken off the ballot after 1951, and the duties consolidated with other existing city offices. . . .

"The people are presently wondering why these officials are still doing business at the old stand. It is obvious they will continue to do so until you two gentlemen stop compromising and bickering over useless elective and appointive jobs as a means of strengthening or reconstructing your vote-getting machines."

Here follows a detailed discussion of the officers to be elected and some cogent comments on the situation. Finally, says *Civic Affairs,* "Once you two gentlemen forget your dreams of 800 or 1,000 political jobs on the city payrolls for the victorious party in local elections, the citizens of Philadelphia will get the full advantages of city-county consolidation."

Getting Better Schools

Three excellent pamphlets have been published by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools: *How Can We Organize for Better Schools*—A Guidebook for Citizens' Committees (64 pages); *How Have Our Schools Developed?*—Background for Action (56 pages); and *How Can Citizens Help Their Schools?* (56 pages). Address of the commission is 2 West 45th Street, New York.

With the Women Voters

The League of Women Voters of Cincinnati reports that it distributed 75,000 copies of its *Who and What in Elections,* reporting on candidates and issues before the voters of that city.

In St. Louis the League of Women Voters has been studying the reports of two boards of freeholders appointed to study the city's sewer system and its metropolitan transit problem. Recommendations of the sewer board will be on the ballot in February. The league has organized committees on each subject and is seeking volunteer speakers to describe the sewer proposition to the voters.

The New Hampshire state league has set a goal of 1,000 members for this year and says that if each local league will increase its membership by at least ten the goal can be reached.

Citizen Manuals

Are you considering the formation of a civic organization in your community? Or campaigning for the council-manager plan or some other good cause? Then you'll surely want

THE CITIZEN ASSOCIATION—HOW TO ORGANIZE AND RUN IT
and
THE CITIZEN ASSOCIATION—HOW TO WIN CIVIC CAMPAIGNS

For further information and prices see the outside back cover of this issue of the REVIEW.

Research Activity Increases in Louisiana

Variety of Agencies Seek Solution to Vital Problems

LOUISIANA government and politics have frequently enjoyed the reputation of indicating a great deal more heat than light. For the past three years, however, a new interest has developed in bringing the problems of government under the light of objective study. Before 1950, organized research on problems of Louisiana government was confined primarily to the activities of the State University's Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State Law Institute, New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research and occasional interim committees of the state legislature.

In 1950, however, a statewide citizens research organization was founded, the Public Affairs Research Council. In three years' time PAR has grown to include 1500 members, consisting of business and professional men and women, teachers and public officials. Its objective is the improvement of state and local government through an objective nonpartisan research and public information program.

In pursuance of this objective PAR has published a monthly analysis of state, local and national news of interest to Louisiana. It has published three citizen's guides. One, to the general state election of 1952, described the duties of each office involved and gave pertinent information about registration and voting. The *Citizen's Guide to the Legislature* explained to the layman the organization and functions of the legislature and pointed up areas for improvement in the legislative process. The third citizen's guide analyzed the 34 constitutional amendments proposed by the legislature for the November 1952 election.

Research studies of the council have explored such areas as municipal home rule, permanent registration, voter participation in Louisiana elections, the expenditures and debt of the state government, special sessions of the legislature and the organization of the executive branch. Two handbooks have been prepared; one outlines the organization and functions of each of the 142 state agencies of Louisiana and the other gives pertinent information about each of the 48 taxes levied by the state.

As a part of its public information program PAR has conducted radio forums in all the major cities of the state. It has held town meetings on the forms of local government. It prepares almost weekly press releases on governmental affairs which are widely used by Louisiana newspapers. Its question and answer service provides a means whereby any citizen can obtain information about governmental problems.

During the legislative session PAR issued a weekly legislative bulletin in which three or four major issues before the legislature were analyzed with background information and pros and cons. The legislature was sufficiently impressed to request the organization to make a survey of the entire welfare program of the state. This study is now being completed.

One of the methods for improving the legislative process pointed out by PAR in its *Citizen's Guide to the Legislature* was providing the legislature with research and bill-drafting facilities. The 1952 session passed an act establishing a Legislative Council. The council with its professional staff has already begun to establish itself as an invaluable legislative aid. It has published a major study on the legislative process in Louisiana, and has prepared some 36 reports and an administrative survey of one of the state departments.

The Legislative Council's committee on the legislative process is now holding open hearings in the large cities on proposals to strengthen the organization and procedures of the legislature. Under the council's auspices two studies of long-range significance have been initiated and are being conducted by consultant groups, one a survey of the total educational program of the state on the primary and secondary level and the other a study of highway needs and finances that will include both state and local governments.

Constitution Study Published

The Louisiana State Law Institute has recently received an appropriation to publish the notes and studies it prepared while formulating a proposed draft of a new constitution for the state.[1] When published these four volumes will constitute an ambitious attempt to provide a constitutional convention with the help it needs. They will contain a history of Louisiana's ten constitutions, special research studies on the major substantive problems confronting the convention, a comparison of the draft and present constitution, section by section, with reasons for the changes and frequently comments on the practice in other states. Alternative provisions and discussions of the pros and cons of controversial provisions are also to be included.

The Louisiana League of Women Voters, having secured the passage of a permanent registration law at the last session of the legislature, is now conducting its own study of the need for constitutional revision and the best method of effecting revision in Louisiana.

One of the most unusual developments has been the organization of informal legislative study groups. These groups of legislators are independent of the Legislative Council although they are serviced by the council's staff. Over half the members of the legislature are members of at least one of these fifteen committees. The subjects under study by the committees include reforestation, constitutional revision, legislative reapportionment, property assessment, a stock law and the state hospitals and correctional institutions.

It is impossible to predict the effects of the studies and surveys now under way but they do indicate a new recognition in Louisiana that public problems require for their effective solution the light of study as well as the heat of action.

Kimbrough Owen
Louisiana State University

GRA Holds Annual Conference

The 39th annual Governmental Research Association Conference was held at French Lick Springs Hotel, Indiana, September 9 through 11. Governor George N. Craig of Indiana welcomed the conference with an address on the importance of fact-finding and research to the businesslike operation of government.

Panels dealt with citizen research bureau management, control of governmental authorities, public schools and the research bureau, urban transportation, new horizons in public health, current issues in social security, performance budgeting and the total price of government.

Summarizations of the sense of the panels on the subjects considered are to be found in a combined issue of the *GRA Reporter* for September-October-November-December. Several talks are printed in full: "Measuring Modern School Needs" by James W. McGrew,

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[1] See "Blazing the Constitution Trail," the Review, March 1948.

"Issues in Social Security" by Jesse D. Winzenried, "Revamping Public Assistance" by George L. Nichols, "How Should Authorities Be Controlled" by Daniel L. Kurshan, "The Authority Concept" by Guy Savino, "Intergovernmental Relations" by Hon. Charles B. Brownson, congressman from Indiana, and "Where to Citizen Research?" by Louis D. Brown.

Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago, was elected president of the association to succeed Carlton W. Tillinghast, executive director of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association. Howard Friend, research director of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce's Governmental Research Bureau, who headed up the local arrangements committee for the conference, was elected vice president; and John M. Leavens, executive director of Citizens Budget Commission of New York City, continues as treasurer.

The other trustees are Henry W. Connor, director, Newark Bureau of Governmental Research; Harold L. Henderson, executive director, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research; John P. Keith, senior associate, National Municipal League; Leslie J. Reese, vice president, Western Division, Pennsylvania Economy League; and Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director, Future Springfield (Massachusetts).

JOHN P. KEITH

History of Newark

The Development of Newark Government—A History of Changes in the Form and Structure of Local Government from 1666 to the Present (22 pages) has just been published by the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research. With the city's government entering a new chapter under a strong-mayor charter, this brief study furnishes its citizens with the chronology of their local government for almost three centuries.

From a seventeenth century town in which "the town government and the government of the Congregational Church were practically one and the same" the governmental structure of the community has undergone seven fundamental changes. These developments have been designed to meet the changing needs of the community as old forms have proved themselves inadequate.

Throughout its entire history administrative boards have played a dominant role in the government of Newark. The idea of administration by a board was carried over from the town government. Under the first city charter the council was responsible for administering various functions. In the course of time a number of separately elected boards were tried and finally, in 1917, a single commission was set up to administer all functions. Failures of the commission form were responsible for the new charter's unification of administration under the mayor.

A similar detailing of the administrative history of other localities would be most desirable and would place present structural arrangements in their proper historical perspective.

W. N. C.

Bureau Notes

The People Are the City is the title of a report on the first quarter century of the Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy in Baltimore, Maryland. It states that the commission "is continuously working for better city management, efficient handling of all details of government and guards good government for all those who live in Baltimore." The report notes that it is estimated that more than $150,000,000 have been saved by Baltimore taxpayers as a result of the commission's work.

The Portland (Oregon) City Club has recently reorganized its research activities to provide for more adequate supervision of such activities and wider participation by its membership in research programs.

The Oklahoma Public Expenditure Council distributed an analysis of state problems to its entire membership prior to its annual meeting last month. Needs of the state with respect to top level administrative management, adequate fiscal controls and personnel management were emphasized.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airport Authority

THE PHILADELPHIA AIRPORTS IMPROVEMENT AUTHORITY. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 6, 1953. 3 pp.

Annexation

A SUCCESSFUL ANNEXATION PROMOTION BY THE CITY OF MIDLAND. By Ray Fry. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review,* September 1953. 2 pp. 30 cents.

Assessments

URBAN ASSESSMENTS ACROSS CANADA. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* October 19, 1953. 6 pp.

Civic Education

THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY. An Aid to "Government by the People." By Richard Hartshorne. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* October 1953. 2 pp. 50 cents.

Cultural Activity

GERMAN MUNICIPALITIES AND THE PROMOTION OF CULTURE. By Karl Zuhorn. The Hague, Netherlands, International Union of Local Authorities, *I.U.L.A. Bulletin,* June-September 1953. 4 pp.

MUNICIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. By Clarence H. Elliott. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, *Public Management,* October 1953. 5 pp.

Disaster Relief

A LESSON IN DISASTER RELIEF. "Operation Waco." Austin 1, League of Texas Municipalities, *Texas Municipalities,* October 1953. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Efficiency

TOWARDS GREATER EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Complexity of Government. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* October 1953. 2 pp.

Fluoridation

AN EVALUATION OF FLUORIDE IN NORTH DAKOTA WATER SUPPLIES. By Arthur E. Williamson and Jerome H. Svore. Bismarck, League of North Dakota Municipalities, *Bulletin,* November 1953. 3 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

EXTRATERRITORIAL PLANNING JURISDICTION FOR COLORADO MUNICIPALITIES. By Leo C. Riethmayer. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, *Colorado Municipalities,* September 1953. 3 pp. 35 cents.

NEW PROBLEMS FACING THE MUNICIPALITIES. By John B. Hynes. Richmond 19, *Virginia Municipal Review,* September 1953. 5 pp. 25 cents.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. By R. M. Fisher. Manitoba, *Western Municipal News,* August and September 1953. 3 pages each.

Parking

PITTSBURGH'S PARKING AUTHORITY. By William R. B. Froehlich. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation, *Traffic Quarterly,* October 1953. 15 pp.

Personnel

IMPROVED PERSONNEL POLICIES IN OKLAHOMA. State highway employees will be advanced on basis of merit of performance, with equal compensation for similar kinds of work. New personnel plan expected to raise level of public service. By C. A. Stoldt. Chicago 2, *Better Roads,* September 1953. 2 pp.

LIMITED-TERM AND EXCEPTED APPOINTMENTS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE. A

Study of the Legal Provisions by Which They are Regulated in Fifty-nine Jurisdictions in the United States. By William C. Beyer. Philadelphia 4, 1953. iv, 186 pp. $3.00. (Apply author, 39th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia 4.)

Planning

THE IMPORTANCE OF NEW PLANNING LEGISLATION TO YOUR MUNICIPALITY. By Herbert H. Smith. Trenton, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, *New Jersey Municipalities,* November 1953. 4 pp. 35 cents.

LONG-RANGE PLANNING, CAPITAL PROGRAMMING AND PLANNING COMMISSIONS. Address before the New York State Federation of Official Planning and Zoning Boards. New York City, the Port of New York Authority, 1953. 15 pp.

Public Health

CEREBRAL PALSY IN KENTUCKY. A Study of the State's Orthopedically Handicapped Children. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, 1953. vi, 63 pp.

Retirement

INTEGRATING SOCIAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC RETIREMENT SYSTEMS. Providence 3, Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, *Public Business,* September 1953. 2 pp.

TAXPAYERS BEAR MORE THAN THEIR SHARE OF THE COST OF CITY EMPLOYEES' PENSIONS. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* October 1953. 3 pp.

Revenue Bonds

HOW MISSOURI CITIES ARE USING REVENUE BONDS. By Robert B. Fizzell. Columbia, Missouri Municipal League, *Missouri Municipal Review,* November 1953. 3 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

CRITICS VIEW FEDERAL MOVE TOWARD SALES TAX. Chicago, American Municipal Association, *Washington Municipal News,* September 1953. 1 p.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REAL PROPERTY LEVIES IN NEW YORK, 1952 AND 1953. By Chester A. Phillips. Albany (New York), Empire State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental Affairs. 1953. 27 pp.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING TOPS $20 BILLION. Washington 25, D. C., United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, November 3, 1953. 3 pp.

LOCAL REAPPRAISALS EMPHASIZE NEED FOR STATE ACTION. Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Taxtalk,* August-September 1953. 3 pp. 5 cents.

Township Government

TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT IN KANSAS. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* October 15, 1953. 3 pp.

Traffic

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY. By George Goodwin. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation, *Traffic Quarterly,* October 1953. 11 pp.

Traffic Engineering

TRAFFIC ENGINEERING PROBLEMS IN CITIES UNDER 50,000 POPULATION. By Charles H. Davis, Jr. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation, *Traffic Quarterly,* October 1953. 10 pp.

Trailers

TAXATION AND REGULATION OF HOUSE TRAILERS AND CAMPS (with Model Ordinance). New Law Requires Cities and Villages to Revise Method of Taxing Trailers. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, *The Municipality,* October 1953. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Urban Redevelopment

REPORT ON TOLEDO'S REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. Toledo, *Toledo City Journal,* October 10, 1953. 3 pp.

Water Supply

PLANNING TO MEET THE GROWING NEED FOR WATER IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. By Max Bookman. Los Angeles 17, League of California Cities, *Western City,* October 1953. 5 pp.

Books in Review

DOCTRINE OF THE SEPARATION OF POWERS AND ITS PRESENT-DAY SIGNIFICANCE. (Second Lecture in the Roscoe Pound Lectureship Series.) By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1953. 160 pp. $2.50.

This is a significant contribution to the rather neglected field of the doctrine of the separation of powers in American public law. In April 1952, Hon. Arthur T. Vanderbilt, chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and dean emeritus of New York University School of Law, delivered three stimulating lectures on various aspects of the doctrine of the separation of powers.

The first lecture set out to treat the doctrine comparatively and historically. In it the eminent jurist shows a remarkable grasp of the history of political theory. It may be regretted that only written constitutions are referred to, in view of the fact that the so-called doctrine of the separation of powers was formulated by Montesquieu on the basis of an unwritten constitution, that of England, as he visualized it. Paradoxically, during the last 150 years this doctrine has been repeatedly rejected, officially and unofficially, as a principle of the British constitution, yet the record of British constitutionalism during this period is an impressive one.

The second lecture concerns itself not only with the functional distribution of powers (separation of powers) but also with the territorial distribution of powers (federalism). It is carefully documented and constitutes a strong statement against the New Deal and the Fair Deal. The third, and perhaps the most stimulating lecture, examine "judicial deference" as a grave cause of constitutional imbalance.

It is Chief Justice Vanderbilt's contention that we can not hope to maintain the way of life which we call American without exercising every effort to preserve to each branch of government its proper sphere and to the states and the union a due recognition of their proper functions. It would appear to this reviewer that the lost constitutional balance can hardly be "recovered" by a return to the doctrine of the separation of powers and the observation of the "proper" spheres. There are few students of government who would disagree with Montesquieu, Lord Acton and Chief Justice Vanderbilt as to the danger inherent in any scheme of concentrated powers of government but one may be skeptical as to the adequacy of the eighteenth century institutional devices to restrain a powerful twentieth century machinery of government.

Ellen Wilkinson's statement, which is quoted by the author, is indeed pertinent: "Nothing is so dangerous in a democracy as a safeguard which appears to be adequate but which is really a façade." What seems to be urgently needed is a comprehensive reexamination of the traditional institutional devices and a systematic exploration of possible new checks and balances which could be expected to function more effectively.

GISBERT H. FLANZ
New York University

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (third edition). By John M. Pfiffner and R. Vance Presthus. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1953. viii, 626 pp. $6.

This new edition is a well balanced introductory treatment of the field of public administration. Both formal and informal elements of organization are considered in this carefully written volume. The role of bureaucracy is brought into its proper perspective as the operating agency of the modern state.

Traditional concepts of administration

are identified as "proverbs and myths." They are neither accepted nor rejected dogmatically but rather are subjected to realistic questioning.

The authors emphasize the dynamic character of administration as a part of the democratic framework. The importance of executive leadership is stressed both as a "vital dynamic of administration" and as a central goal of public personnel programs. The treatment of the mechanics of personnel and finance administration gives a most readable introduction to these important matters.

The significance of basic values and value judgments in connection with decision-making is a recurring theme of the text. This theme, appropriately, reaches its most specific expression in the concluding chapter on administrative ethics.

Both teacher and student will find this a provocative work. Some teachers will disagree with specific positions taken by the authors. However, any variation in views should challenge the teacher to articulate his disagreements and thus increase the vitality of the course for the students.

William N. Cassella, Jr.

MUNICIPAL CHARTER REVISION IN NEW JERSEY. By Benjamin Baker. New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1953. 27 pp. 50 cents.

This pamphlet has been published principally for the benefit of New Jersey citizens who find themselves serving as members of a municipal charter commission and for use by municipal officials. It is divided into two sections, the first being a summarization of the Optional Municipal Charter Law of 1950 (Faulkner Act).

This section describes the three basic plans of municipal government available to a New Jersey community: council manager, mayor-council and the small municipalities plan. Each plan in turn has options, five for council-manager, six for mayor-council and four variations for the small municipalities form of government. Residents of other states interested in the optional law development in New Jersey will find this the most useful section of the study.

The second section is devoted to suggestions concerning the organization and functions of charter commissions under New Jersey law. Commission organization, the type of person needed for consultant, the law of commission financing, suggested commission action on such matters as the initial public meeting and subsequent public hearings, and the commission report are considered.

J. P. K.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Civic Education

SURVEY OF THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS IN THE LOCAL SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAM AS INTEGRATED SUBJECT MATTER. Lockport (New York), Board of Education, 1953. 14 pp.

Civil Defense

PROJECT EAST RIVER—THE STRATEGY OF CIVIL DEFENSE. Chicago 37, Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* September 1953. 55 pp. $1.00.

Collective Bargaining

BARGAINING. By Paul L. Poirot. Irvington-on-Hudson (New York), Foundation for Economic Education, 1953. 54 pp.

Contracts

THE LETTING OF CONTRACTS BY WISCONSIN CITIES AND VILLAGES. Legal Requirements and Procedure for Securing Bids and Letting Contracts. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1953. 61 pp. $3.00.

Directories

INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS. An Annotated List of Directories Useful in International Administration. By Katrine R. C. Greene. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1953. 64 pp. $2.80.

Education

EDUCATION FOR ONE WORLD. Annual Census of Foreign Students in Institutions of Higher Education in the United States—1952-1953. New York 21, Institute of International Education, 1953. 41 pp.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND ILLITERACY, October 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 23 pp. 15 cents.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION REPORT. By Robert F. Will. Washington, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1953. 65 pp.

Ethics in Government

MORALITY IN GOVERNMENT. By Claude Pepper. (Reprint from *Journal of Law,* Fall 1952.) Emory University (Georgia), Emory University Law School, 1953. 13 pp.

Family Court

THE FAMILY COURT CENTER—Dedicated to the Preservation of the American Home. Toledo, *Toledo City Journal,* Supplement, October 24, 1953, 18 pp.

Foreign Government

GOVERNING POSTWAR GERMANY. By Edward H. Litchfield and Associates. Ithaca (New York), Cornell University Press, 1953. xvii, 661 pp. $7.75.

Housing

HOUSING AS ENVIRONMENT. A Report on the Research Conference, "The Role of Social Research in Housing Design," Sponsored by the Committee on Housing Research, Social Science Research Council, May 24-26, 1951, Ann Arbor, Michigan. By Frederick Gutheim. New York City, Columbia University, Institute for Urban Land Use and Housing Studies, 1953. 50 pp.

LET'S LOOK AT HOUSING. A Report on Housing Conditions in Selected Areas of Saint Louis. St. Louis 3, Housing Rehabilitation Coordinating Committee, 1953. 60 pp. Schedules and appraisal forms.

Industrial Development

THE COMMUNITY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1953. 16 pp. $2.00.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO REBUILD CHICAGO THROUGH INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE CENTRAL SOUTH SIDE. Chicago 16, South Side Planning Board, 1953. 31 pp. $2.00. Illus.

Legislation

LAWS PASSED BY THE 1953 PENNSYLVANIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY AFFECTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By Thelma J. Showalter and Paul E. Kilmoyer II. Harrisburg, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Internal Affairs, 1953. 19 pp.

Parking

SHOPPER BOTTLENECK. A Report on the Chamber of Commerce Parking Clinic. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of The United States, 1953. 67 pp. $1.00.

Parking Authorities

PARKING AUTHORITIES. By Edward G. Mogren. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1953. 125 pp.

Population

COORDINATION OF POPULATION ESTIMATES USED BY FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL AGENCIES. By Henry S. Shryock, Jr. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, October 12, 1953. 7 pp. 10 cents.

Public Library

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY BUILDING. A Report on the Fifth Institute on Public Library Management. Madison, University of Wisconsin, Bureau of Government, 1953. 71 pp. $1.00.

Recreation

SUMMER PROGRAMS ON CALIFORNIA PLAYGROUNDS, A GUIDE. Sacramento, California Recreation Commission, 1953. 132 pp.

Retirement Plans

PUBLIC PENSION PRIMER. A Handbook for New Jersey Citizens. A Quick Look at the Problem of Providing for the Retirement of State and Local Government Employees. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1953. 20 pp.

Salaries

1953 MICHIGAN MUNICIPAL WAGES AND SALARIES. Supplement to League Bulletin 68. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, August 1953. 8 pp.

Taxation and Finance

1953 CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (Parts I and II). Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* August and November 1953. 60 and 35 pp. respectively. 50 cents each.

FINANCIAL PROGRAM FOR ILLINOIS FOR 68TH BIENNIUM, 1953-1955. Springfield, Illinois Department of Finance, 1953. 23 pp.

Toll Roads

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE TO STUDY TOLL ROADS. Providence, (Rhode Island), the Committee, 1953. 14 pp.

Traffic Safety

OPERATION SAFETY. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for January 1954: WINTER HAZARDS. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

OPERATION SAFETY. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for February 1954: KNOW AND OBEY TRAFFIC LAWS. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

YOUR FALL SAFETY KIT OFFERS A SURE TIP FOR GAMBLERS. You Can Bet Your Life Safety Pays. Chicago 11, Advertising Council, Inc., 1953. Variously paged.

Urban Development

APROPOS—ANY CITY. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* October 1953. 4 pp.

THE OBLIGATION TO BE STRONG

(Continued from page 559)

and free. To this end, we need more efforts like that classic battle led by the Richmond Citizens Association that won for them a splendid new charter. And those efforts must not be one-shot affairs. They must be sustained year in and year out, to consolidate gains already won and make further gains as they are needed. There are once proud cities that have learned with sorrow what they can lose when their citizens let down their guard.

Theodore Roosevelt, who taught us to "speak softly and carry a big stick," put it this way in an address at the first of these National Conferences of the National Municipal League. Speaking in Philadelphia in 1894, he said: "In the end, the work has got to be done by actual hard, stubborn, long-continued service in the field of practical politics itself."

That is an inescapable part of the free citizen's obligation to be strong.

Thomas T. Cobb, of Daytona Beach's Citizens Committee, before the 1953 All-America Cities jury in Richmond.

22 Cities Vie for All-America Awards

Twenty-two cities in fifteen different states presented their cases for 1953 "All-America Cities" awards at the 59th National Conference on Government at Richmond.

Spokesmen for the competitors were given twelve-minute periods in which to place before the jury of twelve evidence of progress resulting from citizen action. George H. Gallup, new League president, served as jury foreman.

In order of their presentations on Monday, November 9, the spokesmen were: Norman Peterson, Canton, Ohio, Citizens Committee for Good Government; J. B. Trimble, Corpus Christi, Texas, Better Government League; Thomas T. Cobb, Daytona Beach, Florida, Citizens Committee; James Rush, Flint, Michigan, Junior Chamber of Commerce; William P. Snyder, III, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Allegheny Conference; Charles C. Schlink, Peoria, Illinois, Peorians for Council-Manager; C. E. Perkins, city manager of Glendale, California; Mrs. Seigel W. Judd, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Citizens Action, and Mayor Paul G. Goebel; Fritz S. Updike, Rome, New York, Citizens Committee; George P. Brockway, Fair Lawn, New Jersey, Non-Partisan League; and Robert H. Ryan, Lawrence, Massachusetts, Committee for Industrial Development.

Representatives before the jury on Tuesday, November 10, were: Bernard L. Savage, Norwich, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce; James M. Patterson, Park Forest, Illinois, Board of Education (Rich Township High School District); Alexander Hamilton, Jr., Petersburg, Virginia, attorney; Jeremiah Nixon, De Soto, Missouri, Planwell Progress Executive Committee; Harold B. Frye, Hamilton, Ohio, Sertoma Club; James C. Frits, Port Angeles, Washington, Community Action Assembly; Dana Murdock, Richmond, California, Chamber of Commerce, and Mayor Ed. J. J. McKeegan; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut, attorney; William W. Scranton, Scranton, Pennsylvania, Chamber of Commerce; Frank Hemenway, Jr., and W. A. Peavy, Shreveport, Louisiana, Survey; and Robert O. Hilty, Toledo, Ohio, Municipal League.

Changes in the jury (announced in the October REVIEW) were: James M.

(Continued on next page)

Council to Meet Twice Yearly

The League's Council, at its annual business meeting in connection with the Richmond Conference, voted to hold two meetings each year in the future, one an all-day meeting immediately prior to the annual Conference and the other an all-day meeting in the spring, prior to May 15.

The president was directed to appoint a committee of five to make a continuing study of the McLean report and other proposals and to consider revision of parts of the League's constitution.

Carl H. Pforzheimer

Carl H. Pforzheimer was reappointed treasurer, with expressions of appreciation of his 32 years of service in that office, and Alfred Willoughby was reappointed secretary and executive director.

An Executive Committee, to act on policy matters between meetings of the Council, was chosen as follows: Richard S. Childs, William Collins, Charles Edison, George H. Gallup, John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick.

Reports were made by Mr. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee and of the Building Committee; Arnold Frye, chairman of the Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Government; Roscoe C. Martin, chairman of the Advisory Committee on National Municipal League Staff Fellowship, and by Mr. Collins, Chairman of the Finance Committee.

A proposed National Municipal League Fellowship in the Advanced Management Program of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, underwritten by Mr. and Mrs. Preston Farley, Evanston, Illinois, was welcomed.

All-America Cities

(Continued from preceding page)

Osborn, Yale University, for H. Bruce Palmer; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis, for Richard S. Childs; and Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck, former president, National Federation of Women's Clubs, for Henry Bruère, retiring president of the League.

The eleven winning cities will be announced in the February NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in the February 9 issue of *Look* magazine, which will be out on January 26.

E. W. Palmer Dies

Elbridge Woodman Palmer, regional vice president of the League since 1951 and a member of the League's Finance Committee, died on November 18 at the age of 67 in New York.

A native of New Hampshire, he had been since 1925 director and president of the Kingsport Press, of Kingsport, Tennessee, one of the largest book contract printing plants in the United States. He was president of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association and former chairman of the Graphic Arts Coordinating Committee of the National Recovery Administration.

In 1943 Mr. Palmer was commissioned a colonel in the U. S. army and placed in charge of the planning, production and distribution of all Army literature, official documents and printing supplies.

Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1952)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1953)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952)	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953)	.75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953)	.75
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for $1.20)	

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation.)	1.00
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1951)	.50
Model State Civil Service Law (1953)	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953)	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952)	3.50
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949)	.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 80 pages, mimeographed (1953)	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1953)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952)	.75
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

299 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**

Inside Advice for Citizens

Thirty citizen organizations contributed ideas and experience to produce these long needed manuals, just published by the League:

The Citizen Association: How to organize and run it
The Citizen Association: How to win civic campaigns

Written in easy-to-read style by Alexander L. Crosby and illustrated by Ajay, these 64-page pamphlets answer practically every question a citizen might ask. "Helpful to both the tyro and the more experienced campaigner," writes Forest Frank of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. Other advance comments indicate that these pamphlets will rank among the most valuable ever issued by the League.

75c each, or both titles for $1.20
Special discounts for quantity orders and for classroom use

National Municipal League • 299 Broadway • N. Y.

Model County and Municipal Bond Law

Prepared by the National Municipal League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments, Arnold Frye, Chairman.

One of a series on local government finance, this model law sets high practical standards, imposes safeguards against misuse or excessive use of borrowing power, encourages long range planning, preserves popular control. Newly published, it has already been "laboratory tested" by several states.

Price $1.00 (Discounts on quantity orders) 54 pages

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